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ANNALS

OF

THE REFORMATION

AND

ESTABLISHMENT OF RELIGION,

AND OTHER VARIOUS OCCURRENCES

IN THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

DURING

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S HAPPY REIGN:

TOGETHER WITH

AN APPENDIX

OF ORIGINAL PAPERS OF STATE, RECORDS, AND LETTERS.

BY JOHN STRYPE, M. A.

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THE

PREFACE.

Good Reader,

I HAVE little to say by way of preface, upon the appearance of this third volume of the Annals, but only that I have herein continued them for several years further, moved by the same good end and purpose I wrote the former; namely, (for the service of the present generation, as well as for posterity,) to communicate some more light to the last wonderful age, when queen Elizabeth ruled these kingdoms, and to the settlement and continuance of our excellent reformed religion, and the amazing concurrence of God's blessing therewith, in spite of all worldly opposition, however formidable and malicious; and also to let the world know, that I have digested and compiled this volume carefully (as I have done the former) out of my large store of collections made from authentic original papers, and that, I protest, with the same diligence, fidelity, and exactness.

And here, on this account, I think myself bound, and do take this occasion, to vindicate my credit and reputation, in respect of my truth, faithfulness, and ability in what I have formerly writ and published; having been not long ago very rudely dealt with by one Daniel Williams, presbyter of the church of England, in his English translation of a French book, entitled, *A defence of the validity of the English ordination:* writ in French by father Francis Courayer, canon regular and librarian of St. Genevieve at Paris. Which translated book was printed at Paris anno 1725. When (page 50) I am thus by the translator accused and exposed:

" Mr. Strype, in his Life of Cranmer, without any hesita-
" tion placeth the consecration of Barlow in the year 1535.
" in the same place observing, that the record of it was
" not inserted into the register any more than the consecra-
" tion of Edward Fox for the bishopric of Hereford.
" What led this author into this mistake is, that having
" placed Fox, bishop of Hereford, consecrated on the 26th
" of September, 1535. and being about to make known
" that the instrument of it had not been inserted in the re-
" gister any more than that of Barlow's, he had forgot to
" set down the consecration of the latter, but mentions both
" together, as though they had so happened."

Now I will take leave to set down my very words in that place of the book of Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, concerning these two bishops. Whereby the reader may the better judge of my *forgetfulness*, and running into an error without any *hesitation;* two gross faults I am charged with.

Cranm. Memor. p. 37.

" Sept. the 15th was the act of confirmation and election
" of Edward Fox, elect of Hereford, and of William Bar-
" low, prior of the priory of canons regular of Bisham, of
" the order of St. Augustin Sarum, for the bishopric of
" St. Asaph." [And no date set.]

" The consecration of these two are not inserted in the
" register."

Hence it is plain I write there concerning the *confirmation* of those two bishops, and not of their *consecration.* Whose consecrations, as I expressly subjoin, were omitted in the register, so that the error must be charged upon the censurer himself, in his so careless misreading *consecration* for *confirmation.*

And for the better satisfaction of myself and others, I had recourse to my transcripts from that register, where it is thus entered, next after Shaxton's consecration, Apr. 11. 1535.) " Edward Fox, elected and confirmed for Hereford,
" Sept. 15, 1535. And next stands the confirmation and
" election of William Barlow, prior of the priory of ca-
" nons regular, &c." the date here omitted. And so I left

it without date in the book; and the date of the day there set was intended only for the former bishop's confirmation; though elsewhere in the register, the archbishop's certificatory of Barlow's confirmation was Feb. 22. And so, in short, I leave the case between me and my critic to the judgment of candid readers.

But this is not all; but I must add with what words an annotator, in his notes at the bottom of the page, exposeth me, and my readers too, concerning those Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, and whatsoever else I have writ: "It is a misfortune that must attend ordinary readers in "their perusal of the several laborious tracts published by "Mr. Strype, to be led into errors: few writers having "committed more mistakes than he hath done; which weak "or malicious adversaries may one time or other make ill "uses of. The writings will not always fall in the hands of "such candid, judicious readers, as our author hath; and "therefore it would be an act of great charity, or rather "justice to the public, and reputation to himself, to review "what he hath already written: for I have ocular demon-"stration, that his very numerous escapes would make a "complete volume. Would he take leave of the world with "his retractations, how beneficent, how praiseworthy an at-"tempt would that be! I cannot promise him large collec-"tions on this subject. Here is a complication of mistakes "detected by our dispassionate author, D. W."

I shall not reflect upon these lines; yet cannot but observe what credit is to be given to his or his friend's *ocular demonstration*, by those gross mistakes above. This person hath prescribed me a task indeed: to look over all the works that I have published, and to examine them again from the records, and original MSS. and authentic papers, whence I have collected and digested them. That truly would effectually put a stop to the publishing this, or any more of these Annals of our church, or any other important affairs incident in queen Elizabeth's reign. And then perhaps he and his party would obtain their ends; that I should no further disturb them and their principles.

But, in short, I must tell him, and certify all others, that it would be but a great deal of labour lost, and time spent in vain; since what I have entered in my copies, and prepared writings for the press, were always reviewed by me, and carefully compared with the records and originals by me transcribed. And moreover I have ever been very careful and punctual in all my collections thence: whereof I have many volumes (now bound up) taken by my own pen, and with mine own eyes, and made use of no other transcribers or amanuenses; unless what some learned friends abroad, and in the universities, had communicated to me.

And I may add, that I dare say I have, for many long years together, conversed with historical MSS. (falling within the *sæculum reformatum*,) whether records, registers, instruments, letters of statesmen, as well as other private letters of the court and nobility, together with very many ancient printed books of those times, (having met with some special advantages that way,) more than many men alive have done. And when afterwards I was purposed, for the public good, to digest and publish some of these pains of mine, I ever made it my resolution to be just, faithful, and impartial in what I should deliver and recommend unto the world from thence.

And truly I may well bear the discouragement and calumnies of one, or a few unknown, prejudiced persons, considering the approbation and encouragement I have had for many years of so many otherwise learned and able persons, of the clergy as well as laity, of this kingdom, as also that of Ireland, (of better rank than "ordinary readers, led by "me into errors,") and of their good acceptance of what I have written, as also their earnest desires of my continuance and proceeding therein.

And that I may not make this a mere boast, I am compelled, in respect of my reputation, so much injured, to give a few testimonials from some of them, of me and my writings, that I may leave some better character behind me.

The reverend Mr. Nicolas Battely, deceased, (who set forth a second edition of Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury, with

large additions,) had imparted unto me several choice transcripts out of the records of that church of Canterbury, while I was writing archbishop Cranmer's Memorials. And the book being printed, and one of them presented to him, I desired him that he would take the pains to read it over with care, and to observe impartially, without favour or affection, what errors or faults he should discover therein, (as he was a man well known to be very studious and learned in such antiquities,) and I should take it kindly at his hands. Accordingly he favoured me with a letter, dated from Beaksborn, near Canterbury, in the year 1694, (the same year the book came forth;) wherein were these words: "That I having desired him to read my book with some "strict scrutiny, he had accordingly sent me some animad- "versions upon some passages in it; which, as he added, "were no objections against any clause of my history, but "only some observations to the story, and some small ca- "vils, hardly worth taking notice of."

The reverend Mr. T. B., S.Th.B., another of my correspondents, (well known for his learning, and great searches and knowledge in the history of this church and kingdom,) divers years ago, viz. an. 1707, (upon some occasion, in a private letter to me,) had these words: "I have not read "any books with more pleasure than I have done yours; "nor met with any thing that beareth more lively impres- "sions of sincerity and truth: and it is that maketh me so "officious in serving you." I hope that reverend person will excuse me in thus openly using his name, declaring his good opinion of me, (especially upon this occasion,) for the preserving my good name to posterity, and reputation of what I have writ.

And when the book of the Life and Acts of Archbishop Parker, by me compiled, was propounded to be printed by subscription, anno 1709, I had the testimonial of several bishops, eminent as for their piety, so for their learning and knowledge of the history of this church, as followeth: "Dec. 7, 1709. Whereas the learned Mr. Strype hath for- "merly, with much faithfulness and skill, written the Life

" of Archbishop Cranmer, and other eminent persons, and " containing in them many original papers, relating as well to " the ecclesiastical as civil affairs of this realm; wherein the " rights and supremacy of the crown are maintained, the " objections of papists confuted, and the piety, justice, and " wisdom of the first reformers defended: and whereas he " is now writing the Life of Archbishop Parker, in which " he hath further justified the reformation of the church of " England, and given light, in a number of particulars, to " the history of it, which will be of true advantage to the " protestant cause and interest: we do therefore earnestly " recommend his useful and judicious labour to the learned, " as being truly worthy of their favour and encouragement. " Signed, *H. London*, *W. Lincoln*, *J. Ely*, *C. Norwich*, " *E. Gloucester*, *T. Chichester*."

And I thank God, my reputation remains fair still: as appears by that favourable character lately given me by the present archbishops and bishops, upon my late publishing of the two former volumes of the Annals; set to the book by the printer, though contrary to my will, lest I might seem to affect vainglory.

But now to draw to a conclusion, as to my present undertaking. As the former volumes reached to near half of queen Elizabeth's reign, and have been received with general approbation, as an useful work, so I now offer the continuation of the history in a third volume, carried on in the same method, and supported with the same helps and instructions of original papers of state, records, and various other choice MSS. as the others were.

And therefore I doubt not but it will find the same acceptance; especially since there will be found in this volume divers curious historical remarks of affairs happening within this period of years: and particularly two grand emergences; viz. transactions with Mary queen of Scots, and chiefly the last proceedings with her; which will give greater and truer light into that unhappy event: and the other, the intended invasion of this land by the king of Spain's *invincible armada*, vainly so called; discovering

many passages thereof, not found in our printed histories. Also, in the relation (contained in this book) of the state of the reformed religion in this kingdom, are shewn many singular matters of note, and the wonderful success it had, notwithstanding the great opposition it met with from popish powers abroad, as well as zealots and the new reformers at home.

To conclude. As in my Ecclesiastical Memorials many ample accounts were given of the affairs and events of this church, and the state of religion under three princes, king Henry, king Edward, and queen Mary, successively, digested in three volumes; so I have endeavoured to continue them in three other volumes under Annals, commencing at the reign of the next succeeding princess, the glorious queen Elizabeth. And for some commendation of the usefulness of those Memorials and these Annals, I cannot but repeat what the late most reverend and pious Dr. Tenison, archbishop of Canterbury, said, when I presented my first volume of Annals to him; viz. "That Josephus "Scaliger, that great scholar, told some of his learned "friends, that he liked Baronius better than Bellarmine; "*quoniam historia est:* whereby matters of religion might "better be judged of than by controversial writings, as those "of Bellarmine were."

I must call this volume my *last*, (though indeed it reach not by divers years to the end of that queen's reign,) because it is the last conclusion of my labour therein; my great age and frequent infirmities disabling me from going further in this work. And I thank God, that hath lengthened out my life and strength beyond what I could have expected, to have gone so far as I have done; and that, I hope, not without some profit and use for promoting true religion, grounded upon the gospel, accompanied with unity, peace, and concord: which God grant.

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ANNALS;

BEING AN

HISTORY

OF THE

AFFAIRS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND:

TOGETHER WITH

VARIOUS OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE STATE AND KINGDOM COINCIDENT; CHIEFLY WITH RELATION THEREUNTO: CONTINUED.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Negotiation about queen Elizabeth's marriage with the duke of Anjou: succeedeth not: notwithstanding confident report of it in France. Occurrences in Scotland; sent from Randolph, the queen's ambassador there. The ill condition of Ireland; lamented. The queen sends forces in defence of Roan. Don Antonio, expulsed his kingdom of Portugal, solicits the queen for aid against Philip king of Spain. Mature consultations thereupon. The prince of Condé comes into England, to solicit the queen in behalf of the protestants in France. He and the French ambassador with her in conference. Instructions to the queen's ambassadors in France; assisting monsieur, going into the Netherlands. And a secret league between that king and the queen.

STILL the queen's chief statesmen consulted for her majesty's marriage, as concluding it the best way to establish and strengthen the kingdom, and to secure England against Anno 1581. Intelligence from Walsingham,

BOOK I.

the uncertainty of a successor, as well as for other causes. Walsingham was now in France her ambassador, transacting that design. He sent two letters in the month of August, 1581, to the earl of Sussex, lord chamberlain, concerning the present state of this grand affair: referring him to the account he had given at large of his negociation with monsieur, in his other letters both to the queen and the lord treasurer, and the success thereof. And let the earl further in general understand, "That monsieur finding by his "[Walsingham's] answer, delivered unto him in her majes- "ty's name, that her highness waxed cold in the matter of "marriage, in respect of the mislike that she saw her sub- "jects would conceive, to have her realm thrown into fo- "reign wars, by reason of that match; yet notwithstand- "ing did very constantly resolve that he would follow his "pursuit; and would not be dissuaded from it by any rea- "sons that he [Walsingham] could allege in that behalf.

Anno 1581. ambassador in France, concerning the queen's marriage.

"And that touching the league [offensive and defensive] "between the queen and his brother the king, he told him, "[the ambassador,] that he thought his brother would very "hardly consent unto it, unless it were accompanied with "the marriage: but that he promised to employ his friends "to prepare his mind to hearken to it. And indeed, added "Walsingham in this letter, whether the marriage be or "be not, considering the present action his highness hath "embraced, [viz. his defence of the Low Countries against "Philip king of Spain,] his lordship [viz. the earl] could "easily perceive how much it stood him upon to be coun- "tenanced in it by such a league, both for the encouraging "of his friends, and discouraging of his enemies."

He proceeded to hint to the earl another affair, concerning the queen's supplying monsieur with money, absolutely necessary to the carrying on his war, "That he understood "by a gentleman, which was very inward with monsieur, "and also greatly devoted to her majesty, (as his lordship "might perceive by the letters,) that monsieur's affairs were "reduced to such extremity for want of money, that unless "her majesty did relieve him, he was like to remain at a

"stay. He beseeched his lordship, therefore, (who could "consider of what importance it was to her majesty not to "suffer the gentleman to quail in his enterprise,) to put to "his helping hand, to procure that he might be relieved. Anno 1581.

Concluding, "That he took upon him to assure himself, "that if any defect or error fell out in this his service, he "should find the earl's honourable favour to excuse the "same to her majesty, according to the comfortable promise "it pleased him to make him at his departure. Dated at "Fere en Tartenoys, the 5th of August, 1581."

Monsieur, the amorous duke, was now come again into England, to prosecute his love-business with the queen; and succeeded so far in it, that she gave him a ring off from her finger, (saith our historian.) Whence a common report presently arose, that the match was undoubted: and Mauvisier, late ambassador from the French king, told that king as much. Whereat Walsingham, now at Paris, and the other English ambassador there, were under a great surprise, having had no account thereof sent them. And this caused another letter from Walsingham to the earl, importing, "That his lordship, by the general letters sent unto "the lord treasurer, should perceive how that they [the "queen's ambassadors] were now at a stay for their treaty, "upon some new comfort monsieur Mauvisier had put the "king in; that her majesty is fully resolved to proceed to "the conclusion of her marriage. Which if it were true, "then they, her majesty's ambassadors there, were hardly "dealt withal: for that they were not privy thereto. And "that if it were not true, then had the advertisement done "a great deal of harm many ways."

Another upon the report in France of the success of it. Cott. libr. Titus, B. 2. Eliz. Camb. sub an. 1581. Walsingham to the earl of Sussex.

And then giving his judgment, he adds these words: "Surely, my lord, if her majesty be not already resolved "touching her marriage, it will behove her to grow to some "speedy resolution therein. For the entertaining of it doth "breed her greater dishonour than I dare commit to paper: "besides the danger she daily increaseth for not settling "her estate; which dependeth altogether upon the mar-"riage. And so forbearing further to trouble his lordship,

BOOK I.

" he most humbly took his leave at Paris, the 26th day of " August, 1581."

Anno 1581.

But this confident report soon vanished. For to give some further account of this courtship this year, take a short extract out of a letter of Brook, the queen's ambassador in France, writ unto her, viz. " I perceive, and it like " your majesty, how monsieur Mauvisier, in his last letters " written from thence, sheweth he hath no further hope of " the marriage; understanding your intent to be for to entertain him graciously, and no more: and so to pass the " time. And therefore he [the said Mauvisier] required to " be revoked. I suppose," added the ambassador, " he did " write this, being in some passion: for not many weeks " since, he sent assured hope of the marriage." Thus this matter wavered about this time.

The French ambassador displeased about the match.

Occurrences in Scotland.

As for Scotland, among the occurrences there this year, sent to the lord treasurer Burghley by Tho. Randolph, the queen's resident there, these are some, as I take them from the original letter: " That the lord Flemming, sir Thomas " Carre of Furnehorst, sir James Baford, John Matland, " sometime secretary to the king's mother, with many other, " forfeited in the civil dissensions, and for the murder of the " king's father, and his two regents, were, with their children, restored to their blood and possessions; conditionally, that they should abide the laws for the said murder, " when the king should please to call and charge them therewith. But the lord Flemming was not restored to his " whole possessions: and Baford had his pacification but " for three years. This favour was obtained to them by " the special suit and means of the duke [of Lenox.]"

The sad case of Ireland.

If we look over into Ireland, it would give a very sad prospect, in respect of the wars, and also the great difference and quarrels that were there among the queen's officers, and the exceeding expenses she was put to. Of which that wise statesman, the lord treasurer, thus wrote his mind to one of them: " That he did heartily lament the lamentable " state of that country: and that he was therewith more " grieved, in that he saw the calamity either to continue, or

Lamented by the lord Burghley.

4

" not to diminish: and yet he saw no way how to remedy " it. Neither in so doubtful opinions as there were, both " there and here [at home] for the remedy, dared he to lay " hold on any of them. And yet he did not think the re- " medies desperate, if good and wise men, addicted to pub- " lic state, were therein employed. And concluding, thus " I uncomfortably end, referring the success to God's mercy " to be extended both to you and us; whose sins, I am as- " sured, do provoke him to chasten the nation so sharply. " Adding, that he thought well of a late direction from her " majesty, to reduce her army to a convenient number there, " that otherwise were not provided to live in their lusts, but " by wars and spoils." This letter was dated at Westminster, December 15, 1581. Anno 1581.

The queen was now engaged with the French king, and assisted him with supplies against the Spaniard; who was now coming to Diep, the earl of Essex being her general, and sir Roger Williams, a brave soldier, one of her great officers there. By the forces of the duke of Parma, Roan was taken; and the said duke himself was hastening thither with his army: and the French king himself was then before Roan, besieging it, and in apprehension of a battle with the said duke; which made him request of her majesty to send him more forces, and speedily. The queen assists France against the Spaniard.

Sir Henry Unton was now the queen's ambassador in France; and upon a letter of his to the lord treasurer, acquainting him with the affairs there, the said lord wrote him an answer at some length: the contents of which the said sir Henry wrote on the back-side of it, being a short summary of the letter; which shews as well this ambassador's great exactness and diligence, as the particulars of this expedition: which our histories, for ought I find, are silent of. What was thus written by way of contents, was as followeth.

" My letter expressing the king's request for further aid, " unpleasant to her majesty, though she laid no fault on " me. The queen to Unton, her ambassador in France.

" Her majesty made answer thereunto by her own letter,

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" whereof he [the lord treasurer] sendeth copy, to infer to " the king the unseasonableness of the time.

" Her majesty suspecteth that the king's state is made " worse than the same truly is, in respect of the contrariety " thereof to sir Roger Williams's report.

" The news of the duke of Parma's entrance not likely to " be true: neither that he can come so soon to Roan, but " that the king may before gain mount S. Katharine; and " afterwards go and make head to him.

" Sir Thomas Leyghton ambassador sent over.

" Marvaileth that I have not received his former letters. " Wisheth me to learn exactly the state of the king's forces. " Hopeth shortly to receive news of the taking of the mount " S. Katharine."

The whole letter, being a discovery of a considerable piece of our history, I have transcribed from the original, and laid it in the Appendix of Originals.

Number I.

5 Philip, king of Spain, was the queen's fatal enemy, which she well knew; and therefore was not wanting to defend herself and her kingdoms against him: though as yet no open breach between them. This year she was inclined to take part with don Antonio, late king of Portugal; but beat out of his kingdom by the said king of Spain: who took possession of that crown unjustly. But both France and England intended to assist him: for into England, encouraged by France, he now was come. If we turn back to the last year, when this expulsed king first shewed his complaint to the English court, it was thought a fit opportunity offered the queen to enable her to check the malicious purposes of king Philip: and by preparing a fleet to assist don Antonio, to be able to defend herself thereby, in case of an open hostile invasion of her kingdom, even then feared. There was then an expert soldier, and accomplished gentleman in matters of war, named Rafe Lane, who in a private letter shewed his thoughts to the lord treasurer on this occasion; " That being moved of zeal to her majesty's safety " and service, he humbly offered to his lordship the consi- " deration of the plot touching the report of king Antonio

The queen minded to assist don Antonio, king of Portugal, against king Philip.

A motion to assist don Antonio.

" to her majesty for aid; and many singular advantages " and guard of her kingdom, which she might gain hereby, " which he proceeded to shew." The whole letter, being somewhat large, I leave to be read in the Appendix. Concerning don Antonio's business, some particulars of it may be collected from a discourse thereof between Edward Brook, the queen's ambassador in France, and count Vimioso, the Portugal king's agent there. The account of which is best taken from the said English ambassador's own letter thereof, written to sir Francis Walsingham, the secretary, in May this year, lately come from France. Anno 1581. [Numb. I.]

The queen's ambassador in France, his conference with the Portugal agent. Cott. lib.

" That the count Vimioso arrived there [in France] the " second instant, being very well lodged, and furnished of " the king's stuff; entertained of the king's officers; and " his diet provided and defrayed. That he [the English " ambassador] the same night went privily unto him: de- " claring the affection the queen's majesty had to maintain " the liberties of them and their country; as also that she " affected don Antonio, and the justice of his cause. But " for that their case required rather help than open demon- " stration of a complement, he thought it more convenient " to visit him in that manner. The rather likewise, that if " the queen, his sovereign, should otherwise make show to " friend don Antonio, it would minister occasion of greater " jealousy to king Philip: whereby he might be provoked " to deal more rigorously with such of their confederates as " were in Portugal. The which being respected, he should " do his kingdom the greater service, and find the apter " means to deliver his country from the oppression of the " Spaniard."

He added, " That the said Vimioso seemed to accept of " his [the English ambassador's] coming, and of the choice " of the time and manner: discoursing to him of his hard " adventures, first passed in Barbary, when he was taken pri- " soner in the service of don Sebastian, their late young " king: acknowledging to have received his liberty by the " means of king Philip. For the which he was to adven- " ture his life in his service, the liberty of his country and

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" honour reserved. And that for those causes he had put " himself in those hazards; repairing to those princes, [in " France, &c.] of whom he hoped to find that honour, as " they might receive help in the redress: not meaning, as " he proceeded, to enter into discourse, how necessary this " action was to be embraced by the French king and the " queen of England. For that he ensured himself their " own judgments, and the advices of their counsellors, were " sufficient to penetrate: which would be considered for the " benefit of their own estates. But that he was disposed to " declare the right of his king, and to shew the justice done " to the right of Portugal, with desiring their aid of men " and means for the many and just considerations.

" That as for the particularities touching the queen, he " would leave to communicate with him therein, until he " had conferred with the Christian king and the queen his " mother." That to all these speeches, he [the English ambassador] only answered him thus: " That as for the " good-will and disposition of her majesty, his king and " nation should find to be such, as the benefit of her mean- " ing should be rather shewed towards them by her gra- " cious deeds, than by many promises and outward shows: " such was the manner of her sincere proceeding.

" He said, how Rodrigo de Souza [don Antonio's am- " bassador] had informed him of her most royal dealing: " purposing, after he had done his affairs in that court, [of " France,] to repair into England."

It must be remembered here, that the queen had sent Prim, her agent, to the emperor of Fez and Morocco, in behalf of don Antonio, in compassion of his condition. And what success that affair had, the lord treasurer had communicated to this English ambassador by Waad, one of the clerks of the council. Concerning which thus the ambassador proceeded in his letter: " For that Mr. Waad had " shewed him his honour's letter, with the instructions for " to deal in the matter which Prim brought, he desired the " count, it would please him for to confer with Mr. Waad, " as with a confident gentleman, and one trusted by his

" honour, [the lord treasurer,] that he [the ambassador] " had understood by the said Mr. Waad, that he had passed " speeches with the count about those affairs."

Further, " That on the twenty-second in the morning, " the count Vymyos did send him word, that he would in " the afternoon visit him. And he accordingly sent his " coach and horses for to serve him and his company. But " that it seemed he changed his purpose, and sent Prim " unto him with a message, as that he would be glad to " have him [the ambassador] resort to him. But he willed " Prim to say unto the count, that he could willingly do " any thing that might give him honour: but that there " were in this case these respects to be had in consideration. " First, his coming thither unto the court for to address 7 " himself and his negociations unto their majesties: so as " by open coming in visitation, he [the ambassador] should " give cause of mistrust to their majesties, that he did it to " intrude himself into some dealing with the count; and to " seek by conference to undermine their affairs. Moreover " that it was the manner of proceeding of all such as were " distressed, for to seek unto princes, and to all their minis- " ters. And that therefore he was to enter into considera- " tion hereof what he thought good.

" That upon this, in the evening, don Juan de Souza " repaired unto him, [the ambassador,] and required him " to think, that the count would willingly visit, but that " he was loath to give any cause of misliking unto their " majesties, [the French king and the queen his mother.] " Otherwise that he was willing of himself to repair unto " him. For that upon the speeches he passed with their ma- " jesties there was cause, importing the queen's majesty's " service, for to declare unto him."

And then, as to that message from Vimioso, the ambas- sador told the said messenger, " That for his part, he had " done the office of his sovereign, as servant, to visit him, " being a personage of that merit: and that he was willing " rather to consent he should do all things to the advance- " ment of his affairs, than to the impeachment. That there-

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" fore, if he found it convenient for the affairs which he had " dealt with their majesties, to confer with him, [the am- " bassador,] in respect it touched the queen, his sovereign, " he hoped he would deal accordingly. Then don Juan " de Souza required him, that he might in the night meet " with the same count beside his [the ambassador's] lodg- " ings; and he would confer with him. He assented to it; " because he pretended it would somewhat import her ma- " jesty. But about nine o'clock he [Vimioso] sent an ex- " cuse in writing."

The French king in some hesitation.

I shall add somewhat more, to make up this vacancy and silence of our historians in this part of queen Elizabeth's history. It seems it was a tender point to meddle in don Antonio's affair: and not to attempt the provoking the formidable king of Spain. Insomuch that the French king was in some hesitation of giving assistance to this expulsed king: and that crown had more mind this work and charge might be undertaken by the queen. And Vimioso, by shifting conference with the English ambassador, seemed to have some doubt of her. All this, with other matters, may be gathered from another letter of intelligence from Brook, the foresaid ambassador, to secretary Walsingham, writ May 6.

Brook, the ambassador in France, his intelligence.

" That there were which secretly persuaded the king for to " find it unnecessary to break into wars with the Spanish " king, for his brother's sake only, [duke of Anjou, now in " the Low Countries, contriving to get honour and govern- " ment there,] except there should be offered some other " just quarrel. And yet notwithstanding the king had not " only given open entertainment unto the count Vimioso, " being required to the contrary by king Philip's agent; " but did appoint monsieur Villequer to confer with the 8 " said count, for the means to be taken and used for the " restitution of don Antonio."

And concerning the conference between the said count and the English ambassador, thus he repeated the matter to the secretary: " That the count did, after his first com- " ing [to France], pretend to have meant to come to confer " with him, [the ambassador,] but that when either he at-

" tended on his coming, or that he [the ambassador] offered
" to meet him in some convenient place, or otherwise in
" the evening to visit him privately, it was deferred and Anno 1581.
" shifted, until the day of parting; whenas he sent one of
" his gentlemen to let the ambassador know he purposed to
" repair unto Tours. Whereon, remembering how once he
" had said, it was requisite he might speak with me upon
" causes [as the English ambassador's letters proceeded]
" which were necessary for the queen's majesty to know,
" I resolve (seeing I thought it not convenient to repair
" myself to him publicly) for to entreat my lord Sandys to
" vouchsafe, under colour of visiting don Juan Rodrigo de
" Souza, to address himself unto the count; and to let him
" understand, how I had been most willing for to have taken
" my leave of him; as also to be informed so much of his
" affairs as were necessary for her majesty to be certified of.

" The which the lord Sandys performed. Whereon the Lord San-
" count answered to my lord, first, with my giving of thanks dys.
" for my first visitation; as likewise for those further de-
" monstrations and offers to repair unto him. But he said,
" they found not her majesty so affected to the state of
" Portugal as there was cause. Howbeit, whether it pro-
" ceeded of fear or love towards king Philip, he did not
" know. Alleging moreover, that it appeared in some sort
" how there should be in her majesty's council persons of
" quality, which affected the Castilian king: lamenting how
" it had not pleased her majesty to give in her letters the
" title which belonged to their king, [in not styling him king
" Antonio:] nor yet admitted his [the said king's] ambas-
" sador to have public audience.

" That he rehearsed these points with some earnestness,
" seeming to think they were indignities. Wherewith con-
" sequently he took occasion to praise the acceptance and
" favour this king [viz. the French king] had in his court
" apparently used toward him: resting much satisfied in all
" those commands he had required of their majesties [the
" French king and queen-mother.]

" My lord Sandys answered to these former speeches

BOOK I.

Anno 1581.

" thus: First, how her majesty did favour the justice of " their cause, and had dealt to their contentation, as it " seemed, by the report of Rodrigo de Souza. But whereas " there had not been that open show made by her majesty, " as was now here used by this king, that there was greater " cause for this king to perform the same, in consideration " of the queen, and the king's mother's pretence. The " count lastly praised her majesty's virtues, shewing how " he purposed to write shortly by the king's ambassador, " Juan Rodrigo de Souza; or else to repair into England " himself."

9 He concluded his letter, " That the count and Rodrigo " de Suza parted thence yesterday by water to Tours. And " from thence it was signified to him, that he meant to go " to monseignieur. That Rodrigo de Suza said to him at " his last visitation, how this king offered the count Vimioso, " that if don Antonio should decease, he would furnish him " for forces to recover the realm of Portugal; notwithstand- " ing the judgment of them of quality in that country was, " without money there would be little help had for Portu- " gal as yet from those parts: except some ships might shift " by sea, and about the out-islands, and watch for to fetch " the Indian fleet."

Deliberation about assisting don Antonio.

This affair of restoring don Antonio was transacted some time before, while Walsingham was ambassador in France, and then moved at the English court. To which a passage or two in the treasurer's correspondence with him will give some light: suggesting, why the queen dealt so warily in this matter; namely, that she might not draw all the fury of king Philip upon herself: and that she might first be assured of the French king to bear his proportion of charge and forces, and to be true to her: the subtile queen-mother endeavouring to plunge the queen into this business with as little danger and expense, as might be, to themselves. The words of the lord treasurer, in his letter to Walsingham, were, " That the French ambassador, with the French " Portuguese consul, were with her majesty, with letters " from the queen-mother: of great earnestness to her ma-

Compl. Ambass. p. 394, 398.

" jesty, to aid don Antonio: by that name, but not by that of " king Antonio. Whereof," added the writer, " the French " king made reason for the queen-mother's pretence." For she pretended title to the kingdom herself. In another of the said treasurer's letters: " How don Antonio may be re- " lieved, there had been no delay on the queen's part, other- " wise than that she would be well assured, that for yield- " ing relief unto him (which both the French king and the " queen-mother had often solicited) she might not receive " offence of the king of Spain. But that the French king " would join therein with her majesty as well for the charges, " as to withstand the offence. And for this that a private " league might be entered into by them both. Which the " French king cunningly declined." CHAP. I. Anno 1581.

A fleet to be set out to the isles for don Antonio.

At length, after some months, don Antonio's earnest application for aid was listened to, especially a considerable advantage being like to be obtained by a fleet to be set out from England to the Azores isles, belonging to the Portuguese; upon the prospect of the treasure and wealth that might be brought thence, after a successful fight with the enemy there. The two great seamen, Drake and Hawkins, with divers merchants and others, willing and desirous to be at the charge of the expedition themselves, the queen also to bear some charge, since don Antonio had delivered her a very costly jewel for that purpose. Ten thousand pounds was computed might accomplish the charge. This looking so plausibly, and our brave sea-commanders, and other English, so forward, it was not slightly recommended to the queen, and espoused by her. And so it laid before her council; whether, without breaking terms with the king of Spain, and that according to the law of nations, she might not assist another king, oppressed by a third. The latter requiring so much caution and deliberation, the great statesman, the lord treasurer, absent now, as it seems, from court, was required to give his judgment in this weighty question, which he did at large under his own hand.

But, in short, the result of his advice was, that however this action was judged, not to violate the peace of the king

BOOK I.

of Spain; yet he would so take it. And though a commission to sir Francis Drake, and king Antonio's war was just, Anno 1581. in order to recover or to preserve his kingdom, he yet held: yet the king of Spain would take the action, as maintained by the queen: and so as he found himself able, would revenge himself upon her, and arrest and take her people, ships, and mariners, coming within his power; and on this occasion might give new supports to Ireland, and relief to the king of Scots to be an ill neighbour. And then he advised, if the voyage proceeded not, then the said king to have his jewel again of the queen: the preparation that was made, to be viewed, and sold, and distributed; and the four ships which the king had desired, and the munition, to be sold to him by a bond, and the pawn of another jewel. This curious paper, being of this wise counsellor's writing, I have transcribed, as containing many remarks, and preserved in the Appendix. But though this expedition, as it seemed, failed at present, yet divers years after, when open wars brake out between the queen and Spain, this action was effectually entered into, and prosecuted successfully, to the infinite damage of Spain, as is related at large in our history, made in the year 1589; when the queen, by Drake, invaded Spain and Portugal, king Antonio with some forces assisting.

The action, by advice of the lord treasurer, laid aside.

No. II.

Civil wars for divers years had vexed the kingdom of France; occasioned by the implacable malice of the duke of Guise's faction, and the Roman catholics siding with them against the protestants, called Hugonots. The chief heads on this side were, the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, his brother, a firm protestant, as well as a brave soldier, and very active. Applications were sometimes made to the queen on this account, being a favourer of the oppressed, especially for religion. The foresaid prince was now come into England; both to vindicate their cause, and (more privately) to endeavour to engage the queen on their side with men and money. But she prudently forbore to do that, any further than to be a mediator for peace between them, and for the liberty of religion to be granted to

A private conference between the queen and the French ambassador and prince of Condé.

the protestants. Yet she seemed to favour the prince of Condé and his cause: to whom she now gave a private audience, together with the French ambassador, at her court of Nonsuch, and only one or two of her privy council present. An account of the conference she imparted to her treasurer the same night. And what the particulars of it were we are enabled to discover from the secret letter of the lord treasurer to the earl of Sussex; who thus related the matter:

CHAP. I.

Anno 1581.

The sum whereof the queen imparts to her treasurer.

" That coming from his house at Theobald's to the court 11
" at Nonsuch, and repairing to the privy chamber to have
" seen her majesty, he found the door at the upper end of
" the presence-chamber shut: and then understood, that
" the French ambassador had been a long time with her
" and the prince of Condé; and none other of the council,
" but the earl of Leicester and Mr. Vice-chamberlain; se-
" cretary Walsingham being sick then in his chamber. But
" that, about seven of the clock, that said ambassador being
" about to depart towards London, came to him, [the lord
" treasurer], and told him a great part of their proceedings;
" being well pleased with her majesty for her temperate
" dealings, and no wise contented with the prince of Condé;
" in whom he found more disposition to move troubles in
" France, than to enjoy peace. And that the ambassador
" added, how he verily thought, that those troubles in
" France, and the prince's coming hither, were provoked
" from hence. To which the lord treasurer subjoins, that
" herein he himself knew nothing of certainty, but should
" be sorry it should be so in truth. Nevertheless that it
" augmented the ambassador's suspicions upon the sight he
" had of the great favours shewed to that prince by certain
" counsellors here, [probably those two present at the con-
" ference, as well as others.] Which he understood had
" been many times, both on Friday and Saturday, [that is,
" the days next before the conference,] with him at the
" banqueting-house, where he was lodged."

And then the treasurer proceeded to shew the earl, how the queen, late that evening, told him of the dealing with the ambassador and the prince. " Wherein she commended

BOOK I. Anno 1581.

" the prince's modesty in declaring the cause of his coming,
" to shew to her majesty the just causes that had moved
" the king of Navarre to take arms for his defence against
" the marshals Montmorency and Biron; of whose violences,
" as he supposed, without warrant from the king, he shewed
" many particular cases. To which the ambassador made
" defence, by retorting to the king of Navarre the occasion
" of those marshals' actions to have grown from the king of
" Navarre first. The prince also declared the causes of his
" coming from S. John d'Angeli to have been to serve the
" king in his government of Picardy; where he sought to
" obtain the good-will and liking of the towns in Picardy.
" Because the king and his mother also had assented, for
" their parts, that he should have the government; saying,
" that they found the states of the country unwilling: which
" was, as he understood, but a suggestion by means of the
" house of Guise, to the end that D'Aumale might have
" the government from him. And so he coming into Pi-
" cardy found: as namely, the people of Soyssons, the people
" glad of his access. And yet notwithstanding, his adversa-
" ries, on the part of duke d'Aumale, procured contrary
" suggestions to be made to the king. And in the end, he
" found certain numbers of men of war amassed by the lige
" of Picardy to have trapped the prince. And thereof com-
" plaining, and finding no remedy, forced to flee towards
12 " Almain, leaving the house of La Fere guarded. And
" perceiving that the French king was induced by his ad-
" versaries to credit their false complaints, he came hither
" to entreat her majesty, that the French king would sus-
" pend his judgment both against the king of Navarre and
" him; and accept them as his most dutiful subjects, as
" they meant and intended sincerely and plainly, without
" attempting any force, otherwise than for their defence
" against their oppressors.

" And to this, as the lord treasurer added, as he under-
" stood, the ambassador used small defence; but excused
" the king as one that was very loath to come to terms of
" war. But he argued, that his master was so provoked,

" as he thought it a very hard matter to stay him from pro- " ceeding with such force as God had given him, to the ex- " pending of his life and crown. Anno 1581.

" The ambassador went to London, and the prince to his " lodging, conducted by my lord of Leicester; when Wilks, " the clerk of the council, attended upon him. That by her " majesty he perceived the just cause of his coming was for " money in this sort, that is, after this rate the charges to " be borne; viz. a part by the king of Navarre and his part; " another by Cassimere, [brother to prince palatine,] and " certain princes protestant; and a third was required from " her majesty. What that may prove, I know not, as this " wise and wary statesman concluded. I wish her majesty " might spend some portion to solicit for them some peace, " for the good of the cause of religion. But to enter into a " war [with France], and therewith to break the marriage, " [now in hand, and endeavoured with the duke of Anjou, " the French king's brother,] and so to be left alone, as sub- " ject to the burden of such a war, I think no good coun- " sellor can allow."

The prince, within a day or two, went thence to Flushing: from whence he went by sea to Colen; and so to Almain.

Matters transacted between England and France.

But I have here somewhat of importance further to add concerning France and England, transacted this year by divers honourable commissioners on both sides, about a firm league between both princes. And how matters were concerted between them, in order to the strengthening themselves against the Spaniard, who threatened them both, having now seized the kingdom of Portugal, and busy in mastering the Netherlands, a curious paper of the lord treasurer Burghley's will give notable information; and particularly concerning entering into a *secret league* between them: of which affair I find not a word in our historian of queen Elizabeth's reign. An exact transcript whereof follows.

BOOK I.

Anno 1581.

A note of such things as were agreed on at the conference: and other things propounded, and not agreed on, Aug. 23, 1581, between the commissioners of the queen of England and the French king.

Matters agreed upon.

I. The treaty made in Charles IX. his time shall be confirmed, with an addition to be joined to the same, for the redress of piracies. II. That the treaty offensive shall be only for conservation of state, without naming any person. III. That if the invaders of any of the confederates shall 13 not, after admonition given, stay his proceeding, and make restitutions, then the prince confederate shall denounce war unto him.

Things propounded, but not accorded.

Matters propounded in case of invasion.

I. Whether after the denomination of the war, the princes confederate are to assail the prince invading with their forces joined, or apart. If the forces joined, what number it is thought meet the said forces should consist of; of what quality; horsemen or footmen; for how long time to be continued; and how and by whom the charge thereof shall be borne. If with separate forces, then what numbers shall be thought meet to be employed. Whereof how many by sea, how many by land; or whether all by sea, or all by land: and for how long they shall be continued.

Whether those forces agreed on for the defence may not be thought sufficient for the assistance of the prince confederate at the charges of the giver. And whether it may not be at the choice of the confederate that is assailed, to have the said number of men, or so much money as may wage them.

A note of such things as are to be resolved by the queen's majesty, touching the secret league between the French king and the queen: at the same time as the above league in 1581. [This league was for assisting the king's brother going to the Netherlands.]

A secret league.

I. What of money her majesty will be content to contribute: in what sort, openly or secretly. II. To what sum we shall press the king to yield unto, in proportion of that

which her majesty shall be pleased to supply: whether double or treble more than the said sum which her highness shall be content to contribute. III. How long her majesty will be pleased to contribute the said sum; and upon what considerations; whether by way of loan, or otherwise. And if by way of loan, what caution she will require. And whether it were not meet to covenant with him to procure the bonds of the states, *ad majorem cautelam*, within some convenient time, for the repayment of the same. IV. Whether her majesty could not best like, that this secret treaty between the king and her pass only by mutual promise, to be contained in private letters under their own hand. Anno 1581.

On the margin of this paper the lord treasurer, being required, I suppose, by the queen, set answers in his own hand. And in another paper likewise, under his own hand, they are thus answered, as instructions to her commissioners' inquiries, as above.

Answer to the three first articles.

Her majesty for answer hereunto saith, That she cannot resolve upon any particularities concerning the said first three articles following, until it may be understood upon what points this secret league is to be made. Nor until she shall be informed, according to my [the lord treasurer's] late writing to you, [the English commissioners then in France,] what may be thought will be the monthly charges of monsieur's actions [in the Low Countries.] And how the same may be borne by contribution of the states of the Low Countries, according to their compacts with monsieur. And thereupon also what shall be further thought necessary for a supply of the said charges: and how the same may be answered by monsieur his own expenses. And how much his brother, the French king, will yield unto. To whom, for the honour of the crown of France, this cause doth principally belong. And when her majesty shall understand from the same probable estimation hereof, she may then, having your advice also, resolve of such portion as shall be meet for her to yield. The lord treasurer's judgment thereof. 14

BOOK I.

Answer to the fourth.

Anno 1581. Her majesty liketh best to have this treaty secretly handled for sundry respects, which will hardly be kept secret, if all the French commissioners that now treat with you shall treat also of this secret league.

CHAP. II.

Episcopal visitations of London and St. Edmond's Bury. Disorders there by the preaching of Handson and Brown. The bishop of Norwich's complaint of them to the lord treasurer. Some justices of the peace favour these preachers. Philips, and Day, the bishop's commissary, used hardly by them. Day's letter to the bishop. Gaiton, a puritan preacher. Articles drawn up against these justices. Their answers. Some accounts of Handson and Browne. Crompton, a justice, commits a minister going to read service. The bishop of Coventry and Litchfield takes his part.

Episcopal visitation at London. BUT now we come to matters at home. Aylmer, bishop of London, held a visitation this year of the clergy of London, at the convocation house: where he administered articles to them; and made certain inquiries. His articles were, (as I take them from the diary of one of the clergy then present,) I. Straitly to keep the Book of Common Prayer and Sacraments. II. Not to use invectives in their sermons. Forbid by the statute established. III. None to be so hardy as to refuse wearing the surplice in their ministration. IV. None to add, alter, or diminish any thing in divine service. Then for the *inquiries*. I. If any that had cure of souls did not also administer the sacraments. II. If any did not observe the ceremonies to be used at baptism and marriage. III. If the youth were catechised. IV. What ministers who utterly refused to read the Homilies. V. What uncharitable preachers, that called others that preached not, by ill names, as *dumb dog*, &c. Some further account is given of this visitation in the Life of Bishop Aylmer.

Mr. Earl. Cott. librar.

Pr. 1701. p. 81.

This year also, Freke, bishop of Norwich, visited the town of St. Edmond's Bury; occasioned by the disorders there, (of which the queen's commissioners for causes ecclesiastical at London had informed him,) against the due worship and service of God prescribed and used in the Common Prayer. Many of the people at and about Bury were carried away into a dislike thereof by two ministers there, viz. Handson and Browne. And of this, and of the effect of this visitation, the bishop gave this account to the lord treasurer in his letter written from his house at Ludham, April 19.

Anno 1581.

Episcopal visitation of St. Edmond's Bury.

" That being informed of many great disorders in that " town and country thereabouts, as well in the clergy as the " laity: whereof, beside the general complaint, the high " commissioners at London, understanding of the same disor- " ders, had advertised him thereof in letters: requiring him " to take order therein. And that thereupon he did in per- " son, with other of his associates in commission ecclesiasti- " cal for those parts, visit the said town. In the which were " found great defect among the people. Some whereof were " desirous in dutiful affection to have her majesty's proceed- " ings observed: others, on the contrary, being given to fan- " tastical innovations. There were, moreover, divers matters " of importance exhibited and proved against Mr. Hand- " son; who was, as he added, in very deed, the only man " that blew the coals, whereof this fire was kindled. That " it was therefore thought meet, for the better quiet of that " place, that he should be suspended from preaching, unless " he could be contented to enter into bond to her majesty, " as hereafter to teach and preach the word sincerely and " purely, without impugning or inveighing against the Com- " munion Book, the order of government, and the laws of " this realm now established. Which after he refusing, he " was thereupon, and remained, inhibited to preach."

The bishop of Norwich his account thereof.

Adding, " That hereof he thought fit to inform his lord- " ship, and also the rest of the lords of the council, if so it " should like their lordships. And that herein the bearer " was to attend, and follow their lordships' directions. And " that he had, for his and their lordships' better instructions,

Articles against Handson.

BOOK I. Anno 1581.

" sent therewith a copy of the articles, and proofs thereof, " preferred against Mr. Handson; reserving his [the bi- " shop's] proceeding therein taken, to their lordships' judg- " ment and consideration."

And Browne.

Herewith he also sent unto his lordship other articles ministered against one Robert Browne, a minister, (from whom the sect of the Brownists,) and his personal answers thereunto. That the said party had been lately apprehended in 16 that country, upon complaint made by many godly preachers, for delivering unto the people corrupt and contentious doctrine; which the bishop sent up under divers articles to the said lord treasurer. Of whom he gave this further character; " That his arrogant spirit of reproving was such as " it was to be marvelled at: the man being also to be fear- " ed, lest if he were at liberty, he should seduce the vulgar " sort of the people, who greatly depended on him: assem- " bling themselves together, to the number of an hundred at " a time, in private houses and conventicles, to hear him, " not without danger of some evil event. At last he was dis- " missed, and sent out of the diocese; but returned again."

His character.

The bishop's complaint of Browne's coming into his diocese.

And such was the busy zeal of this Browne, and being also backed with some gentlemen in those parts, that the bishop's visitation had done but little good; and the disorders continued there: notwithstanding at the assizes the judges, viz. the lord chief justice and justice Anderson, shewed the statutes for the breach of these orders of the church, and threatened the punishment due to the breach of them. The bishop could make but his complaint to the court: which he did by another letter, writ in August following, to the same statesman; especially informing him, how these disorders were bolstered by certain gentlemen from about Bury; shewing, " That Mr. Browne's late coming into his diocese, " and teaching strange and dangerous doctrine in all disor- " dered manner, had greatly troubled the whole country, " and brought many to great disobedience of all law and " magistrates. That yet by the good aid and help of the " lord chief justice, and master justice Anderson, his asso- " ciate, the chiefest of such factions were so bridled, and the

" rest of their followers so greatly dismayed, as he verily
" hoped of much good and quietness to have thereof ensued,
" had not the said Browne returned again, contrary to his Anno 1581.
" expectation, and greatly prejudiced those their good pro-
" ceedings: and having private meetings in such close and
" secret manner, that he knew not possibly how to suppress
" the same."

He went on, adding, "How sorry he was to foresee, that
" touching this his diocese, what must needs in short time,
" by him [Browne] and other disorderly persons, which only
" sought the disturbance of the church, be brought to pass.
" And that therefore the careful duty which he ought to
" have to the country, being his charge, enforced him most
" earnestly to crave his lordship's help in suppressing him
" especially: that further inconvenience might follow by this
" his return: and in procuring for the lord chief justice and
" Mr. Anderson such thanks from her majesty, for their
" painful travail in that behalf, that thereby they might be
" encouraged to go still forward in the same course."

And then the bishop came to the mention of the gentlemen in those parts that favoured these disturbers of the peace of the church: and prayed the lord treasurer's advice and assistance concerning them, in these lines following: " And herewithal, if it would please your lordship to give
" me your good advice, how to prevent such dangers, as
" through the strange dealings of some of the gentlemen 17
" in Suffolk about Bury is like to ensue, I should be much
" bound to your honour for the same. Which gentlemen,
" winking at (if not of policy procuring) the disordered sort
" to go forward in their evil attempts, and discouraging the
" staid and wiser sort of preachers, (as by sundry letters
" which I send your lordship by this bringer may appear
" more plainly unto your honour,) will in time, I fear me,
" hazard the overthrow of all religion, if it be not in due
" time wisely prevented. And so leaving the rest to the fur-
" ther declaration of the bringer, he humbly betook his good
" lordship to the protection of Almighty God." Dated from Ludham, August 2, 1581.

BOOK I.

Anno 1581.

And to explain this latter part of the bishop's letters, I proceed to shew what usage two persons received, partly for preaching quietness and submission to government with respect to these seditious practices, and partly for informing against the instruments and promoters thereof.

Some gentlemen favour the factious, and threaten others.

For there was then a minister at Bury, that had preached the doctrine of submission and obedience; and reflected upon those preachers that made these disturbances among the people: and other ecclesiastical officers did their duty in ordering presentments to be made of disordered persons. But divers gentlemen, and they justices of the peace, had checked them for thus doing, and threatened them. Two letters were sent to the bishop from such as were thus used.

The one was from Oliver Philips, shewing him how he was reviled by the justices of Bury, for preaching obedience to the queen's laws; whose letter ran in this tenor: "That "he had been requested by his brother and others to preach "the Sunday before at Bury: and that only for preaching "obedience to the queen's laws, and speaking somewhat "sharply of those that were contemptuous and disobedient "to the same, he had been called before the justices of the "peace; and used with very evil manner of speeches and "threatenings, being termed a seditious person; one that "moved the people to sedition; a Jesuit, and roguing mi-"nister; such an one as preached out of his own cure. And "that he was threatened to be bound to his *good behaviour*. "But that in the end they had bound him over to answer "it at the next assizes to be holden among them." And then the minister subjoins to this complaint of his to his diocesan: "These, methinks, be hard dealings towards the "ministers in your lordship's diocese. And except your lord-"ship do speedily provide some remedy against these evils, "there will be no quiet dwelling in your lordship's diocese, "for any minister which means to conform himself." Adding, "that in these things which he had written unto his "lordship, in every point, he would justify and approve "them before his lordship; or else let him have the greatest "punishment his lordship could devise for him." Conclud-

As Philips's preaching obedience to the laws.

ing, " Thus taking my leave of your lordship, I beseech God " long to preserve you in health and prosperity among us.

" Your lordship's most humbly to command,

" Oly. Philips."

CHAP. II.

Anno 1581.

This for Philips. The other was Day, who was an eccle- 18
siastical officer of the said bishop of Norwich, residing at Bury. He writ another letter of complaint to him, of the justices' usage of him, for swearing questmen to bring in their presentments against such as came not to church. And his case he also thus laid open at large.

And Day, for swearing questmen.

" That sir Robert Jermin, sir John Higham, and Mr. " Badbie, had dealt very unjustly and revengingly with " him; and did mind very imperiously to proceed. The " cause was, that he did the Friday before call certain ho- " nest men of both the parishes of Bury, purposing to make " them questmen. For that one there, named Mr. Gaiton, " [who seems to be a minister of the parish,] had so conti- " nually cried out against him, for punishing such as came not " to church. And as for questmen who should present them " unto him, he could hear of none. That the foresaid jus- " tices did presently then send for him. And for that he had " so done, and had also sworn six of them, not making the " justices first privy unto it; they called him Jack and " Knave, he knew not how often. And for that so like a " Jack and Knave he had done knavishly and lewdly, as they " said, he should to the gaol. There was no remedy, unless " he did put in sureties for his forthcoming at the next ses- " sions holden at Bury; and in the mean time to be of good " behaviour. And so Mr. Dr. Wood, Mr. Rob. Golding " were bound for him. And so they remained."

His letter to the bishop.

And then he proceeded thus, shewing further the ill state of these affairs. " Of truth I confess, I dare scarcely do any " thing touching my office for fear of violence; I do see the " lewd sort so animated against me. And then he prayed " his lordship would confer with one Mr. Davie, or some " other, what he were best to do. I thank my God, (as he " went on,) I care not, what man can do unto me. My only

BOOK I. " desire is, to continue my good name and credit with the " honest in the best manner that I may."

Anno 1581. Then he shewed the bishop what his purpose was in these his circumstances. " That in the beginning of next term, " or sooner, if it should be thought best, to kneel before her " majesty; and to lay open, how they had dealt with him " from time to time; and for what cause. Humbly to crave, " that by her means he might have the countenance of an " honest man, so long as it should appear that he was not " dishonest. And then he requested that it might please his " good lordship to let him have his letters, directed unto her " majesty in that behalf for him: testifying therein, what he " [the bishop] found to be in him, and of all their troubles, " and the justices their continual abusing of him; [that is, " in the discharge of his office in the ecclesiastical court.] " And that he doubted not, but that as it would make for " his credit, so it would work for his [the bishop's] great " quiet also."

19 And how earnest he is in this request, his following words declare; " My good lord, I do most humbly desire that it " may so be; and that you will so tender my credit, and " stand with me, as my honest life and faithful dealing shall " or may seem to urge. Otherwise I do not crave."

Nay, and this was not all the trouble he met, namely, from the justices; but he was baited from the pulpit, when he was present, by Gaiton, a puritan preacher: which he thus relates in the same letter. " Mr. Gaiton forgetteth himself " daily more and more in the pulpit, both in abusing me, " and also divers others; and that with untruths. He was " not ashamed to say in pulpit in my presence, that I, who " would punish such as were absent from church, did dine " with one whom I had licensed to be away in the afternoon. " He said also, that we urged orders so long as orders main- " tained superstition: but all other orders were no orders. " He concluded by the first of the Acts of the Apostles, that " no one man might appoint ministers but the disciples in " every parish, and none other. He would needs urge also, " that none might be suffered in the church, but preachers

" only; neither ought any in government of the church to " be urged other than God in his word commandeth."

And then the writer concluded, " That to be brief, no Anno 1581. " minister as yet they had in St. Mary's church, [one of the " parish churches, by reason, as it seems, of the differences " in the town,] neither did he know what to do, that they " might have one. That, for himself, he must seek his quiet, " as he might: and he did not doubt, but by his [the bi- " shop's] help to obtain it. That Mr. Badbie [one of these " favourers of the party] had called him Toss-pot, and " otherwise greatly reviled him. Oh! that your lordship " would but send for him, and bind him over to his good " behaviour. And that he should greatly hereby encourage " him to go forward. At the least, he added, he would make " friends to be in commission of the peace. Otherwise he " feared there would be no dwelling there for him. He left " all to his lordship's good care of him. And then piously " ends with his prayer, God work for me his will. Sub- " scribing, Your lordship's most faithful in God,

" John Deye."

" *Postscript.* The justices do threaten to do many things."

This Dr. Deye was commissary to the bishop of Norwich, or to the archdeacon of Sudbury.

This Gaiton, of whom all this complaint was made, was a preacher in Norwich some years before. And suspended by the bishop about the year 1576, after an examination of him before the bishop and dean; for that in his pulpit he had taken upon him to confute his chaplain's sermon, and admonished the parishioners to beware of such false doctrine. This gave the occasion of his being cited, and charged in several articles; as, for his not wearing the surplice, nor observing the order of the queen's book, neither in the prayers nor administration of the sacraments, which was the cause of his suspension: but how he came afterwards to get off his suspension, and to preach at Bury, I know not. But I am apt to think he did it by the slackness of discipline, and out of the countenance he met with there, notwithstanding his

Gaiton, a preacher in Norwich, suspended by the bishop. Part of a Regist. p. 393.

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former suspension; since it appears that his opinions and practice were the same. This matter between him and the bishop's court, and proceeding, may be read more at large in the second volume of my Annals.

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Annals, vol. ii. b. 2. c. 4.

But to see a little farther what issue this matter had. The good bishop found himself not strong enough to encounter these gentlemen and justices, who carried all before them in their countenancing of these disaffected persons to the orders and discipline of the church. And therefore he applied himself again to the lord treasurer; sending the very letters aforesaid of Philips and Day to him to peruse, with his own letter. Wherein he shewed how far he had proceeded with these justices, in articles drawn up against them, to the number of twelve, which he sent to the said treasurer. The chief whereof were concerning their rigorous dealing with the commissary Dr. Day, and Philips the preacher: and binding some others to their good behaviour, that stood for the due observation of orders, as appointed in the church. The justices' answers to those articles sent to the lord treasurer in their own vindication, being somewhat long, may be found in the Appendix; being entitled, *The answer of sir Robert Jermin, sir John Higham, knights, Robert Ashfield, and Thomas Badby, esqrs. gentlemen of Suffolk and Norfolk, to certain articles objected against them by the bishop of Norwich.*

The bishop prefers articles against the justices.

N°. III.

In these articles they were charged to countenance disobedient and disorderly men. Particularly, that they favoured Coppin and Tyler, who some years ago were imprisoned for spreading of Browne's books, which condemned the Book of Common Prayer, and the whole constitution of the church: and that for obtaining the freedom of these spreaders of those books, the said justices had used their endeavours with the judges. That they refused divers ministers, ordained by the bishop, because they were ignorant, and could only read. That they were for nothing but Geneva psalms and sermons. That they endeavoured to remove one Wood, a minister, from his living, because he only read; and gave him warning to be gone: and put the parish upon

The sum of the articles.

choosing another, though the collation was in the bishop. That at an inn, called the Angel, they meddled in ecclesiastical causes, that belonged to the bishop. That they joined their authority together against the commissary, and threatened to send him to the gaol. That violence and violent speeches were used towards him; and their part sir Robert Jermin took; and denied him justice; and denied him to have any authority, as a magistrate: and further, that they bound him, a bishop's commissary, to his *good behaviour*. That Mr. Philips, for a sermon preached at Bury, exciting to obedience to the queen and her laws, was required and bound to an appearance before them.

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The justices make their answers to them.

Upon these articles preferred against them, and an appeal the bishop had made to the queen against them, they were cited up to answer before her: where, after their said answers given in, (smartly and rudely in some places retorting upon the bishop,) they required the lord treasurer that they might be dismissed by the queen to their own country; and that he would be their petitioner to her for that purpose in these words: "That now they had been called out of their "own country, and every street sounded their disgrace, "wrought by the bishop, that either they might deserve the "just deserts of their doings by due punishment; or being "cleared, both in her majesty's royal judgment, or his lord-"ship's opinion, the bishop, for his bold and untrue sug-"gestions, might be so censured, as they might, with the "restitution of their poor reputations, be attended with some "good comfort upon their places. In which they desired "no longer to live, than they should be found very loyal "and dutiful to their so gracious sovereign."

21

Sir Robert Jermin's account of Handson.

I have this to add concerning the aforesaid preachers, Handson and Browne; the former yet remaining under suspension. The lord treasurer had examined his case himself, and had wrote a letter to the bishop, that upon due reformation of what was done amiss by him, he might be restored to his preaching. And sir Robert Jermin on this opportunity, with the lord North and some others, wrote to the bishop on his behalf, to this purpose: "That since his lord-

BOOK I. Anno 1581.

" ship had examined Handson's case at length, even as it " was set down at the hardest against him, and in his [sir " Robert's] opinion, very indiscreetly, as he said, in many " the most principal parts thereof; and that they knew his " ministry to have been very profitable to a great number; " that they who sought to remove him, were rather adver- " saries than friends to the truth: that for matter of faith " and manners he was ever held a sound teacher; and that " in these indifferent things he had never laboured much: " that therefore, in consideration of these things, he [the bi- " shop] would give him liberty to exercise his ministry." To which the bishop's resolute answer was, " That unless " he would publicly confess his fault, and to be bound to " follow another course, he would not set him free."

And upon this denial of the bishop, sir Robert and others apply earnestly to the lord treasurer again, that notwithstanding the bishop's refusal, he would grant him the freedom to teach the people, and take off his suspension. But this I conclude that lord would not do, nor would arbitrarily intrude so far into the bishop's right. Nor did he ever go farther than persuasive letters to the bishop sometime in behalf of such ministers, who, notwithstanding some scruples, brake not off communion with the church.

And Browne, to the lord treasurer.

And then as for Browne, this favourable account the said sir Robert gave to the treasurer of him; and how he dealt with him now upon his second coming. That Mr. Browne came by chance to Bury: that he [sir Robert] sent for him, and moved him to be careful of his proceedings. He told him, how dangerous his course seemed in the opinion of many honest and godly men; and how apt the adversaries of the truth would be, to slander and discredit the profession and professors of the truth, if these his singular conceits might not be warranted by the word and Christian policy.

22 " To which Browne's answer," as sir Robert added, " had " many things that were godly and reasonable, and, as he " thought, to be wished and prayed for. But with the same, " there were other things (in this his answer) strange and " unheard; and the means to put the same in execution, as

" they reached beyond both their callings, being private; so " he [sir Robert] thought them over dangerous to be re- " tained in opinion." [He meant, in reference to the opinion about setting up a new discipline, and overthrowing the present established church government by episcopacy.] " And " then moving the said lord treasurer to advise Browne to a " more careful regard of himself in so deep and dangerous " a matter; the man being young both in years and expe- " rience; and to threaten him, that he should be very " sharply censured to the example of others." And he presumed his lordship should do a good and honourable deed in staying him from going too far; and making him of a man very able, so very fit to yield the church his profitable service.

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But these courses went on at Bury for some years, the ministers varying from, or altering the Common Prayer at their discretion, disliking the order of it, and depraving the book; asserting the queen's supremacy to be only in civil matters, not religious; and some also holding certain heresies, as that Christ was not God, &c. and many young ministers of this sort increasing in those parts; and all this in great measure by the favour of some of the justices. Till in the year 1583, they received a check by some severe proceedings at the assizes at Bury, sir Christopher Wray, lord chief justice, being upon the bench; when many were convicted, and some, obstinately persisting, put to death; and the justices reprimanded, and warned to keep the peace: as shall be shewn at large when we come so far. The bishop, quite weary of living there, got a remove, a year or two after, to another bishopric.

Errors maintained at Bury.

The judge's sharp reproof.

I meet this year with an instance of the pastoral care of another bishop, in taking cognizance of some heterodox opinions in one of his diocese; and his proceedings against him. John, bishop of Exon, had received information against one Anthony Randal, parson of Lydford, of the *family of love*, a sect that spread about these times in that diocese, as well as in other parts; whom, for his damnable doctrines and heresies, the bishop had deprived. This man taught and assert-

One Randal, of the family of love, deprived by the bishop of Exeter.

BOOK I. Anno 1581.

ed, that the creation of the world, and the three first chapters of Genesis, were to be understood *allegorically*, and were not so true *literally*. That as many as received Jesus Christ did perform all the moral law, and lived without sin. That the Lord's supper and baptism were not sacraments. That the church of England is a false church, and so is the Roman. And that there is a third church, which shall stand, when the other shall fall. And either church, being authorized by the prince, must be obeyed. These opinions, under divers articles subscribed by his own hand, are set down at large in the Life of Archbishop Whitgift; to which I refer the reader.

Appendix, Book III. No. III.

23 But Randal, however by the bishop for these gross tenets deprived, rested not so; but had the hardiness to complain above against him, as suffering wrong at his hand: having first appealed to the Arches, and thence to the queen's delegates; whence, notwithstanding, the bishop had his proceedings approved and ratified. But this sectary desisted not, but clamoured about the bishop unto the council; and stood still in his opinions, and obstinately maintained them at that present, owning them under his hand, and that in the presence of divers public notaries. The original whereof remained in the bishop's registry, as a perpetual testimony against him. A copy whereof the bishop thought fit to send to the lord treasurer Burghley; accompanied with a letter from the said bishop to him. And that because, as he wrote, Randal had many complices; and that hurtful sect of the *family of love* began to creep into that country. Of which, therefore, he had brought twenty to open recantation in his cathedral church. "And in consideration of the premises, "he beseeched his lordship, that his sentence given against "the said Randal, and ratified as aforesaid, might have "good countenance and liking at his hands. And that he "requested it, not so much for his own credit, as for the "peace and quiet of God's church: which, by means of "Randal and his adherents, was very much disturbed." This letter was dated from Excestre; and I have exemplified it from the original.

Complaints against the bishop in the court of Arches.

The bishop's letter to the lord treasurer concerning him.

No. IV.

CHAP. II.

Anno 1581.

Something happened this year in the diocese of Coventry and Litchfield, wherein another bishop also was concerned, named Overton, bishop there; wherein he shewed both his courage and his paternal care of his clergy: wherein also may be observed how, in these times, some parts of that diocese stood affected towards religion, and how forward to receive the old abandoned religion of Rome; which seemed now to many to be upon the point of being restored, upon the French king's brother's courtship of the queen. The case was this: a justice of peace there, (whose name was Crompton,) on pretence of his office to inspect the behaviour of the clergy, and to punish them, if they any way varied from the orders of the church, or neglected their conformity to the forms prescribed, caused a minister in his own church, going to perform his office, to be carried away by a constable to gaol; and left the congregation without any service. This disorderly proceeding with a minister in his own church coming to the bishop's ears, he thought fit to call the justice before him, by his ordinary jurisdiction, and to examine what he had done, and to vindicate his clergyman, who was indeed a man of good desert. And of this he thought good, in a letter to the lord Burghley, lord treasurer, to make complaint; and to acquaint him with the whole state of the matter: and withal hinting, how unfit some in commission were of that place and trust. The letter shall follow, which will give light into some public affairs in those times: namely, "How ready the people there "were to take great boldness upon small occasions, (as he "had wrote to him in a former letter,) and how apt they "were to stir at first, if they were not suppressed betimes. "That he signified to his lordship by the same letters, that "there were not wanting among them some of the better "sort, and of the justices themselves, that fed the people's "humours, and gave spirit and courage unto them in their "folly. And because as then he writ but darkly unto him, "(for that he had but an inkling of matters,) he promised, "that as he should afterwards further sift out the truth, so

A case between the bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, and a justice of peace.

His letter to the lord treasurer concerning this matter. 24

BOOK I. Anno 1581.

" he would let him understand more of it in time. It was " so now, that upon better examination he had learned both " certainly: both the matter how it stood, and the occasion " whereof it grew. That there was a great muttering " among the people of late, and in one of the most dan- " gerous parts of all that shire, [Staffordshire,] namely, in " the Morelands, that the mass in all haste should be set up " again."

Report in his diocese of setting up the mass.

And upon this report the bishop adds, " That when he " heard of it, he supposed it had been but the murmuring " humour of the papists; because it was commonly sur- " mised by them, that, upon the coming in of the duke " [d'Anjou], religion would straight have a change. But " as this peradventure might be some cause of that sudden " muttering and surmise, though it was not all, nor the " chief, so it was rather occasioned merely by the rash and " preposterous (I cannot say, added the bishop, whether I " may say ill meaning) behaviour of one of their justices. " The matter was this. One Richard Crompton, a lawyer, " and a justice of the peace of that shire, about the very " time that the assurance between the queen's majesty and " monsieur began to be talked of among the people, came " into his parish church, at the time of divine service, with " an *araunge* [some weapon, it seems] on his side, and a " great bastingdow in his hand; and going up to the church, " without stay or reverence used in the place, called the mi- " nister unto him, as he was beginning to say service, and " said unto him, Sir Hu, come hither, I must first talk with " you, ere you begin. And so being come unto him, he " carried the minister down the body of the church towards " the church porch. And when he was there, he asked, " whether there were any constable there or no. And " when the clerk answered, there was none, he bid him go " fetch one, for he must send the minister to gaol. Where- " upon it flew abroad straightway, and grew to this speech, " that the mass should be set up, and established again; " for one of the queen's own justices had been himself in

" the church, and drove out the minister, that he should " say no more this new service, and had sent him already " to the gaol for saying it.

" Speeches thus passing, the minister made complaint " unto him [the bishop] both of the justice's ill behaviour, " and of the people's readiness to look for a change. That " upon the complaint made, he sent for the justice by his " ordinary jurisdiction, and ministered articles unto him, to " be examined of, according to the evidence that was given " in against him. That the justice, as he denied not some " disturbance to be made by him, so he would confess no " fault; but coloured his doings with pretence of law and " show of justice; namely, that the minister refused to wear " the surplice; and that he would not keep the accustomed " place of prayer, where service was wont to be said, but " stood lower to the people, and turned not his face upward " toward the east, but downward to the west; and that he " left out some piece of the service, and used not the order " of common prayer according to the book, as it is set out, " and established by act of parliament. And therefore he " thought good to forbid him the service altogether, and " sent him to the gaol."

Concerning which accusation of the justice against the minister, thus the bishop subjoined: " That these and such " other like were his excuses for the fact: but that all, upon " due proof, were found to be either fond or trifling, and " very false and untrue. And therefore he (the bishop) told " him, that he would signify unto his lordship [the lord " treasurer] his rash and undiscreet dealings herein: as now " he had done."

Complaint of unqualified justices.

And then applied himself unto his lordship after this manner: " And surely, my honourable good lord, if such " light-headed justices, or otherwise hollow-hearted, shall " be suffered still in their office, and have authority, as they " have had, it will not only be long ere the people be re- " claimed, but also it will give occasion hereafter of more " heartening."

And concerning this minister that was so used by the jus-

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tice, he seemed to fare the worse, because of his worth. For this was the character that the bishop gave of him: "That
Anno 1581. "if the poor minister that was so misused by him had been
The bishop's good character of the minister injured by the justice.
"some ignorant dolt, and but a sayer of his service only, "the matter had been somewhat less, though not tolerable: "but he was a man endued with good gifts, a diligent and "zealous preacher of the word, counted rather too painful "in his charge than otherwise; sober in his life and beha- "viour, and not to be touched for his conversation any way. "And therefore the other's outrage and rashness no way to "be tolerated and borne withal."

Nor did the bishop like that a justice should take upon him to correct a clergyman for a neglect in his ministry, as taking the office out of the diocesan's hand. For thus he proceeded: "And what if the poor man had in something "offended by ignorance or oversight, your lordship know- "eth, there had been other ordinary means to be used for "his correction in church causes; and not every justice of "peace to intermeddle in such matters, before there be "need. I thank God, I can and will reform such faults, "when I hear of them. If I cannot, I will pray aid of "others. And if I will not, they may complain of me, and "reform it themselves."

This justice a papist.

But then, as to this justice, he gave this information of him: "That the truth was, Mr. Crompton was supposed "to be a papist in heart, and was a friend unto papists, "and a great receiver of papists to his house. And that "therefore that which he did he might seem not to have "done in way of reformation, but for malice to the religion.
26 "And that indeed he had so bewrayed himself by this fact, "that that very sort did note him a very papist for it; al- "though he were so noted for other things before."

And then, upon this occasion, the said bishop gave the treasurer his advice: "Your lordship, and the rest of her "majesty's most honourable privy-council, may think of "him, and such others here, as it shall please you: but me- "thinketh, under your lordship's corrections, if he and such "others as he were clean discharged out of the commission,

" ye should do God good service, and a great good turn to CHAP. II.
" the country. For in my opinion they love but to wait for
" a *day;* and in the mean time bolster ill subjects in their Anno 1581.
" obstinacy and contempt. He hath some fellows: I would
" to God more zealous men were put in their places. And
" so leaving the further consideration thereof under their
" honourable wisdoms, he humbly took his leave. Written
" from Eccleshal, the 15th of Jan. 1581. Subscribing, His
" lordship's most bounden,

" W. Coven. and Litch."

CHAP. III.

Cox, bishop of Ely, dies: his will. And Barkley, bishop of Bath and Wells, dies: his character. Grant of the queen to Edward Stafford, esq. of concealed lands. The lord treasurer's judgment of a lease of them. Disorders about religion in the inns of court. A letter from the star-chamber to the ecclesiastical commissioners thereupon. Romanists busy. Campion writes to the privy-council concerning the Jesuits, and his mission. A private letter of a Jesuit concerning Campion and his disputations; and the resolution of the Jesuits. A copy of verses made by a papist, beginning, The cross appears. *The cruel burning of one Atkins at Rome for religion.*

THIS year concluded the life of Cox, bishop of Ely. He left in good debts 2322*l.* By his last will and testament he gave these legacies. To the lord treasurer Burghley, a ring, two ounces, value 6*l.* To the archbishop of Canterbury, to the bishop of Lincoln, and to Dr. Lewis, to each rings, one ounce and an half, value 4*l.* 10*s.* To Roger Cox 100*l.* To Richard Cox 100*l.* His books of the old doctors he gave to the library at Ely. These following to be paid within one 27 year from the 22d of July, 1581, [the day of his death, or the day his will bore date.] To the poor in Somerham, in Doddington, in Downton, in Wisbich; to these each 53*l.* To the poor in Holborn, and Feny Stanton, 10*l.* To the Death of bishop Cox. His legacies.

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poor in Buckingham town, 5*l.* To the poor of Harrow of the Hill, in Buckinghamshire, of Wickendove, three miles Anno 1581. by Stony Stratford, of Whaddon, of Nash, in the parish of Whaddon; to each 10*l.* To the poor scholars of Peterhouse, and of another college in the university, 5*l.* each. To Mrs. Parker, to Mrs. Collet, and to Mrs. Bullingham, 20*l.* apiece. To John Parker, archdeacon of Ely, 40*l.* To Richard Arkenstal, Richard Upsher, John Chapman, Henry Mannox, William Rente, his servants, 5*l.* 6*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* 4*l.* 40*s.* These legacies amounted to 155*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* In plate to Mr. Richard Cox, and Mrs. Rachel Cox, 20*l.* The whole sum of his legacies came to 945*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* These particulars I take from a copy of his will.

Made archdeacon of Ely, 1540. Convention. Rymes.

He was made archdeacon of Ely, anno 1540, in the room of Tho. Thirleby, the king's chaplain, made bishop of Westminster: the presentation being in the king, by reason of the removal of the said Thirleby to that bishopric, 32 Henry VIII. For so that king's writ ran, *Dilectum capellanum nostrum, Richardum Cox clericum, vobis præsentamus:* directed to the reverend father in Christ, Thomas [Goodrich] bishop of Ely. Witness the king at Westminster, November 24.

Sutton leaves legacies to bishop Cox's children.

One remark I add concerning this good bishop: that Thomas Sutton, the founder of the Charter-house, school and hospital, by his last will and testament, among the rest of his legacies, gave certain legacies to the children of that bishop: and that out of gratitude to his old schoolmaster. For when Cox was master of Eaton school, he had this Sutton his scholar for three years. And then he went to Magdalen and Jesus colleges in Cambridge. The words of his will are these. *Item*, I give to every one of the children of Richard Cox, late bishop of Ely, who shall be living at the time of my death, 10*l.* apiece of lawful money of England.

This bishop's learning, his piety, his zeal for true religion, his exile, how instrumental he was in promoting the reformation at court, (whither he was preferred by king Henry VIII. to be the instructor of the young prince, and his almoner,) and what reputation he had then for a sin-

gular scholar, just and good man, may be gathered from a copy of verses of Leland, written to Thomas Legh, of Adlington, esq. who had required Leland to tell him, if he knew any person in the world (that so generally abounded with wicked, false men) that might be in all respects said to be endued with faithfulness and integrity: Leland gives him answer, that he knew one such, and that was Cox. Which he elegantly shewed in a copy of verses, viz. Anno 1581. Commended in a copy of verses made by Leland.

Ad Thomam Leghum, armigerum, Adlingtonensem, de Ric. Coxii fide et integritate. 28

Cum fucis adeo laboret orbis
Totus, me rogitas, amice, narrem
Ore ut veridico tibi petenti,
Si dum reppererim, omnibus fidelem
Quem possem numeris virum probare.
Talem me volo repperisse, credas,
Albo rarior est ac ille corvo.
Novisti bene Coxium pium illum,
Sacri evangelii tubam sonoram:
Quem clarus patriæ pater Britannus
Dilectum refovet, suoque nato
Inservire jubet, probum tenello.
Is vir judicio omnium piorum
Omni ex parte fidelis integerque, &c.

This year also, November 2, died Gilbert Barkley, bishop of Bath and Wells, in his episcopal house in Wells: whose register began April the 20th, 1560, and ended October 28, 1581. Wherein I observe, at a royal visitation, anno 1560, a sentence of deprivation given by John Cottrel, LL.B. archdeacon of Wells, and the bishop's vicar-general, against Bourneford, prebendary, and rector of Clotworthy; Cratford, rector of Lediard Laurence; Giles Hillinge, prebendary, and rector of Shillgate; and Bartholomew Blithman, prebendary, and rector of Cosington; by reason of their absence, and contempt *regiæ visitationis*. Bishop of Bath and Wells dies: Collect. Matt. Hutton.

BOOK I.

December 15, 1561, Tho. Maister was presented to the church of Sutton Bingham, united, annexed, and incorporated to the church of Chilton, during the time of his incumbency in the same, *authoritate Matthæi Cantuar. archiepiscopi, et regiæ majestatis confirmatione.* This Tho. Maister had been presented the year before, May 17, by the queen to the said church of Chilton. This Maister was son, or some relation, to Dr. Maister, the queen's physician.

Anno 1581.

I meet with a pretty strange dispensation in this bishop's register, under the year 1564, July the 12th. When Tho. Harrington was presented to the church of Kilston, by the death of Henry Simmons, at the presentation of John Harrington, esq. he was a scholar of Oxon, of eighteen years old, *nullo clericali ordine insignitus;* and obtained licence of the archbishop of Canterbury to retain the same church to lawful age: and then, if he were promoted to holy orders, to the title of the perpetual benefice. But these letters of the archbishop's were to be of no avail, unless confirmed by letters patents from the queen; dated July 28, 1564: which was done the same day. This Simmons was presented to this church of Kilston, anno 1560, by the resignation of Mr. Geo. Carew, at the presentation of John Harrington, of London, esq.

The bishop's character.

We dismiss this bishop Barkley with this character: that he was a man of great gravity, and singular integrity of life; and being an exile under queen Mary, resided with many other worthy confessors at Frankfort, in Germany: and advised Dr. Traheron, who read lectures there to the English upon Revelations, chap. iv. to print his readings: which he did. This bishop had a charter for the settling of his bishopric; but not so full as the charter granted by queen Mary to his predecessor, Gilbert Bourne, many things being left out in the last charter to this bishop. In the year 1572, he had a long fit of sickness for nine or ten weeks. After
29 that, not able to ride, nor well to go, keeping his chamber, as a lame man, of the sciatica in his left leg; doubting in himself then, whether he should ever have the use of it again,

as he wrote in December, 1572, to his friend bishop Parkhurst: though he made shift to hold out to this year, being eighty years of age; as Godwin writes. Anno 1581.

Stops a parsonage from being impropriated.

I shall leave one remark of him: which shewed him to be an honest as well as a stout man for the good of the church, by seasonably stopping a part of the church's patrimony from running into a layman's purse; when the lord Tho. Pawlet, dwelling within the county of Somerset, patron of a good parsonage, viz. West Monkton, endeavoured to impropriate it to himself and his heirs for ever, as was related at large, vol. ii. under the year 1578.

Commission for concealed lands.

Now was coming forth another commission from the queen for recovering such lands and revenues as formerly belonged to churches, religious houses, colleges and hospitals, granted by parliament to the crown. Many of which being concealed in this queen's reign, she, to gratify some of her courtiers, had granted them, or some good portions of them; namely, what they could by search discover and find out: which commissions made great havock sometimes of the small livelihoods of the livings and salaries of ministers and chaplains, the poor inhabitants of hospitals, &c. in case it was found they were given for superstitious uses. Therefore, as such a commission had been granted to Edward Stafford, esq. and some other gentlemen pensioners, was called in, as it seems, another was made this year for his use and benefit, with more tenderness and caution towards many that might suffer by it; but still with certain rents payable by him to the queen. It was called, *A warrant to Edward Stafford, esq. for parsonages, chapels, guilds, &c. dissolved:* the copy whereof shall be exemplified from the minutes, with the lord treasurer's hand interlined in some places, (which I have enclosed in crotchets;) intended by him for the moderating of this *grant*, and stopping the violences that these *concealers*, as they were called, would have been apt to use towards the churches and the clergy thereof, the hospitals and chapels.

Granted to Edward Stafford.

The contents of a lease granted him.

It specified, "A lease, granted by the queen to this Ed-
"ward Stafford, one of her gentlemen pensioners, of all

BOOK I. Anno 1581.

" parsonages impropriate, free chapels, guilds, chantries,
" hospitals, &c. that had been dissolved, and were wrong-
" fully detained from her, and which of right belonged to
" the crown, since such a year of king Henry VIII. Or
" which might afterward be found out and discovered by
" the said Edward Stafford, his deputies, &c. Yielding
" and paying therefore unto her, or her successors, during
" such lease or leases, certain yearly rents: and after such
" rate as the same were valued at in the book of first-fruits
" and tenths. And likewise granted unto him advowsons,
" presentations, donations, &c. of all parsonages and vicar-
" ages, being without cure, profaned, wasted, &c. Also all
" advowsons, presentations of parsonages, vicarages without
" cure, prebends presentative, &c. which were concealed,
" wrongfully detained, &c. And that did of right belong to
30 " her majesty, presentations, donations, &c. to give, dispose,
" and present unto the same, being become void, during
" such a certain term.

" And then, by the same commission, to the lord trea-
" surer, the chancellor of the exchequer, &c. she command-
" ed them from time to time, upon information given by
" the said Stafford to them, to cause to be made books and
" writings as should be requisite to be passed from her of the
" premises, or any other part thereof: and for certain new
" rents according to her letters patent. And that if any
" variance, suit, debate, controversy, &c. might happen by
" any claim or complaint in or about any of the premises,
" or concerning any manner of presentation, removing, or
" displacing any parsons or vicars, then the grants to be
" suspended till it should be heard and determined in her
" court of exchequer, by them the lord treasurer, chancel-
" lor of the exchequer, &c. for the time being, for any mat-
" ter belonging to the revenue of the crown." These are the brief contents: but the whole grant and commission will be found exemplified in the Appendix. No. V.

As to that particular above, of a lease to Stafford of parsonages, colleges, hospitals, &c. concealed, it became a question concerning the queen's making leases of some such. I

find the lord treasurer Burghley setting down his judgment in writing; no question upon the queen's and council's requiring his opinion in this affair. This I have from minutes of his own pen. The year when he wrote this his judgment is uncertain: but hereabouts it must be. This I look upon as a curious piece: and therefore shall set it down from the original.

Anno 1581.

Lord treasurer's judgment of making leases of lands, &c. concealed.

" My opinion on a sudden, under correction of such of " her majesty's learned counsel, as can better inform how " her majesty may make such a lease of the contents.

I. " The first seven several things may, I think, be " granted by her majesty. But in good reason her ma- " jesty's title ought first to be found by inquisition. And " so her majesty's title being of record, the grant may more " orderly pass. Otherwise many things under this title " may pass without warrant. But so not honourable to " pass her majesty; where they shall pass upon wrong to " pre-occupiers.

" As for parsonages impropriate, free chapels, guilds, " chantries, lay-prebends, there is not so much regard to " be had as upon colleges, and especially hospitals. In " which last I saw by a grant made by her majesty to cer- " tain of her guard of the hospital of Ledbury, what incon- " venience had followed, if great care had not been.

II. Secondly, " For parsonages and vicarages without " cure containeth great uncertainties. And wheresoever the " patronages thereof did belong to any subject, the queen's " majesty hath no interest therein; but by lapse to have " one presentment only. The depopulation or profanation " maketh no title to the queen's majesty. And therefore " her majesty cannot make any grant thereof.

III. " The third, for parsonages and vicarages without 31 " cure, cannot be granted by her majesty, but where she is " patron; or where she is entitled by lapse.

IV. " The fourth, for the like with cure, and for pre- " bends that are concealed, and belong to her majesty's " patronage, may be for the first time granted by her ma- " jesty's patents. But after that they cannot be accounted

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" concealed. And thereby the curate cannot have conti-
" nuance, otherwise than that her majesty shall make a gift
" of the patronage, [or] of the inheritance of her patronage.

" How these kind of parsonages or vicarages shall be
" given, I know not. But if the patentee shall have any
" profit thereby, they must be sold, and not given. And
" openly to assent thereto will be held for a man that hath
" thereof a conscience.

" But these articles would be considered by some that
" understand more than I do, that her majesty's grants may
" be grounded upon justice, or at the least some colour of
" justice. And for any profit to pass from her majesty, I
" weigh it not. But I wish that profit were double, in re-
" spect of the gentleman, who indeed hath deserved as much,
" and can deserve more."

Commission ecclesiastical for the inns of court.

This is a second time the inns of court and chancery were taken notice of, to harbour persons popishly affected. The government thought it very necessary to check and restrain considerable numbers there; and many of them of quality; and so more apt to influence others in the kingdom with principles contrary to the laws established for good order in the church. As in the 11th of the queen, anno 1569, the council had wrote to those inns, with orders granted for the government of those that inhabited there. And then some were reconciled, and others expelled. But disorders happening again in those houses, and information thereof made in the star-chamber, a letter was sent thence to the queen's commissioners ecclesiastical, to take cognizance thereof; and to send for the benchers and ancients, and inquire after these disorders. Which was this year, or near it; and ran in this tenor:

Letter to them from the star-chamber.

" After our very hearty commendations. Where in the
" 11th year of the queen's majesty's reign, in the term of
" Easter, we did, by our letters to the ancients and benchers
" of the inns of court, signify what order was then taken in
" the star-chamber for reformation of a sort of persons
" about that time detected to be in the same houses, of dis-
" ordered demeanour and perverse disposition, especially

" against the laws and orders ecclesiastical of the church.
" Which orders being of good length by our said letters
" then declared and explained, we understand were for that
" time reasonably executed, to the reformation of some;
" which were thereby profitably reconciled; and to the ex-
" pulsion and secluding of some others that were so per-
" verse, or rather seditiously bent to continue in disorder,
" as by no convenient persuasion they were then reformed.

" But after some time expired, as we are now credibly
" informed, the former disorders are received, or rather in-
" creased, for lack partly of the continuance of some of those 32
" disorders within the houses, by the ancients and benchers;
" and partly, for that such regard hath not lately been had
" by the commissioners ecclesiastical to understand of the
" said contempts, as was necessary.

" Wherefore, considering how necessary a matter it is to
" proceed, if in those houses, consisting of so great compa-
" nies, where properly obedience to laws and observation
" of good orders should be professed, and the contrary
" thereof not nourished, and that by sufferance the mis-
" chief may, by the authors of such contempts, be dispersed
" abroad in the realm: and that with the more facility and
" danger also to increase, where the offenders shall gather
" credit among the vulgar sort, by profession of the know-
" ledge and execution of the common laws of the realm:
" we have, upon good deliberation, thought it very neces-
" sary, that your lordship, and others having sufficient au-
" thority from her majesty to see to the due execution of
" all the laws ecclesiastical, should hereof be informed. And
" so we require you, that you will speedily, before the end
" of this term, send for some of the ancients and benchers,
" of the discreetest and dutifullest of every house or inn of
" court, and likewise for some of the inns of chancery; and
" inquire of the disorders in these kind of causes, concern-
" ing the observation of the laws ecclesiastical, and the
" rights of the church. And as ye shall find the same dis-
" orders likely to be increased, so to consider how the same

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" may be reasonably and speedily redressed: using therein, " as cause shall require, conference either with the lord " keeper of the great seal of England, and the two chief " justices, or any of them: to whose party doth belong, as " we understand, some regard for the good ordering of the " said houses or inns. And thereupon, as far forth as ap- " pertaineth to the authority of your commission, to reform, " or otherwise to correct the parties offending, and to limit " some good orders for the due service of God in those " houses; and to stay and reform the rest from the entry " into like offences. Wherein surely the whole realm shall " take no small profit, both for the honour and service of " God, and for the better administration of laws: and finally, " by the giving of a general good example of obedience to " the rest of the subjects."

Papists, Jesuits, and seminaries busy.

The state found it necessary now to secure the government against the Romanists: who were very busy in corners, both seminaries and Jesuits, to withdraw the queen's subjects from their allegiance, and to plot treasons. Whereof Campion had given sufficient cause of jealousy; who was executed with some other priests and Jesuits this or the last year. I meet with a bold letter of his to the privy-council, upon his first coming into England: wherein he confidently and frankly declared himself of the *society of Jesus;* and that thereby he had devoted himself, honour, life, and all, to the pope's service. His letter, shewing his resolution, and confidence, and his zeal to the pope and his cause, was chiefly to make a public challenge of dispute with all the most learned divines and lawyers in the land, and to require them of the privy-council, nay, and the queen herself, to be present: desiring them to grant him a quiet audience of what he should say before their honours. " And that his " discourse should be, first, of religion, so far forth as it " touched the commonwealth and the nobility. And se- " condly, that before the chief doctors and masters of both " universities, he would avow the faith of the catholic church " by proof invincible, scriptures, councils, fathers, histories,

Campion's letter to the privy-council.

33

" and reason. And before the lawyers, spiritual and tem- " poral, he would justify the same faith, by the common " wisdom of *law*."

Further, he frankly declares to them, " That he had " vowed himself to the *society of Jesus*, and had taken " upon him a warfare in the banners of obedience, and re- " signed all his interest of worldly wealth, honour, and plea- " sure. And that at the voice of their *general provost*, " which was to him a warrant from heaven, and an oracle " from Christ, he took his voyage from Prague to Rome, " where the said father-general was always resident; and " from Rome into England; as he would joyfully have " done into any part of Christendom, or *heatheniss*, had " he been thereto assigned. And that his charge was, with- " out cost to preach the gospel, to administer the sacra- " ments, to instruct the simple, &c. to confute errors, &c."

And as to their society, he informed thus much of them, (with the preface of *Be it known unto them*,) " That they " had made a league, (all the Jesuits in the world,) whose " succession and multitude must over-reach all the practices " of England, cheerfully to carry the cross that they should " lay upon them, and never to despair of the recovery of " them [viz. the realm of England] while they had a man " left, to enjoy their Tyburn, or to be racked with their " torments, or to be consumed with their poison."

And so concluded, as it were threatening, and in an assurance of success, " That the enterprise was begun: that " it was of God, and could not be withstood: and is the " faith that was at first planted: and so it must be restored." This was the brag, resolution, and protestation of Campion, in the name of that society. And therefore the state, with good reason, thought it necessary to secure itself against them by its laws and watchfulness over such a generation of *devoto's*. But let the reader peruse the whole letter in the Appendix.

No. VI.

Campion's challenge to dispute.

And consequent to this, Campion afterwards, being now a prisoner, made a bold challenge to dispute with the pro-

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testants certain points of religion. And accordingly divers disputes and conferences were held with him in the Tower, in the month of August, which were set down afterwards in writing by the learned men themselves that dealt therein; and were printed, in 1583, by Alexander Noel, dean of St. Paul's, and published upon occasion of writings dispersed by some papists, extolling Campion's disputations, to the overthrow of his adversaries. Wherein it is said, "That "the catholics, by the judgments of those that were not "wedded wholly to will, did get the goal." And again, one of them had these words: "In my soul I protest, that in
34 "any indifferent judgment, the adverse protestants were "quite confounded. And if I were not a catholic already, "the only hearing the conference would have made me "one." This I took out of the preface to the reader, by Alexander Noel and William Day, both deans, and disputants with that Jesuit. There were three other conferences with him, viz. the 18th, 23d, and 27th of September, 1581, which were after set down in writing by John Field; and perused by the learned men themselves that disputed with him, in order to the publishing the same. These things I pass over, having mentioned them more at large elsewhere.

Conferences with him.

Annals, vol. ii. chap. 22.

Soon after Campion's condemnation, and before his execution, one of the same order shewed his great satisfaction that his *brother*, (as he called him,) as well as his companion, was like to make so glorious an end; mentioned in a letter to another of his friends, written from London; whither, after some absence, he was newly returned: confirming him and them in his absence, and assuring them of his own constancy and resolution to die in the cause, as others had bravely done, and as Campion was now ready to do. This letter seems to have been intercepted, and so brought into the hands of the queen's council: for I met with it among the papers of state in the Paper-house. And therefore, though it be somewhat long, it will deserve to be here exemplified. Which will shew their firm purpose to promote their religion to the peril of their lives, and how fully

A Jesuit rejoices at Campion's sufferings.

persuaded they were in the goodness of their cause, and the success of it, and their steadiness in carrying on of their affairs in this realm. Anno 1581.

His letter upon the condemnation of Campion and others. Paper-house.

" My dear good friend, *Pax Christi, &c.* That he un- " derstood of the late advancement and exaltation of his " dear brother, Mr. C. and his followers, [Brian, Sherwin, " &c.] Our Lord be blessed for it. It was the joyfullest " news, in one respect, that ever came to his heart since he " was born. I call him *brother*," as he added, " for that once " God made me worthy of so great preferment, [viz. to be " admitted into the society of Jesus.] But that now he " took him rather for his *patron* [to pray for him and pro- " tect him] than for his brother; whose steps he beseeched " Christ he might be worthy to follow. That there was " nothing happened to him which he looked not for, some " time before, and whereof he made not oblation to God, " before ever he set forth to go towards England:" [that is, vowed his life to promote that cause.]

And then, as for the disputation which he held with our learned divines, thus he also triumphed: " That he looked " for this end [meaning *triumphant* end] of the disputation " also. And surely, added he, where I heard how pros- " perously God turned them to the glory of his cause, that " he would have his life also. For that it was like his ad- " versaries would never put up so great a blow without " revengement upon his blood. His impertinent and mali- " cious witnesses God will judge. But yet he beseeched " the divine Majesty, if it were his will, to pardon them, " and give them grace to repent, and prevent his great " wrath, due to their most grievous iniquity. There were " men in the world which drank blood as easily as beasts did 35 " water. And because the earth did not open, and pre- " sently swallow them down, they thought all was well. " *Sed heu!* (said the prophet,) *juxta est dies perditionis,* " *et adesse festinant tempora.*

" That it might be as truly spoken of Mr. C. as ever " Ezekiel spake it of the like, *Effus. est sanguis ejus in lim-* " *pidissimam petram, et non in terram, ut operiatur pul-*

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" *vere.* His blood is shed upon a most clear stone, to be " seen of all men; and not upon the earth, that it may be " covered with dust; the pretended dust of feigned treason, " wherewith they go about to cover his blood; *his blood!* " Away with every little air of consideration that comes " near it. Your conscience and mine, and the knowledge " of God Almighty, with all the saints of heaven, are privy, " and shall bear witness at the day of judgment, of his pure " innocency in all such matters and meaning, either by fact, " word, or cogitation. This hath he protested, and will " protest, I know, upon the perdition of his soul at his " death. For yet I am not certified that he is dead. And " we [Jesuits] protest the same before God, and men, and " angels in heaven. And all that ever we have dealt withal " in England, shall testify the same both living and dying, " upon their salvation and damnation in the life to come. " All which, seeing it serveth not in Westminster-hall, we " are content quietly to leave it in God's hand, and to refer " it only to the tribunal of Christ; *qui cum temp. accepe-* " *rit, decernet causam nostram.*"

The writer goes on: " That I am so far touched in the " same matter, as master Criss telleth me, I cannot but " take it most thankfully at my good Lord's hands, who " vouchsafeth to lend me a portion *in sorte sanctorum.* " Free I am of any thought of such matters as were ob- " jected, God and my conscience, and my friends with " whom I converse, do know and rejoice. But I know it " was not easy for the lamb which drank beneath at the " end of the river, to justify to the wolf drinking at the " head spring, that her drinking beneath did not trouble " the water. And the reason was, for that the wolf was " minded to eat her. My blood, therefore, must satisfy " this matter, which, by God's holy assistance, I remain as " resolute, and willing to yield, when his divine Majesty " shall appoint the day, as ever I did to pay my debt that " I did owe, or to receive any benefit from his most merci- " ful hands. I remember often, to my great comfort, the " saying of St. Paul, *Deo manifesti sumus, et spero in con-*

" *scientiis vestris manifestos nos esse.* If we be mistaken
" of men, yet God is not deceived. And therefore for my
" part, I do seek daily and hourly, according to the mea- Anno 1581.
" sure of his holy grace given me, to walk in his sight, and
" to imagine him present in all my actions, even as though
" he were presently to enter into judgment with me. Which
" attention, I trust, though I be otherwise a greater mise-
" rable sinner, shall so direct my life for all such matters as
" our enemies do object, as I shall little fear the judgment
" of man, nor the accusations of *Eliot Iscariot*, [so styling
" him who, it seems, was some secret informer against the
" Jesuits,] and his compartner for the matter itself: that 36
" is, the advancement of God's glory, by persuading my
" countrymen to virtuous lives and true religion. For which
" cause only I was sent hither."

In which resolution he would persist, using these words:
" I will, by God's help, never cease, either dying or living,
" as long as my soul is able to move any part within me,
" from the prosecution of so good and godly a purpose.
" For I know it is written, *Usque ad mortem certo pro jus-*
" *titia.* In which respect I confess that I fear little any
" mortal power, which killeth the body, and after hath
" nothing to do more: for that I have my Master's com-
" mand for the same. And not only that, but his war-
" rant: *Capillus de capite vestro non peribit.* And thus
" much of myself, and of those holy men that are dead.
" *Qui visi sunt oculis insipientium mori: illi autem sunt*
" *in pace.*

" Now though you, my dearly beloved, and the rest of
" my good friends with you, I see no cause for me either
" to comfort or encourage you, the very letter itself is most
" sufficient for both. For what greater matter of comfort
" can there be to us that are catholics, than to see God work
" these strange wonders in our days, for the advancement
" of his and our cause: that is, to give such rare grace of
" zeal, austerity of life, and constancy of martyrdom unto
" young men, learned men, brought up in the adversaries'
" own schools; and to whom, if they would have followed

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"the pleasures of the world, or yielded in any one little "point against the truth, it had been lawful to have lived "both in favour and credit. This cannot come of flesh "and blood, but must needs be an argument of God's mer- "ciful meaning towards us, if we be humble and patient "under this his fatherly rod and chastisement.

"Again; what can be more forcible to encourage us to "all virtue, and imitation of these men's fortitude, than to "see children to go into heaven before us. You know who "used this argument, when he said, *Regnum Christi vim* "*patitur, et v.* [*i. e. violenti*] *illud*, &c. Which if ever it "were fulfilled, now it is, where the tenderest and frailest "flesh passeth violently to heaven, through wrackings, hang- "ings, drawings, and quarterings; and through a thousand "miseries more, which are laid upon them.

"Wherefore let other men follow the pleasures of the "world and lewd life as much as they will, now is the time "for us to make ourselves everlasting princes, by gaining "of heaven. *Qui nocet, noceat adhuc, et qui in sordibus* "*est, sordescat adhuc*, saith our Saviour. And on the other "side, *Qui justus est, justificetur adhuc, et qui sanctus est,* "*sanctificetur adhuc. Ecce! venio cito, et merces mea mecum* "*est, reddere unicuique secundum opera sua.*

"Now for this time, my dear good friend. From R. in "L. this present 26th of November, 1581.

"Your own bounden in most hearty good-will
"for Christ and his cause."

37 By way of postscript, this followed:

"The cross appears, Christ doth approach,
"A comfort for us all:
"For whom to suffer or to die,
"Is grace celestial.

"Be therefore of good courage now,
"In this your sharp probation,
"Which shall you bring to glory great,
"And mighty consolation.

" If you persevere to the end
" Of this sharp storm indeed,
" You shall confound both foe and friend,
" And heaven have for meed.

" God make us mindful of all his sweet promises, and " our own duty: which is sufficient armour for all assaults " of our enemies. Commend me heartily to my daughter " Cr. and your little family, and the rest of your good com- " pany: willing them all to be of good comfort, and to pray " for us, as we shall for them. Weakness now is come to " such a head, that the festered sores thereof must needs " break out, whereby, I hope, all infirmities will be healed. " In the mean time they intend to do us a good turn against " their wills. I hope we shall so disclose the fond forgery " of our enemies, God willing, this week, as it was never " since the queen came to her crown. God, for whose cause " we suffer, defend the truth. I have saluted your friends, " who re-salute you. Our Lord be with you and yours; " and all the faithful (Christian) afflicted flock."

Young priests under Campion's conduct. Dr. Bils. True Subject.

Concerning this Campion, I have one thing more to add, which a learned man that lived in that very time related of him: that there were despatched into the realm, under the conduction of one more presumptuous than learned, [meaning this Jesuit,] a whole swarm of boy-priests, disguised, and provided at all assays with secret instructions how to deal with all sorts of men and matters here; [in England;] and, with commission from Rome, to confess and absolve such as they should win, with a pretence or policy, to mislike the state, and affect novelty; and to take assurance of them by vow, oath, or other means, that they should be ever after adherent and obedient to the church of Rome, and to the faith thereof, &c. *Religion* sounded often in their mouths, and the faith of their fathers. And yet that poison they carried covertly in their hearts, and cunningly in their books; that her majesty's beguiled and deceived subjects, by the very sentence of their Romish faith and absolution, were tied to obey the pope, depriving her ma-

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jesty of the sword and sceptre, and bound to assist him, or whom he should send, to take the same by force of arms out of her hands.

38 But when some of these were taken up, and brought to their trials, they denied this, and earnestly protested, in open audience, that they had no such meaning; but for their parts did acknowledge her majesty for their lawful and true princess, and taught all others so to do: having first obtained, like wily friars, a dispensation at Rome, that, to avoid the present dangers, they, and all others their obsequents, might serve and honour her highness for a time, until the bull of Pius V. might safely be executed. [This was the dispensation of Campion and Parsons.] And that this was the resolution of them all, appeared by their examinations. And that conclusion stood in their written books as a ruled case, that they must rather lose their lives than shrink from this groundwork, that the pope may deprive her highness of her sceptre and throne; because, they say, it is a point of faith, and requires confession of the mouth, though death ensue.

Dispensed with by the pope for lying. Ubi supra.

Their cases of conscience. Artic. 55.

Their dangerous doctrine.

This dangerous, if not devilish doctrine, (saith the foresaid learned writer,) was not printed or published in the sight of the queen's subjects, until the time of some of the chief procurers and kindlers of this flame, for these and other enterprises of like condition and quality, were by the just course of the laws adjudged to death.

But there happened this year an example of papal persecution at Rome, upon an Englishman, which exceeded much any persecution complained of in England; which was executed upon one Richard Atkins, an Hertfordshire man: who seemed indeed to be somewhat disturbed in his head: but however that hindered not the Romanists' rigorous dealings with him. I relate it from one that was in the English college at Rome; and there either saw or heard it from some that were present.

One Atkins put into the inquisition at Rome: and why. Engl. Rom. Life.

This Richard Atkins, out of his zeal, travelled to Rome, and coming to the English college there, knocked at the door; and being let in, told the students there, that he

came ovingly to rebuke the great misorders of their lives; which he grieved to hear, and pitied to behold. And that he came also to let their proud antichrist understand, that he did offend the heavenly Majesty, rob God of his honour, poisoned the whole world with his abominable blasphemies; making them homage stocks and stones, and the *filthy* sacrament, [as he called it;] which was nothing else but a foolish idol. Upon this, one Hugh Griffin, a Welshman, and one of the students, caused him to be put into the inquisition. But, however it came to pass, he was, after certain days, dismissed. Afterwards, one day going in the streets, he met a priest carrying the sacrament, and being offended to see the people so crouch and kneel to it, he caught at it, to have thrown it down, that all people might see what they worshipped. But missing his purpose, and it being (luckily) judged by the people, that he did but catch at the holiness that they say comes from the sacrament, upon mere devotion, he was let pass, and nothing said to him.

Few days after he came to St. Peter's church, where divers were hearing mass; and the priest being at the elevation, he, using no reverence, stepped among the people to the altar, and threw down the chalice, with the wine; striving likewise to have pulled the cake out of the priest's 39
hands. Presently divers rose up, and beat him with their fists: and one drew his rapier, and would have slain him. In brief, he was carried to prison, where he was examined wherefore he committed such a heinous offence. He answered, that he came purposely for that intent, to rebuke the pope's wickedness and their idolatry. Upon this he was condemned to be burnt; which sentence, he said, he was right willing to suffer. And the rather, because the sum of his offence pertained to the glory of God.

During the time he remained in prison, sundry of the English came to him, willing him to be sorry for that he had done, and to recant his damnable opinions. But all the means they used was in vain; and he confuted their ways by divers places of scripture: and willed them to be sorry

BOOK I. for their wickedness, while God did permit them time. For the manner and cruelty of his execution, a while after, I refer the reader to the Appendix.

Anno 1581. N°. VII.

CHAP. IV.

The seminaries busy. Sir Francis Knolles's letter concerning them. Search for papists. Proclamation against harbouring Jesuits, and such as went hence to Paris, Rheims, Doway, or Rome, for education: and for their revocation. Conferences with Jesuits. One of them reclaimed. Recusants in the diocese of the bishop of Coventry and Litchfield. Schismatics. A libertine; his doctrines. Endeavours of some puritans. Their prayers.

Seminaries creep into houses, and say the mass.

THESE *seminaries* were now very busy in London, as well as in other places, creeping into houses, to pervert the people, and keep mass-saying: insomuch, that sir Francis Knolles, a courtier, and treasurer of the queen's chamber, thought fit to put the two great statesmen about the queen in mind of it; and to stir them up to look to them; and to let the law take its course against such of them as were taken, the safety of the queen and the whole nation depending so much upon it. And now going into the country, to the quarter-sessions at Oxford, in the month of September, he left this remembrance in a letter to them both, viz. the lord treasurer and the earl of Leicester.

Sir Francis Knolles's letter to be watchful of them.

" The papists' secret practices by these Jesuits, in going " from house to house, to withdraw men from the obedi- " ence of her majesty, unto the obedience of the false ca- " tholic church of Rome, hath and will endanger her ma- " jesty's person and state more than all the sects of the " world, if no execution shall follow upon the traitorous " practisers that are for the same apprehended: or at the " least, if execution shall not follow upon such of them as " will not openly and plainly recant. Thus desiring their " lordships, that are the two heads of the two universities of " England, to pardon my boldness herein; because that I,

" that am an unworthy person, and half an abject, do ex- Anno 1581.
" pect great good things at their lordships' hands; which
" hath emboldened me hereunto. And so I take my leave
" of your lordships. At London, going into my coun-
" try, &c. September 29."

Some of these, according to this gentleman's counsel, were afterwards executed about the beginning of December; viz. Campion, before spoken of, Sherwin, Brian, and another.

Search for papists in London.

Diligence was now used in finding out papists in London; and that by searching for such persons as came not to church. And accordingly a list was sent in the month of June, of such throughout each ward of the city, with their names; whereof some were strangers of other countries, many English. Of these strangers were Horacio Pallavicino, Andreas de Low, living in St. Dunstan's, Acerbo Vilutelli, Paulus Justinian, Augustin Graffigner, Nicolaus Gocha, Jerome Benalio, Morice Van Coleyn, Alpher Delymer, Lewis de Pace, John Calvetto. Some of these were agents to foreign princes. These generally lived in Tower-street ward. Several of the English, whose names were brought in, lived in St. Helen's. The whole number in all was about one hundred and ten.

Proclamation to take up seminaries, &c.

And not long after, a proclamation came forth to attach seminaries, and their aiders, abettors, counsellors, and hostages, [i. e. harbourers.]

Inquiry after such as were sent abroad for education.

Inquiry now also was made after such as sent their sons abroad for education: which gave a just suspicion that they might be tinctured with popish principles at their coming home, and more disaffected to the laws of the land. And in pursuit of these, the clergy of London had a summons in the month of January, to make inquiry whose sons were sent abroad beyond the sea, to study, and acquire learning, either at Paris, Rheims, Doway, Rome, &c. And also what servants were sent abroad.

Proclamation for the revocation of such.

This visitation was authorized by a proclamation, set forth in the said month of January, for revocation of sundry her majesty's subjects remaining beyond sea under colour of study, and as lived contrary to the laws of God and

BOOK I. Anno 1581.

the realm: and also against retaining of Jesuits, and mass-ing-priests, sowers of sedition, and other treasonable attempt; the tenor whereof was, "That the queen was given "to understand, that certain colleges and societies under "the name of *seminaries*, had been of late years erected by "the bishop of Rome, as well in that city of Rome as in "the dominions of other princes; especially for the subjects "of her kingdoms and dominions; with intent and purpose "to train and nourish them up in false and erroneous doc-"trine: by which means divers of her good and faithful "subjects had been thereby perverted, not only in matters
41 "of religion, but also drawn from the acknowledgment of "their natural duties unto her highness as their prince and "sovereign, and had been made instruments in some wicked "practices, tending to the disquiet of the realm and other "her majesty's dominions; yea, to the moving of rebellion "within their natural countries:

"That she thought it very expedient, as a thing apper-"taining chiefly to a Christian prince, to have a special care "to see her subjects trained up in truth and Christian re-"ligion, grounded merely upon the word of God, and not "upon men's fancies and vain traditions; to use all means "of prevention that might tend to the remedy thereof. "Wherefore she did straitly charge and command all

Children, wards, &c.

"such her subjects, as had their children, wards, kinsfolk, "or any other, over whom they had special charge, or to "whom they did contribute to their maintenance and re-"lief, remaining in the parts beyond the seas, to give no-"tice, within ten days after the publishing of this present "proclamation, not only unto the ordinary, the names of "such, their children, wards, or kinsfolks, or such other to "whom they had given any aid for their charges, as should "be beyond the seas, at the time of the publication hereof, "without her majesty's special licence remaining in force, "and not expired; but should also procure a return of "them within the space of four months after notice given "by the said proclamation. And then the persons, and "other persons aforesaid, immediately upon the return of

" their children and other persons, to give knowledge " thereof unto the bishop or ordinary. And in case they " returned not upon the knowledge of this her highness's " pleasure, given by the said parents and other persons " aforesaid, not to yield them any contribution or relief, di- " rectly or indirectly; nor should be privy to, or conceal " the contribution of any other, without disclosing the same " to the bishop or ordinary, upon pain of her highness's " displeasure, and further punishment, as for their contempt " therein might justly be laid upon them.

Anno 1581. In case of not returning.

" That it should not be lawful, after six days expired, " for any merchant, or other whatsoever, by way of ex- " change or otherwise, to exchange, convey, or deliver, or " procure any money or other relief, to or for the mainte- " nance of any person beyond the seas, which by the intent " of this proclamation were prohibited to have or receive " any out of her majesty's dominions, upon pain of her " highness's displeasure, and such further punishment as " might be imposed on the offenders in that behalf for such " their contempt and offence.

Relief and maintenance.

" That it should not be lawful for any, of any degree or " quality whatsoever, to depart out of the realm, without " the queen's special licence.

Not to go out of the realm.

" That her majesty was given to understand, that divers " of her subjects trained up in the said colleges and semi- " naries beyond the seas, whereof some carried the name of " Jesuits, under the colour of a holy name, to deceive and " abuse the simpler sort; and were lately repaired into this " realm by special direction from the pope and his dele- " gates; with intent not only to corrupt and pervert her " good and loving subjects in matter of conscience and reli- " gion, but also to draw them from their loyalty and duty " of obedience, and to provoke them so much as shall lie " in them, to attempt somewhat to the disturbance of the " present quiet; and through the goodness of Almighty " God, and her majesty's provident government, this realm " hath for many years enjoyed.

Jesuits.

42

" She therefore, foreseeing the great mischief that might

BOOK I.

Anno 1581.

" ensue by such like instruments, whereof experience hath
" been of late seen in the realm of Ireland, did therefore
" notify unto her subjects, that if any of them, or any
Penalty to receive them. " other within her highness's dominions, after the publish-
" ing of this present proclamation, did receive, maintain,
" succour, or relieve any Jesuit, *seminary* man, massing
" priests, or other persons aforesaid, come, or which should
" come, or be sent into this realm, or any other her do-
" minions; or should not discover the receiving and har-
" bouring of them, or any such vagrant persons as might
" be justly suspected to be of such quality and ill con-
" dition; as also in case they should remain with them at
" the time of the said publication, or afterwards, should
" not bring them before the next justice, to be by him
" committed to the common gaol, or before other pub-
" lic officer; to the end they might in like sort be com-
" mitted, and forthcoming to be examined, and to receive
" such punishment, as by her majesty shall be thought
" meet according to their deserts: then they should be re-
" puted as maintainers and abettors of such rebellious and
" seditious persons; and receive for the same their con-
" tempt such severe punishment, as by the laws of the
" realm, and her highness's princely authority, might be in-
" flicted upon them.

Reward for discovering them. " And that if any other her subjects at any time cer-
" tainly know any such persons repaired into this realm for
" the purpose aforenamed, and therefore give knowledge
" to any of her majesty's officers or ministers, whereby
" either they may be or shall be taken and apprehended by
" the said officers; then the informer or utterer shall have
" her highness's reward for every such person by him or
" them disclosed and apprehended, such sum of money as
" shall be an honourable due reward for so good service;
" besides her majesty's most hearty thanks for the discharge
" of their duty in that behalf.

Merchants. " Provided nevertheless, that it shall be lawful to and
" for factors and agents for any lawful merchants, in their
" trades and merchandise in any parts beyond seas, and for

" mariners in their necessary voyages, to pass and remain " beyond the seas without incurring any manner of con- " tempt, so long as they should be employed about such " their voyages and merchandising, &c. Given at her ma- " jesty's palace of Westminster, the 10th of January, in the " twenty-third of her majesty's most noble reign."

Anno 1581.

As many seminaries and mass-priests, and such like, were, by means of the former proclamation and search, taken up this year, and committed to prison; so care was taken that conferences might be held with them, to convince and reclaim them. And such as were, had not only their liberty, but other favours shewed them. One of these thus conferred with and reclaimed was John Nicolls, a Jesuit, late a prisoner in the Tower, now become a preacher. And his condition being but needy, having left his former practice, whence his subsistence came, such was the kindness of the court, that the lord chancellor Bromley, and the lord treasurer Burghley, and others of the council, sent to the archbishop in his behalf, that some collection might be made for him. And a contribution was accordingly made for him by the bishops of the province. For further knowledge whereof, I refer the reader to the Life of Archbishop Grindal.

Conferences held with the seminaries taken up.

43

Book ii. chap. 12.

But the emissaries of the pope were so exceeding busy at this time, and especially in the parts about Shropshire, and the counties thereabouts, that conferences were not enough to bring these men to a better mind towards religion and their country; and more rigorous methods were required; and particularly an *ecclesiastical commission:* which therefore the bishop of Coventry and Litchfield now called for. It was not unknown to the queen and her council, how dangerous a condition those parts there were in, by reason of recusants. And therefore had directed their letters to him in October the last year, for searching out and certifying the recusants within his diocese. And for better execution of that service, to join with him some other in commission, within the counties of Warwick, Darby, and Salop. But the bishop being now in London, it being parliament time, and for other lets, could not go down into

Ecclesiastical commission for recusants.

BOOK I. Anno 1581.

the country. He therefore sent copies of those letters to the other commissioners that were in the country: and withal sent his own letters unto them for their careful performance of their duties.

Their proceedings in Salop.

Afterwards he received a certificate of their proceedings from them that were appointed for one of these countries, viz. Salop, which now in April he sent to the lord treasurer to be perused at his pleasure. And by him to be imparted to the rest of her majesty's most honourable privy-council, when he should see cause. And in this one country, which was one of the best and most conformable parts of his diocese, there was near one hundred detected and presented for recusancy. And some of the gentlemen in commission wrote in their private letters to him, that they could get but four only to be bound, [to their good abearing or appearance,] the rest refusing most obstinately to come before them. Whereupon the bishop put it to him, the said lord treasurer, what great need they should have of the high commission in that country, and other shires of his diocese, worse than that: which he left to his honourable consideration.

Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield's information thereof to the court.

He added; "That he knew his lordship should hardly "have leisure to look over these matters at that busy time. "Nevertheless, he thought it his part, as soon as it came to "his hand, to send the same unto him. That he had yet "heard nothing from the other commissioners for the other "countries. But he did heartily recommend two of the com- "missioners for Shropshire to his lordship, being bound, "as he wrote, to interpose his censure and judgment of "them that had done this work: which was, that as he had "heretofore heard great commendations of them for their
44 "wisdom and zeal in all godly and Christian affairs, so at "this time they deserved no less, but a great deal more, for "their great pains and good order that they had taken in "this matter, and wished that they might hear of it from "their lordships, to the better encouraging them in such "their serviceable and dutiful travail; being, as it should "seem, not only forward in affection of mind, but also able

" for their skill and learning, to perform any greater ser-
" vice that they might be called unto.

" And being desirous to go down into the country, to Anno 1581.
" join with them in this so needful cause, he earnestly be-
" seeched his lordship to use a means to her majesty to give
" him leave to depart, without any further leave taking,
" the case standing with him as it did: for that indeed his
" house had been somewhat hardly visited with that loath-
" some disease, [the plague, it seems.] Commending, in the
" mean time, his causes to his friends to follow, and the
" means to him and the earl of Leicester, and the success
" to God." This was writ from Chelsea. These causes seem to be concerning his claim to the ancient episcopal jurisdiction over the city of Litchfield; which the citizens were endeavouring to resume to themselves against the bishop: which we shall hear more of under the year ensuing. And likewise a contest about the chancellorship of the diocese between the bishop and one Beacon, who pretended a right to that preferment; and who brought the cause before the privy-council: which matter is related elsewhere.

Life of Archbishop Grindal, Book ii. chap. 12.

Several schismatics and men of heterodox opinions shewed themselves this year. The chief of these was Robert Browne, the separatist, at St. Edmond's Bury; and Handson, a preacher that blowed up coals of innovation; inveighing against the Communion Book, the order of church government, and the laws of the realm established. These were taken notice of by the bishop of Norwich, and others in the ecclesiastical commission, as hath been shewed before: and of Browne more may be seen in the Life of Archbishop Parker, if this Browne be the same with him. There was also Randal, a minister of the diocese of Exeter, of the *family of love;* of whom before.

Schismatics, Browne, Handson, Randal.

Book iv. chap. 6.

There was also now one J. B. in London, a *libertine*, whose principles were shewn in a little book that came forth this year, in answer to diverse assertions and strange doctrines of the *libertines;* viz. that the first table of the law taught us our duty towards Christ's godhead; and the second table, our duty towards Christ's manhood. That

A libertine. His doctrines.

BOOK I. Anno 1581.

Christ was the Samaritan that helped the wounded man mentioned in St. Luke. That faith was the light of the soul. That the tree of knowledge of good and evil in paradise was a figure of God's law. That the tree of life was a figure of God's gospel. [As though men's fancy was to allegorize every matter of fact related in scripture.] That the flaming sword was a figure of the threatenings and justice of God. That the water in baptism was not a holy water in respect that it was applied to a holy use. That the ordinary and common washing among the Turks and Jews was the same to them that baptism was to us. That nothing can be counted holy, unless it be perfect. That Christ in his human soul descended into the place of torment, appointed for the wicked, called *hell*. That the place of hell is in the centre; that is, the middle of the earth. That it is utterly evil for the elect, to think, speak, or hear of the fear of God.

Further, that papists, puritans, protestants, and the *family of love* be utterly deceived, and in the state of condemnation, save he alone, [that asserted these tenets,] and those that took part with him. That no outward thing, as the works of sanctification, unfeigned forgiveness of others, or such like, can be pledges, either to ourselves or others, of our election. That we may as well say, Christ is flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone, as to say, We are flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone. That the word *kingdom* in the Lord's Prayer is to be understood only of the kingdom of love and mercy, and not the kingdom of justice and power. That Christ did not fully finish our redemption upon the cross: but that he suffered somewhat afterwards. That the last words which Christ spake upon the cross were these, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* That all the Jews generally should be called to the knowledge of God. That the word *sacrament* is not to be found in the scripture: and therefore not to be used; but the word *record:* which he went about to prove from 1 John v. 7, 8. That there will come a time wherein there shall be no need of sacraments in this life. The reason, because there

will be such multitudes converted, that there shall be no leisure to minister the sacraments unto them. That it is hypocrisy for one Christian to reprove another for swearing, or any such other offence: which he called but *trifles*.

The answerer, T. W. digested these tenets into twenty articles, and gave distinct confutation to each: and tells us, "That he was acquainted with this libertine, J. B. nine or "ten years. From whom he heard these and many such "cursed conclusions: as, that there was not need to pray; "especially for forgiveness of sins: and that if we keep our- "selves within our castle, Christ, nothing that we can com- "mit in this flesh can be sin unto us. And if now sith we "are married to Christ, there are no more men, because all "are become women." Books he penned, which this answerer calleth *beastly*. One he entitled his *Music;* another his *Ax*, and adds, "That might they be brought to light, "and other such like books, the world should then see a "whole sea of such like absurdities and falsehoods broached "and shed abroad."

These tenets the libertine says and unsays.

But when these wild tenets and assertions were charged upon him, he shifted them off, by denying that he had said them, though T. W. the answerer, and others, had heard many of them from his mouth. But, saith the answerer, it was a practice among those sectaries to say and unsay. And so did this libertine broach many wild doctrines which he disavowed and denied when charged with them, though they were spoken in the hearing of a great many. "And so experience had taught," added he, "that "it had been the very use of sundry heretics, as in old "time the *Presilianists*, and in these days the *family of* "*love*, to say and unsay." And therefore he advised the godly Christian not to credit this or that erroneous person, upon a bare denial of their untruths; but, for the better sifting of them, to require a plain and open confession of the contrary truths. This answerer speaks in his epistle of swarms of atheists, epicures, anabaptists, Pelagians, and the *family of love*, which that present corrupt age unhappily hatched, and overmuch cherished.

One of these reclaimed.

46

Swarms of atheists, &c.

BOOK I.

Anno 1581. See divers more of these speculations of the libertines, in the second volume of the Annals, under the year 1579. And by comparing those with these, it may appear they did not agree in one set of uniform principles, but varied according to their conceits and enthusiastical flights.

Other doctrines of libertines.

Book ii. chap. 18.

Very earnest and diligent now also were the other sort of the disaffected to the church established; namely, against the *episcopal* government of the church, and the usages and ceremonies required and practised in it, as antichristian. How averse their minds were to these matters, may appear by a prayer they set forth the twenty-third of the queen, set at the end of one of their books. Which ran in these words: "O Lord God! grant for thy mercy's sake, that as "Jehoshaphat, in the third year of his reign, destroyed the "high places and groves out of Judah, and sent his "princes and priests, and gave them the book of the Lord "[law] with them to reform religion by; and so fear came "upon every city, that they made not war against Jeho-"shaphat: so, Lord, we humbly beseech thee to strengthen "the queen's highness with thy holy Spirit, that in the "twenty-third year of her reign she may cast down all the "high places of idolatry within her land, with the popish "canon law, and all superstition and commandments of "men: and to pluck up all filthy ceremonies pertaining "to the same. And that her highness may send forth her "princes and ministers, and give them the book of the "Lord. That thereby they may bring home the people of "God to the purity and truth of the apostolic church. And "then shall the fear of the Lord come upon every city and "country; that they shall not make war against our Jeho-"shaphat. The very enemies that be without, shall be "compelled to bring presents to her grace.

The endeavours of the puritans.

Their prayer. Part of a Regist.

Anno 1581.

"Thus, O Lord, grant, that her highness may not only "have a happy, long, and prosperous reign, with peace of "conscience, in this life; but also in the life to come, her "highness may enjoy, by the merits and death of Christ "our Saviour, life everlasting. To which, with the Father

" and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, for ever " and ever. *Amen.*

" And let all her majesty's true subjects say, *Amen.*" Anno 1581.

By which prayer it appeareth what opinion these *new reformers* had of this church at this time, notwithstanding the reformation of it: holding it as corrupt by idolatry and superstition as the Jewish church was when Jehoshaphat first entered upon the reformation of it. This prayer is set at the end of a book then set forth, entitled, *A view of Antichrist*, &c. *in our English church unreformed.*

47 To which I will add another composition of Thomas Wilcock and John Field, set at the end of a book of theirs, called, *A confession of faith*, entitled, *A prayer for the faithful.* Viz. " O Lord God, and most merciful Father! " we beseech thee, for the honour of thy holy name, to de- " fend us from the antichrist of Rome, and from all his " detestable enormities, manners, laws, garments, and cere- " monies. Destroy the counsels of all papists and atheists, " enemies of the gospel, and of this realm of England. " Disclose their mischief, and subtile practices. Confound " their devices. Let them be taken in their own wilinesses. " And strengthen all those that maintain the cause and " quarrel of thy gospel, with invincible force and power of " thy holy Spirit. So that though they be destitute at any " time of worldly aid and comfort, that yet they fail not to " proceed and go forward toward that true godliness com- " manded by thy holy word, with all simplicity and sin- " cerity, to thy honour and glory, the comfort of thine " elect, and the confusion of thine enemies. Through " Christ, our Lord and Saviour. *Amen. Amen.* And say " from the heart, *Amen.*"

Another prayer against Antichrist. Part of a Regist.

CHAP. V.

BOOK I. Anno 1581.

University matters. Tenets of Baro, Margaret professor at Cambridge. Contest between him and Chaderton about them. A bachelor of arts makes an invective against the duke d'Anjou. Called before the vice-chancellor. His letter to their chancellor. One in Trinity college in trouble. Caius college. Number of students in Cambridge. Sheriffs of Oxon, their oath. Sheriffs' favour to schoolmasters. Mulcaster, a schoolmaster. Winchester college, their address to the queen. Lincoln's Inn chooses Chark for their preacher.

NOW to look over into our universities, and among the learned there.

A doctrine of Baro, Margaret professor.

Peter Baro, a Frenchman by birth, was now lady Margaret professor at Cambridge; whose doctrine about *universal redemption* somewhat varied from, or thwarted some of the articles received in the church of England, as some of the learned there thought: among the rest, Lawrence Chaderton, B. D. fellow of a college there; who preached publicly against those tenets of that professor, in a sermon; of which William Dillingham (in a book writ of the said Chaderton's life, printed anno 1700) gives this account:

48 "That his *nova dogmata*, brought with him into Eng-
" land, dissonant from the truth and doctrine of the church
" of England, he refuted in a sermon, being then bachelor
" of divinity. For which Baro cited him into the consistory,
" before the vice-chancellor and other heads, by arguments
" written by him in his own defence. Which Chaderton
" learnedly and acutely answered."

Baro's theses were these:

Primus Dei amor est de natura fidei justificantis.

Fides justificans præcipitur in Decalogo.

Chaderton defended the contrary. But afterwards they seemed each of them to come nearer to one another by softer words; and yet both abounding in their own sense. These writings of Chaderton, Dillingham, the writer of his life, tells us, he found in searching certain old *scrinia* of the univer-

sity; which he delivered afterwards to the university, to be preserved among their κειμήλια. In the conclusion he thus declared himself to the heads; "That God was witness, "that in these cases he neither publicly nor privately spake "any thing, either out of a study of contradiction, or with "any mind of speaking evil of any man, but only publicly "to teach and defend the true doctrine of the church of "England, (of which he professed himself a member, "though the least of all,) that had been impugned by a "man, however dear to him: especially the sense of the "place of scripture, which he took for his text, requiring it."

How the matter of that controversy stood, and how the case came before the chancellor of the university and the archbishop of Canterbury, divers years after, and Baro's troubles, may be read at large in the Life of Archbishop Whitgift, under the year 1595.

Book iv. chap. 13, 14, 15.

As monsieur, the French king's brother, was here, courting the queen, which was not acceptable to very many in the kingdom, so neither to some in the universities. We have heard of the *Gaping Gulph, wherein England was like to be devoured;* a book writ by Stubbs; for which he was punished with the loss of his right hand. So here a bachelor of arts, sir Morden of Peter-house, ventured to declaim in the schools against the said monsieur. In whose speech were such bold expressions, that it soon came to the ears of Dr. Perne, the vice-chancellor. Who calling the heads together, sent for the scholar, and his oration, and committed him to prison. And withal, that no displeasure might be taken by the queen against the university, he addressed a letter to the lord Burghley, their chancellor, acquainting him with the whole matter. And then desired to know his pleasure in this affair. But, like a tender patron of the scholar, he mitigated, as much as he could, the crime, in respect of the person; who was of a melancholic disposition, and loved a solitary life. And withal giving the chancellor the cause the scholar gave of his speech, to be, only to exercise his oratory in imitation of Tully.

An invective made at Cambridge against monsieur.

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Anno 1581.

The vice-chancellor's letter concerning it.

But the vice-chancellor's letter unfolds at large, and more particularly, this cause. Which ran to this tenor: "That "whereas there was a young man in Cambridge, a bachelor "of arts, of Peter-house, called sir Morden, who in his "problem kept in the logic schools, the 28th of April, "had very lewdly in his oration inveighed against mon-
49 "sieur. As soon as he [the vice-chancellor] had under-"standing of it, he immediately sent a beadle for him, "and for his oration, and for such bachelors as were pre-"sent, to come before him in the consistory, in the presence "of certain of the heads of the colleges and doctors, that "were then with him in the regent house at a congrega-"tion. Before whom, after that he had read part of the "said oration, seeing it was made as an invective against "monsieur, he demanded of the said Morden, What he "did mean so wickedly, and like a madman, to abuse any "manner of person, much more so noble a prince, and in "that place, contrary to the order of the schools, and con-"trary to all godliness, honesty, and wisdom? That he an-"swered, He did it for exercise of the imitation of Tully. "The which answer (as the vice-chancellor writ,) did ap-"pear in some part to be true, by the sentences and phrases "taken out of Tully's orations *contra Verrem et Catili-*"*nam;* but wickedly, and without all discretion applied "against monsieur. For the which he took it his duty to "commit him to prison, till he knew further of his [the "said chancellor's] pleasure, after that his lordship had seen "the said lewd and slanderous oration against such a noble "prince at this time; and also till his honour should un-"derstand of the state of the said bachelor, who had no "living in Cambridge, and was of no credit or estimation "any way: for that he was well known, both in the college "and otherwise, to be so greatly troubled with melancholy, "that he had lived almost solitary, without any discretion; "or troubled in his wits greatly: and having a great wean-"ing of his own wit and learning, appeared puffed up with "vainglory and madness, had played this mad part, wor-

" thy of such correction, as should be thought convenient " to his honour's wisdom, for his wicked and slanderous " oration; though he were of no wisdom, as appeared evi- " dently by the same; nor yet of any credit or estimation. Anno 1581.

" Thus being right heartily sorry (as he went on) to trou- " ble your honour at this time any kind of way, I pray Al- " mighty God to direct you with his holy Spirit in all your " honourable and weighty affairs."

And then he concluded with some account of the present state of that university, in respect of the scholars' habits, and the decency and sobriety of their behaviour; which had been disorderly before, and complained of: and concerning some controversies with the townsmen: all was now, by his, their chancellor's care and advice, in peace, quiet, and good order. As the vice-chancellor proceeded in his letter: " That all other things were very well and in good " order in the university, both for the exercise of learning, " and also for comeliness in apparel, and manners of scho- " lars, as it was this *prox.* [last] year. And the town and " they had agreed well of all those things wherein they " craved his honour's help. And that for the which they " were daily bound to pray to Almighty God, for his ho- " nour's long preservation in all godly prosperity. From " Cambridge, the 29th of April, 1581. Subscribing,

The present good state of that university.

" Your honour's daily orator,

" Andrew Perne."

The bearer of this letter was Mr. Nevil, senior proctor of the university.

There is also a remark I have to make of another scholar of this university, namely, one Medolph, a fellow of Trinity college: who had maintained some opinions, that touched upon the church of England, as it seemed, and of savouring some odd and dangerous principles against the state of it. For which he was called before the master and fellows, and required his answer to what he had asserted. But not giving them that satisfaction they required, they did resolve to deprive him of his fellowship. But the lord

One of Trinity college in trouble for some opinions.

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Burghley, that university's compassionate chancellor, hearing this, reckoned they had proceeded too rigorously against him. And therefore loath, that a young scholar, and hopeful person, should be thus exposed to need, and thrown out of a place of study, and improvement of himself in literature, resolved to have the cause brought before him, to hear it: and required the articles against him to be brought to him. Whose humane, discreet, and wise letter to the master and fellows deserves to be here repeated.

" After my hearty commendations. Where I am given to " understand, by some personages of good regard, that you " have lately intended the deprivation of one Medolph, fel- " low of your house, for some opinions maintained by him, " wherewith he was charged, and whereto, as it seemeth, " he hath not by his answer satisfied you; as believing, " and thought by you, sufficient to answer his accusation: " being peradventure more hardly construed than his mean- " ing was by the same answer, if the same were to be inter- " preted indifferently, and according to his meaning: and " though haply the offence of the said Medolph may be " very great herein, and deserving punishment, yet seeing " the proceeding of you against him in so high a degree as " deprivation, is as great a punishment as can be inflicted " upon the greatest disordered persons in any society; " whereto it is thought this his offence cannot any way " come near; and being as great a punishment in such a " civil government, as death to a malefactor and infringer " of the laws in his kind:

" I cannot think it convenient, neither do I allow in a so- " ciety professing Christian society and charity, any such " extreme punishment to be imposed upon any, especially " being fellow, and of account and credit, in a public uni- " versity and society, as yours is, without greater and more " urgent cause thereto, than I understand. And therefore, " or ever you shall proceed to the publication of your de- " privation against him, I am to, and hereby do, require " you to stay the same, until such time as you shall have " sent up to me the articles wherewith you charge the said

" Medolph, and whereto he hath made his answers, that do " not satisfy you: that it may be considered how far his " offence shall deserve such strict punishment, or mitigation, " as shall be thought to answer the quality of his offence; " or that he may be induced by fairer means to satisfy " you. Anno 1581. 51

" And if you shall have any further or other matter to " charge the said Medolph with, than this, to which he hath " made answer, you shall do well likewise to send the same " up, to be likewise considered of. For my meaning is so " to temper this cause, as neither I would have any error or " offensive opinions maintained against the state of our " church; neither yet would I that every opinion miscon- " ceived, or opinion that may by argument be misinterpret- " ed offensive, should so sharply be punished, as I know de- " privation is to a poor student and scholar; whose reforma- " tion were to be otherwise sought, in a case of no greater " weight than, as I am informed, this is."

What the opinion of this man was, that varied from, or was opposite to the doctrine or practice of the church, I find not; but the wisdom of the chancellor, and his care, as of the university in general, so of every member thereof in particular, brightly appears in this his letter.

Dr. Legg of this university, master of Caius college, was popishly affected; and bred up young gentlemen, his pupils, in popish and disloyal principles. And many gentlemen in the north, that were Romanists, or that way disposed, sent their children and relations to him for their education; who sent them back strengthened more in popery. Sandys, the good archbishop of York, knew this, and sent an earnest letter this year to the lord treasurer, to inform him thereof; and to be a means to stop Legg from taking any more pupils, to prevent his infusing bad principles into them. The archbishop's letter is transcribed, and may be read in the former volume of the Annals.

Master of Caius college popishly affected.

Annals, vol. i. book 2. ch. 21.

A paper was sent up, as it seems, to the high chancellor of this university, giving an account of the numbers of the professors and students thereof; and what need there was of

Number of preachers and students in Cambridge.

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more encouragement for them, considering their numbers. It began at this year, 1581, and so to the year 1588: viz.

Anno 1581. "*Anno* 1581, *Numbers* of all the *preachers* in Cambridge. "Their numbers amounted to 131.

"*Numbers* of all the *readers* and *auditors* of every lec- "ture in Cambridge amounted to 1862."

The year uncertain, but not long after the former: "Stu- "dents within the colleges of Cambridge, 1950. *Graduates*, "657. *Preachers*, almost all unprovided for, 122. Besides "many which be ready to be employed.

"Of these there be poor students, which be very godly "and painful; and for lack of exhibition shall be forced to "forsake their studies, 269.

"May it please you to consider of their relief; and to "give intelligence of your liberalities herein to Mr. Dean of 52 "Paul's. By whom, with the assistance of some others, it "shall be well bestowed."

By which address it appears, that the foregoing account of the numbers of the learned men and scholars there, was sent up in order to encourage their studies; that the church might be furnished with able persons and men of learning; the want of which was the great complaint of these times. And for this purpose a liberal contribution was made among well disposed persons; and especially in the city of London; and the dean of Paul's appointed the treasurer.

The former list ends at the year 1588. "Scholars, pro- "fessors, and auditors in that university, then were in num- "ber 1671."

A controversy decided about an oath of the sheriff of Oxford.

Controversies between the university of Oxford and the townsmen, continued sharply from the year 1575 to this present year, (unless pacified for a while,) by the favourable countenance and determination of the lord treasurer, were composed; and particularly about every high sheriff of the county, to be obliged, in the entrance upon his office, to take an oath to uphold and defend the ancient statutes, privileges, and customs thereof. For this his singular and seasonable favour, they, in the name of the university, sent him an epistle of great thanks, their long troubles with their neighbours

being now at an end, by his means. Wherein they acknowledge his favour shewed them; particularly in two things, viz. in vindicating their ancient privileges, which had been mightily opposed by the juries of the citizens; and that he ordered, that the sheriffs of Oxford, according as they were wont, and ought, should swear to the observation of their statutes, and to the defence and safeguard of them. Beginning their letter with the happiness of the other university in such a patron of them and their studies, as he was: *Quam sit beata et felix respublica literaria (illustrissime domine) quod te virum prudentia ornatum singulari, et summa præditum authoritate nacta sit patronum et defensorem, testis est non illa modo Cantabrigiensis academia*, &c. That is, "How blessed and happy the commonwealth of learning "was in him, a person adorned with singular prudence, and "endued with chief authority, its patron and defender, the "university of Cambridge was witness; which happily en-"joyed rest and quiet under his patronage," &c. Among the expressions to set forth their thanks, they promise him, that they would never be overcome by his own Cambridge in loving and honouring him, and in all kind of duty, satisfying his honour in any thing, and at any time they might shew it. But I leave the whole copy of that university's letter in the Appendix. N°. VIII.

The university to the lord treasurer, concerning swearing the high sheriff.

This letter was written in June; and not many months after, viz. in November, they address to him again, when a new sheriff was to enter upon his office; of whose backwardness to such an oath, to maintain their liberties, as above, they were jealous. They now sent him up a copy of their statute relating to the sheriff of Oxford; and prayed him to oblige the said sheriff, that there might be no delay or procrastination in the swearing him in that behalf. The letter wa sas followeth:

Statutum est (honoratissime vir) ut vicecomes, ejusque vi- 53
cem gereus, juramentum præstaret de observandis academiæ nostræ privilegiis. Quoniamque jam tempus instat, quo senescenti veteri novus est successor sufficiendus, cujus de juramento anxii sumus, et soliciti; ab amplitudine tua sup-

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plices rogamus, ut subvenias huic nostræ solicitudini. Non erubescimus id a te per literas petere humillime, quod nobis omnium maximum sit, et maxime necessarium. Honori tuo nostra omnia commendatissima esse cupimus: tum nihil magis, quam ne tempus exigendi hujus sacramenti, aut omittatur, aut prorogetur. Omnis enim procrastinatio periculi plena. Hoc, quo feliciores maturioresque habeat successus; te, tuum honorem, tuam vitam, salutem, cogitationes, consilia, Divini Numinis majestati et bonitati, commendamus. Oxon. 14*to. kalendas Decemb. anno salutis* 1581.

Honoris tui studiosissima,
Academia Oxon.

For the statute which the university sent up with the former letter, being their charter granted them 29 Edw. III. for the sheriff's oath, I betake the reader to the Appendix, where the copy of it is reposited. No. IX.

From the universities, I pass on to a passage or two which I meet with, falling in this year, concerning the instructors of youth in schools of lesser eminence. The favour shewn to schoolmasters in these times was remarkable, being commonly freed from taxes and ordinary payments, and had exemptions from personal services; commonly charged upon other subjects. Which Richard Mulcaster, an eminent schoolmaster in London, in his Elementary, (a book of his setting forth the next year,) called, "the *munificence*, and "that extraordinary, of our princes and parliaments towards "their whole order [of schoolmasters] in the country's be-"half." But it seems, in a subsidy given the queen about this year, or the next, some that were assessors had cessed all schoolmasters, though it was not done before; or at least starting a question about it, upon some quarrel against some few of them: and so seeking the damage of all. Which Mulcaster styled, "scant charitable dealing the damages of a "number, by quarrel to some few." But upon this, the schoolmasters make an humble address to sir Walter Mildmay, chancellor of the exchequer, sir Roger Manwood, lord chief baron of the court of exchequer, Ro. Sute, John Clinch,

Favour shewn to schoolmasters.

Element. p. 271.

The schoolmasters' address to the judges.

and John Sotherton, esqrs. barons of the exchequer; beseeching them, for the common benefit of a number of poor men, to favour them in this matter. Whereupon it pleased them to take the cause to protection; and to construe the statute both as the parliament men did mean it, and as they had still enjoyed it, to the common benefit of their whole company. Upon which that writer concluded, "That this their "great goodness to the favour of their order, as it deserved "at their hands an honourable remembrance, so it bound "them further to the common care, for the which they had "been favoured." Anno 1581.

54 I come now to note a mark of the queen's regard to colleges of learning and religion, by what happened to Winchester college. She had this year requested a favour of the warden of that college; which was, that they would grant her a long lease of the rectory of Downton, in their gift. With which she intended to gratify Mr. Wilks, clerk of her council, and one who by embassies and messages had well deserved of her. This the college could not tell how to deny the queen, though the fear of such like grants for the future did discourage them; only the queen had graciously promised them, that it should be no precedent, and that she intended now to make no such requests of them at any time hereafter. They humbly and readily granted her letter; but withal put her in mind of making good that promise, by some assurance from her. Their letter to her may deserve our reading. It is as followeth: The queen's request to Winchester college.

"May it please your most excellent majesty, answering "the request of your majesty's letter, and our willing and "most dutiful disposition and promise to accomplish the "same. We, the warden, fellows, and scholars, clerks of "this college, have sealed and confirmed the lease unto your "highness for forty years, of the parsonage and rectory of "Downton, in the county of Wilts. The rather, our duties "with all humility considered, for that we are given to un- "derstand, that the said lease is by your majesty intended "to be conferred on Mr. Wilks, one of the clerks of your "majesty's most honourable privy-council, in consideration Their letter to her. Paper-house.

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"of his service done unto your majesty and the realm. "Which, with our said duties, we have herein specially considered: and do most humbly desire and beseech your most "excellent majesty, that this our grant may, for the time to "come, by your majesty's princely affection towards the maintenance of learning, be a sufficient occasion to make a stay "of the like suits to be hereafter tendered by any person of "your highness. So as our hope conceived, and your majesty's promise thereunto most graciously yielded, may by "your highness's special letters be effectually signified, to "remain with us, as a particular act of your majesty's most "gracious good meaning: to discharge us of the hazard of "the decay of our maintenance, the hurting of so worthy a "foundation, and the burden of our consciences, being "sworn to the preservation thereof, as far forth as the authority of our founder might extend; and our oath as dutiful subjects may be measured by your majesty, and the "laws of your realm in that behalf provided.

"And therefore, with the performance of our duties and "profession, as is before mentioned, we do eftsones most "humbly, and with all dutiful submission, very earnestly "desire your most excellent majesty to have a gracious consideration of our present estate, and as a true mother of "all virtuous and good learning, to yield unto a speedy defence against all other attempts, as may be, to the opening "of so large a gap, as, by this our extraordinary grant unto "your majesty, may hereafter, by your authority, be entered into: wherein hoping to find your majesty our gracious good lady, we beseech Almighty God to preserve
55 "you in health and happiness, long to reign over us, to the "overthrow of your enemies, and the comfort of us all, your "dutiful subjects. From your college near Winchester, "this 13th of March.

"Your majesty's most humble and obedient subjects, the "warden and fellows, and scholars, clerks of St. Mary's "college of Winchester."

Clark nominated

Lincoln's Inn, another society of learned men of another

science, had not yet a constant preacher fixed among them, as other of the inns of court had. And they were in this, or near this year, resolving upon some able preacher to officiate among them in that quality. Mr. Chark of Cambridge, late of Peter-house, was the man they inclined to. But he was a person disaffected to the habits of the clergy, and to the present government of the church by metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, &c. which he had openly preached against in St. Mary's, Cambridge, some years before: and was now in the household of the duchess of Somerset; and esteemed for his good parts and eloquence. But first the society had moved Mr. Chaderton, an eminent man of Cambridge, and Mr. Reynolds, another man of note in Oxford, to be their preacher; but they were not minded to leave their present places. But then Chark was next in their view. And in order to that, they applied themselves to the bishop of London, for his approbation and allowance of him: which he refused not, as knowing his abilities. But withal, advising them to apply to the lords of the council for their allowance first, as not willing to admit him of his own sole authority: which accordingly they did, by using the interest of some person at court, that had been of their society, to procure some of the lords to approve of the said Chark to be their preacher. And accordingly wrote a letter to him for that purpose; which was to this tenor:

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preacher of Lincoln's Inn.

Their letter to a courtier to procure the allowance of him.

" Where we have been a long time desirous to have a " preacher in our house, like as in other houses of court; " and having made offers to divers, as, to Mr. Chaderton, " Mr. Reynolds, and others, could not procure them thither, " by reason they are not willing to leave the places and " charges they are in already, and thereupon have at " length chosen Mr. Chark, we have thought good to ac- " quaint the bishop therewith, to the end we might have his " lordship's allowance therein; who, although for his own " part he doth very well like of Mr. Chark for many good " gifts in him, whereof also himself remembered some par- " ticulars, and gave him his very good commendations, yet

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" he wished the lords to be made acquainted therewith. To " the end that their good allowance and approbation might " concur with his, for Mr. Chark's better encouragement " and countenance in that place. And forasmuch as we " are desirous thereof ourselves, and consider that you are " (as we do all account you) one of us, we have thought " good to use your good means in procuring some letters " from the lords and others, to such effect as may seem good " to their lordships. Wherein we would have been ready " to have given our own attendance, but that we have so good " and ready means as you are, on whom we are bold to lay " this burden for this time. And so fare you well. Your " loving friends," &c.

The person to whom this letter was written appears not; yet I verily believe it was either Vincent Skinner or Michael 56 Hicks, both of that society of Lincoln's Inn, and both secretaries to the lord treasurer Burghley at this time. And so had a greater opportunity of promoting the request of these gentlemen. Who had the success desired from the lords. As appears by their letter to the bishop of London, [bishop Elmer,] as follows.

The lords to the bishop of London, recommending Chark.

" After our hearty commendations. Where we are given " to understand, that the bench of Lincoln's Inn have made " choice of late of Mr. Chark to be their preacher, as other " houses of court have likewise done of others; and that " your lordship, having been made acquainted therewith, (as " in these causes we think is requisite,) have desired, not- " withstanding your own good liking, to have some signifi- " cation of ours also; we, considering the great hope of good " to be done by such means in those places, and understand- " ing the ability of Mr. Chark sufficient for that purpose, " have thought good to join our good liking to yours, to the " furtherance of so good a service, as we hope this will be, " to God, and to her majesty. And so we bid your lord- " ship right heartily farewell. Your loving friends," &c.

This Chark was a puritan, and for the new discipline, and against the government of the church by bishops: of whom

you may read more in the Life of Archbishop Whitgift. But perhaps his principles were moderated by this time, and better regulated. CHAP. V.

Anno 1581. B. i. c. 7. sub anno 1572.

CHAP. VI.

Edward, earl of Oxford: displeased with the lady his wife. Whence occasioned. Her humble letter to him. Matters between him and the lord Burghley, her father. His three daughters, endowed with lands by lord Burghley. The earl's debts. Motion made for espousing Anne Cecil and Philip Sidney in their childhoods. Elizabeth, the lord treasurer's other daughter, married to the lord Wentworth's son. Other motions of marriage for her. Lord Tho. Paget and his wife part. A note of Manwood, lord chief justice. Nudigate, steward to the duchess of Somerset, his death; and last will. The duchess, his executrix. A note concerning her. A woman steals: her horrible perjury. A woman deals in necromancy: drowns herself.

NOW for a few more private and domestic matters, that fell out within this year.

The earl of Oxon married to the lord treasurer's daughter; discontented.

The lord Burghley, lord treasurer of England, had, divers years before, [viz. 1571,] disposed in marriage his daughter Anne, a lady in the queen's bed-chamber, to Edward earl of Oxford, that had been his ward. She was a very accomplished and learned lady. William Lewen, LL.D. was her instructor in learning. And when he had desired of the lord treasurer, her father, some certain place and employment, she also writ to him, her letter dated at Wivenhoe, a seat of the earl's, in Lewen's behalf; and prayed her father to recommend him to the queen, to translate into Latin, from our mother tongue, the works of bishop Jewel; and that he was very desirous to employ his pen therein: and this, that he might become known to her majesty. In Lewen's letter to the lord treasurer, he styled her, *Mea, mei studiosissima, hera*, in respect of her kindness and good-will towards him: and in respect of her own ingenuity and virtue, he com- 57

Her character. Dr. Lewen, her instructor.

BOOK I. Anno 1581.

mended her in these words; *Hera mea, et ingenii et naturæ bonitas, a te quidem, ipso patre, hausta:* i. e. My lady, the goodness of whose both wit and nature is from you, her father, derived.

Well, this for her character. Her father advancing her by her marriage to the title of countess; here was honour for her, yet little contentment. For he soon proved unkind to her, an excellent, well deserving lady, and most dear to her father: the earl having taken some exceptions to the lord Burghley; as in not procuring him some place and other favours from the queen. So that in disgust he soon absented himself from her, and went abroad to travel. The main cause was, he was very extravagant, and had run out. Endeavours were now made to make up matters, and beget a reconciliation between him and his lady; whom he now pretended some jealousy of, or some other crime, whereof she, a very virtuous woman, was altogether innocent. Which in how humble and obliging a manner she avowed the same, and how desirous of his return to her, her letter from her father's house, whither she was now retired, will shew. Which ran in these words:

The countess's letter to the earl her husband.

" My lord, in what misery may I accuse myself to be, " that neither can see any end thereof, nor yet any hope, " how to diminish it? And now of late having some hope " in my own conceit, that your lordship would have renew- " ed some part of your favour that you began to shew me " this summer, when you made me some assurance of your " good meaning, though you seemed fearful how to shew it " by open actions. Now after long silence of hearing any " thing from you, at the length I am informed, (but how " truly I know not, and yet how uncomfortably I do feel it,) " that your lordship is entered into some misliking of me, " without any cause in deed or thought.

" And therefore, my good lord, I beseech you, in the " name of that God that knows all my thoughts, and my " love towards you, notwithstanding your evil usage of me, " let me know the truth of your meaning towards me, upon " what cause you are moved to continue me in this misery;

" and what you would have me do in my power, to recover " your constant favour. So as your lordship may not be " still led to detain me in calamity, without some probable " cause; whereof I appeal to God I am utterly innocent. " From my father's house in Westminster, this 7th of De- " cember, 1581." CHAP. VI. Anno 1581. 58

To search a little into this earl's displeasure and discontent with his innocent lady. By this time he had run out a great part of his estate, and was got deep into the queen's debt; and consorted with such persons whom the queen had a jealousy of, as the family of the Howards, and others popishly affected. So that I find him now committed to his house. But by his father-in-law the lord Burghley's interest with the queen, she had promised him his liberty. We may guess at his restraint by the message she sent him by her secretary Walsingham, in these particular points. First, That she would have heard the matter again touching Henry Howard, [who was brother to the late duke of Norfolk, beheaded,] Southwell, and Arundel, [the duke's son.] Uncertain I am what that matter was; whether a quarrel, or a lawsuit about lands. Secondly, That she understood, he meant to cut down all his woods, especially about his house: which she did not so well like of. As also, That he should sell so many lands elsewhere, as he had done a great many before. And lastly, That she had heard that he had been hardly used by some of his servants during the time of his commitment. Wherein she promised her aid so far as she could with justice, to redress the loss he had sustained thereby. Earl of Oxon a prisoner in his own house.

He had sold lands, among others, to the lord Darcy and sir William Walgrave; and being gotten into the queen's debt, the lands that he had sold to them were in danger of being extended. And he had entered into bonds to such as had purchased lands of him, to discharge them of all incumbrances. And to those two gentlemen he had entered into statute of great sums for their discharge. But the earl was dilatory, and they had entreated him to discharge her majesty's debt: and did seem willing at last to bear a bur- Sells lands to lord Darcy, and Walgrave.

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den thereof, if by his means the same might be stalled, and paid at some convenient days. For obtaining this, the earl desired the lord Burghley's assistance; and that (as he wrote in his letter to him) "for the saving of his honour, "and the securing his wife's jointure." And this he knew would go a great way with him, her tender father; and that the queen's not yielding thereto might give a new occasion to the earl to fall out with his countess.

The earl highly offended with the lord Burghley: and why.

The lord Burghley, perceiving how the earl went on spending, partly mortgaging, and partly selling away his lands and demeans, and also had made sales and leases greatly disadvantageous to himself, sent for one Amyse, his servant, [perhaps his steward,] telling him, that he should take his opportunity to advise his lord to leave the whole management of his estate to him, the said Amyse, or to some other faithful servant; and to resolve not to treat, or make any bargain with any hereafter himself. But at this, when the earl came acquainted with it, he was highly enraged. And thus expressed himself in the postscript of a letter he had sent to that lord for some considerable favour: "That "he now understood the mean opinion he had of him, and "the small good-will he bare him. And that though he 59 "were nearly allied unto him, yet he meant not to be his ward "nor his child. And that he was free, and scorned to be "offered that injury, to think that he was so weak of go- "vernment as to be ruled by servants, or not able to govern "himself. And that his lordship would leave that course, "as hurtful to them both; if he would have him make ac- "count of his [the lord Burghley's] friendship." As threatening to take another course, if his lordship took that: not thinking fit to take his counsel, that was the wisest counsellor in the nation. This happened in the year 1584.

The lord Burghley leaves lands to the earl's daughters.

His lady had three daughters by him; who (with their mother, the countess) lived with the lord Burghley, their grandfather. And who by his last will had left jewels among them, and conveyed lands to each of them; unless by default of issue. And then those lands were to return to his own heirs of his body. But upon the death of that lord, the earl

began to stir, and claim to have his daughters, (his countess being now dead too,) probably to finger their estates left them. But this, sir Robert Cecil, the deceased lord Burghley's son and heir, would not consent to; and was suspicious of the earl's appointing some rude, violent persons to steal the young ladies from Tybald's, the house where they were at the death of the lord Burghley, who, though not by his will, yet by word of mouth to Bellot, his steward, and one of his executors, did appoint these his grandchildren, daughters of the earl, to be taken care of, and kept by his son, sir Robert. And this he desired Bellot to tell the earl. And Mainard [who was his secretary] would witness it. So that if the earl should now demand of sir Robert the custody of his children, he ordered the said Bellot thus to answer the earl; That he, or any body besides, could not have them. For that if he looked into the deeds, whereby the lord Burghley had conveyed them these lands, he should find, that for default of issue, the said lands came to the heirs of his body: and whether he, that never gave them a groat, had a second wife, and another child, were a fit guardian to them, he bade him consider it himself. He advised also his said steward, that when he, the said sir Robert, should be at court, attending his office of secretary of state, to have a care these ladies were not stolen away by the earl's means; and wished they had some honest men there, whilst Bellot was absent from them.

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These ladies, by the care of their uncle, sir Robert Cecil, matched honourably; being all countesses by their marriages: viz. Elizabeth, matched with William, earl of Darby; Bridget, with Francis, lord Norris, earl of Barkshire; and Susan, with Philip, earl of Montgomery.

The earl's daughters' marriages. York's Heraldry.

This was the man that "set his patrimony flying," said the historian in the Life of Queen Elizabeth. Some of his sales may be seen in the Appendix, with the names of the purchasers. And his debts to the queen.

Lands sold away by the earl. No. X.

I add but one thing more concerning this lady, Anne, countess of Oxon. That she and sir Philip Sidney, being both children, earnest motions were made by sir Henry Sid-

A motion to espouse Philip Sidney and Anne Cecil, children.

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ney, his father, and the earl of Leicester, his uncle, might be espoused. And sir William Cecil, her father, accorded upon articles with them upon the match: he to pay such a portion, and sir Henry to make such settlement. The only difference was, that sir Henry and the earl were for making the match firm and absolute between them, though yet but children. But sir William Cecyl, her loving father, could not be drawn to that; but thought it convenient, that both parties should like each other. "In the mean time," as he told N. White, an intimate friend of his, "as I wish Philip Sid-
"ney full liberty, [that is, to make his own choice,] so
"surely Ann Cecyl shall have it also."

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Elizabeth Cecil married to the lord Wentworth's son.

This year another of the lord treasurer's daughters, Elizabeth Cecil, was married to William, eldest son of Thomas, lord Wentworth, the last English governor of Calais. This match also unhappy, by the untimely death of her husband, who died within the year; a worthy and hopeful young gentleman.

Sought in marriage before by noble persons.

While this lady was but in her childhood, the lord Burghley, her father, was not without applications of very honourable persons, to match their young sons with her. As appears by letters to him from the lord Buckhurst and the earl of Essex, and offers made him for their sons, in the year 1573. The former propounded his eldest son Robert, and to make his estate worth 2000*l.* per annum. And if at years of discretion his son liked not of her, he promised 2000 mark towards her portion, to be given within two years after such refusal. Devereux also, earl of Essex, made proffer of his son, lord Ferrers, the same year, to her father. And would assure them 2000 mark a year in land, besides the houses, demeans, and parks. And promised to allow his son 100*l.* or 200 marks by the year for his education, while he was young; and to settle a jointure of 500*l.* per annum upon his daughter. And upon their marriage to part with a convenient portion for their maintenance during his own life. And at years of discretion, if the match should not go forward, to give to his daughter 2000*l.* towards her portion. He promised likewise, for himself, his fast love and friendship

towards his lordship: and adding, that there was an equality sufficient in their years, and no great distance in neighbourhood between Tybald's and Bennington, [the former the lord Burghley's seat, and the latter the earl's, in Hertfordshire.] And that such an occasion might make him like well of his lands in Essex: and where, if God should send him life, he might hereafter shew all offices of friendship to the good countess; [viz. of Oxford; who was often in that county of Essex, where the earl her husband's demeans lay.] All this the earl of Essex propounded by way of letter from Knockfergus in Ireland; professing to do this to express, the best way he could, his sense of that constant favour and love that that lord had shewn him. And therefore resolved to make the offer of the most sufficient pledge of his goodwill to him; namely, of the discretion, education, and marriage of his eldest son. Anno 1581.

But none of these proposals of marriage took effect, the lady, as was said before, having the lord Wentworth's son for her husband. The wedding was celebrated at Tybald's with great pomp and abundance three days together, viz. February 26, 27, 28.

A domestic jar happened between the lord Thomas Paget and his wife. He was the son of that great and learned statesman, lord William Paget, employed in places of trust and honour by king Henry VIII. king Edward VI. and queen Mary; and who died at his house in Drayton, and was there honourably interred, in the year 1563. Of this noble lord, and of the use made of him for his great abilities, I have made divers memorials elsewhere. He had two sons, who succeeded their father in the barony, Henry, and this Thomas, unhappy in his wife. So that the differences between them, in fine, came to that point, that this year they were parting asunder, on certain conditions. Wherein this lord obtained the favour of the lord treasurer to be concerned, as a mediator, and at both their desires, the decision left chiefly to him: which that lord expressed in his letter to him, viz. " That he humbly thanked his lordship for the " good desire he had to be a mediator in his unfortunate 61

Lord Paget and his wife disagreeing, part.

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" case, and which it pleased God it might be better. But " that in the mean while this course which they had agreed " upon was a less ill than a worse, viz. in living together " with continual jars. These articlings (he added) needed " not; but that it pleased her to use it for a delay. For if " she could tell (said he) what would please herself, this " business were soon at an end. And that every day she " came in with one new demand or other, and resolved upon " nothing. Yet would he ever be ready to do what he " should."

The day before, he received the lord treasurer's letter, with the articles. To which he returned his answers enclosed: concluding, how sorry he was thus to trouble his lordship. This was dated from London, March 21, 1581. I set down this note of this lord, being the son of so eminent a person. I add concerning him, that, whether it were out of discontent, or zeal to popery, he fled three or four years after into France, with Charles Arundel, and some others, devoted to the Romish religion, upon one Throgmorton's commitment about the Scots queen.

Cam. Eliz. p. 294.

A charge of wrong dealing upon baron Manwood.

I meet this year with a remark upon another person of rank, viz. sir Roger Manwood, lord chief baron: whether the matter were justly charged upon him, I leave to the letter of a gentleman, one Barry, sent to the said lord chief baron from Dover castle: as making use of the queen's name and authority to get certain lands and possessions into his own hands from the right owners, and some of them minors: for this original and somewhat sharp letter from the said person, I find wrote to him, viz.

MSS. Cecilian.

" My humble duty unto your lordship remembered. " Where your lordship hath, by many indirect means, " sought to have the tenants' lands in Sandhills, and Mar- " shal lands in Sholden and Deal: and now of late, to bring " your purpose to pass, you have sent an injunction, to en- " join some of the tenants out of possession, and to bring " the same to your hands, or your assignees, by colour of " a pretended right of the queen's majesty to these lands; " some part of these lands do concern me in the right of my

" daughter and her children. The which I am not to de-
" part from, without making her majesty privy to your
" indirect dealings. At whose hands, he added, that he Anno 1581.
" doubted not but to find both favour and justice. That it 62
" seemed by some speeches his lordship gave out of late,
" that he might do what he would, not to be undone by
" any subject in this land. Whereby his lordship made
" him to call to mind a speech he heard him once utter:
" which was, that in the Common Place there was all law
" and no conscience. In the King's Bench both law and
" conscience. In the Chancery, all conscience and no law.
" And in the Chequer, neither law nor conscience. Your
" lordship (as he concluded) being now judge of that court,
" I trust there is both law and conscience; or at the least,
" law. For that you were once one of the justices of the
" Common Place.

" Thus hoping your lordship will not be offended for
" seeming to maintain my right, and theirs that cannot help
" themselves, being in minority; ceasing from troubling
" your lordship; praying to God to turn your heart, or
" sending you shortly into Abraham's bosom: to which I
" think 500 in Kent would rejoice. Amen.

" Your lordship's to command,

" From Dover Castle, the 6th of Aug." " Barry."

Francis Nudigate, esq. dies. His last will.

This year died Francis Nudigate, esq. that was steward to Anne, duchess of Somerset, widow of Edward, duke of Somerset: who, getting a considerable estate under her, gratefully made her his executrix, and left the main of his substance, or indeed all to her, giving away but few or no legacies; and recommending it to her charity to be liberal to the poor, where need was, and to one or two of her servants, unrewarded as yet. And because in his will several directions were given her concerning the disposal of something by way of charity, which may deserve a remark, and may leave a grateful and good character of him, I shall rehearse some part of it. It began,

" Our help is in God and in his holy name. Into whose

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" hands, by this my last will and testament, I first commend " my soul to be saved only by faith in Christ's blood-shed- " ding. My body to be buried in Hanworth, or elsewhere, " as shall please her grace, at her good pleasure. Desiring, " and therewithal charging her grace, that it be done with- " out any of those pompous mournings and charges of blacks, " as is wonted usually. Chiefly, my mind is, that the poor " and prison houses may be somewhat liberally remembered, " on her grace's behalf and mine: and referring the sums " to her grace's good devotion. And according as I have " received all my preferment by the duchess's marriage, so " do I, in few words, will and bequeath unto her all that I " am able any way to give her. That is to say, all my " goods and leases, chattels, plate, jewels, cattle, both horses, " mares, geldings, oxen, kine, sheep, corn, housed or sown. " And also other household stuff, stock, and stores, &c. " Together with all such debts as are at this present, or " shall any time hereafter, be due unto me from any per-
63 " son, by bond, covenant, or otherwise. And also to give " and bequeath unto my said duchess all, and all manner " of lands, both freehold and copyhold, which I have in " England, as well that which is not set down herein, but " nevertheless that which also follows particularly by name, " my house at Canon-row, purchased of the lord Houns- " don, in the city of Westminster, &c. the manor of Little- " ton, in the county of Middlesex; the manor of Little " Ashield, in Surrey, otherwise called Priory Farm, &c. " All which I give wholly and fully to my said duchess. " Nevertheless my desire is, that her grace will be good to " her old servants on my behalf; especially Dickenson, and " her clerk Saunders; who have had small preferment for " long service.

" And unto Saunders my full promise is, to let him have " 20 nobles a year, till I provide him a farm for his life and " his wife's; or for 21 years. Which, if God send me life, " as I mean to perform, so my will is your grace to accom- " plish the same. And my further desire is, that her grace " do see my niece Besse Saunders brought up and bestowed.

"And that your grace bestow some rings, as remembrance, &c.

"And thus committing all things to my said duchess; "whom I make my full and sole executrix of this my last "will and testament. Dated at Hanworth, the last of May, "1580." Anno 1581.

There was also taken by a notary his consent for the gift of Great Ashford, his last purchase, in these words, 26th of Jan. 1581. Mr. Francis Nudigate was content, and did give his lands and tenements he lately purchased unto the right honourable the duchess of Somerset, and unto her heirs for ever. To this, among other witnesses' names subscribed, were her two sons, E. Hertford and H. Seymour.

A note upon the duchess of Somerset, his executrix.

Upon the foresaid desire and will of the said testator, in behalf of Dickenson and Saunders, (who married his sister,) I cannot but observe the neglect (shall I say?) or ingratitude of the duchess, too visible in her last will, made some few years after, viz. 1587: who gave therein to these two persons, so specially mentioned and recommended to her, thus sparingly, as followeth: "I give to my servant, Wil- "liam Dickenson, 10*l.* of lawful English money, to be paid "him for an annuity, or pension, of my executor, yearly "during his life. *Item*, I give to Richard Saunders, my "servant, 5*l.* of like lawful English money, to be paid him "for a yearly pension during life."

A woman horribly forswears herself for money.

The desperate temptation of money, how it draws people into horrible wickedness sometimes, and particularly perjury, appears in a matter happening this year in January. A French merchant, in a bag sealed, delivered 40*l.* to a carrier's wife of Norwich, to be carried thither, to some certain correspondent of his. But she secretly conveyed the money to an house a good way off the inn: and within a quarter of an hour the French merchant came again to see his money packed up. But the woman denied that she ever received one penny, with most horrible protestations. Upon this, secretary Walsingham (who was made acquainted with it) wrote to Fleetwood, recorder of London, (from whose letter I have this relation,) and the Frenchman. And after

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great search made, the money was found and restored, she not knowing of the same. The recorder examined her in his study privately. But by no means would she confess the same: but did bequeath herself to the Devil, both body and soul, if she had the money, or ever saw it. And this was her craft, that she *then* [when she said so] had not the money: for it was either at her friend's, where she left it, or else delivered. Then he asked her, whether the French merchant did not bring her a bag sealed, full of the metal that was weighty; were it either plate, coin, counters, or such like: then said she, I will answer no further. And then the recorder, using the lord mayor's advice, bestowed her in Bridewell; where she was punished, being well whipped. It was observable what she said then, that the Devil stood at her elbow in the recorder's study, and willed her to deny it. But so soon as she was upon the cross to be punished, he gave her over.

A woman a necromancer, drowns herself.

The same recorder, Fleetwood, about this time, acquainted secretary Walsingham, in a letter to him, of another strange accident; of a woman, named Mrs. Norton, that had drowned herself. She was mother-in-law to one Thomas Norton, a person of some reputation in London; whose father was then aged, and sick in bed. In her youth she was bred up in sir Thomas More's family: in which place she learned idolatrous toys, (I transcribe from the recorder's letter,) and usages in the night; so as thereby she was led by evil spirits sometimes to hang herself, and sometimes to drown herself, as she did at last. Some part of her lewd demeanour was in the exercise of *necromancy:* that is to say, in conferences and speeches had (as she thought) with dead bodies, being of her old acquaintance. The recorder writ this accident the rather to the said secretary, because she had left behind her divers children, brothers to the said Thomas Norton, which were shrewdly given. And that if the old man should then die, it was to be feared all his goods would come to a spoil. And therefore he proposed, that if Mr. Peter Osborn [who was a worthy citizen and remembrancer of the exchequer] had a commandment, he

could devise some good order (as he, the recorder, thought) for the saving of things that might be lost. And he prayed his honour to make the lord treasurer [who was master of the wards] acquainted with the unfortunate case. Such was the care of this good recorder, of the children of the city. CHAP. VI. Anno 1581.

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Books set forth this year. English Justice, by cardinal Allen. A Discovery of Campion, the Jesuit, by A. Monday. The English Roman Life. Answer Apologetical, by Dr. Haddon and J. Fox, to Osorius's Invective. The unfolding of sundry Untruths, &c. in answer to a book writ by a libertine. Castalio's book of Free-Will, complained of. A View of Antichrist in our English Church unreformed. Exposition of the Symbol of the Apostles, by J. Field. Two sermons of T. Bradford, the martyr. Examination of certain ordinary complaints. Positions for Education of Children in Learning, by R. Mulcaster. A Discourse of Royal Monarchy, by Charles Merbury. The Pathway to Martial Discipline. Another, called, A compendious Treatise de re militari; dedicated to Mr. Philip Sydney. A brief Conceipt of English Policy. Eirenarcha, of the office of justices of peace, by Mr. W. Lambard. The Pentateuch in six Languages: sent from Beza.

IN this year, I find these books printed; set forth by persons of divers principles, the authors.

English Justice: a book set forth by cardinal Allen, of the sufferings, deprivations, and banishments of the catholic clergy and laity, under queen Elizabeth, chiefly upon her access to the crown, in these words: "We yield unto the "libeller (as he styled him that gave occasion to his writing "that his *English Justice*) fourteen noble and most worthy "bishops at one time, [who were deprived,] inferior in vir- "tue and learning to none in Europe; who were all de- English Justice, by cardinal Allen.

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" prived of their honours and high callings: and most of
" them imprisoned, and spitefully used in all respects: be-
" side the famous confessor, archbishop of Armachar, pri-
" mate of Ireland, and a number of bishops of that coun-
" try. Next, we yield you in banishment two worthy Eng-
" lish prelates of the same dignity: the one [viz. Pate] dead,
" the other [viz. Goldwel] yet alive in Rome: three elects,
" bishops, all now departed this life. We name the ho-
" nourable abbot of Westminster, [Feckenham,] four priors,
66 " or superiors of religious covents, with three whole co-
" vents, put out of their possessions, either into prison, or
" out of the realm. In the same case were a dozen of fa-
" mous, learned deans, which, next to the bishops, do hold
" the chief dignities in the English cathedral churches;
" fourteen archdeacons; above threescore canons of cathe-
" dral churches; not so few as an hundred priests of good
" preferment in queen Mary's reign, besides many one made
" in our banishment, and since martyred; fifteen heads or
" rectors of colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, men of
" great importance in those universities and in the com-
" monwealth; and with them, and the rather by their good
" example and provocation, not many years after, many of
" the chief professors of all sciences, and above twenty doc-
" tors of divers faculties, for conscience sake fled the realm,
" or were in the realm imprisoned. And both at the first,
" and in divers years since, have many of the very flower of
" the universities come over, both into the society, [of Je-
" sus,] seminaries, and other places famous for learning;
" where, through God's goodness, and the great benignity
" of prelates, princes, and catholic people, they have passed
" their long banishment in honest poverty, and some in
" worshipful callings and rooms in universities, with as
" much grace and favour as to foreigners could be yielded;
" in no place, thanks be to our Lord God, impeached of
" crimes or disorders. Whereof we can shew the honour-
" able testimony of the best, where we have lived in all na-
" tions."

This was in answer to what the *libeller* (as he styled him)

wrote, viz. " That very few were fled for religion, other " than such as were not able to live at home but in beg- " gary, or discontinued for lack of preferment, which they " gaped for unworthily in universities and other places, or " bankrupt merchants," &c. Anno 1581.

And then this writer shewing the difference between those that left them and those that came over to them, both in respect of number and quality, thus he boasts: " So ear- " nestly they woo every poor *apostata*, lewd scholar, and " loose companion, that for weariness of banishment, loose " life, or impatience, looketh homeward toward heresy, or " carnal liberty, or licence again, &c. While we, in the " mean space, receive hundreds of their ministers, a num- " ber of their best wits, many delicate young gentlemen, " and divers heirs of all ages, voluntarily flying from their " damnable condition, and seeking after God: and many " of them also becoming priests or religious." This is the strain of the foresaid book: and as far as the writer is to be depended on, we may learn how the state of the kingdom stood as to popery, and particularly the industry of these English learned papists abroad to make proselytes. But this book was substantially answered a year or two after, viz. 1583, in a book called *The Answer to English Justice.*

The Discovery of Campion.

The Discovery of Campion, the Jesuit: a book that came out about this time; writ by A. Monday, a man the better able to discover what Campion was, and his courses, himself having sometimes lived in the seminary at Rome, the pope's 67 scholar there; and afterwards came home, and fell off from them. His book he presented to Bromley, lord chancellor, to lord Burghley, lord treasurer, and to the earl of Leicester. This writer made a further discovery of the English at Rome, in another book which he printed some years after, and dedicated it to the same noble persons. It was called *The English Roman Life.* " Discovering the lives of such " Englishmen as by secret escape left their own country to " live in Rome, under the servile yoke of the pope's govern- " ment. Also after what manner they spend their time " there: practising and daily looking for the overthrow and

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"ruin of their princess and country." And further account may be given of this book hereafter, in the course of the history.

An Answer Apologetical to Osorius.

This year also came forth an Answer Apologetical against Jerome Osorius, a Portuguese bishop of Sylvain, being a pretty thick quarto, translated out of Latin into English, by James Bell, and dedicated to the lord Arundel. That which gave occasion to this book was this. This Portugal bishop had writ a long epistle in Latin to the queen; in which he fancied many monstrous errors to be received in our church; and with reproachful railings depraved the professors of that gospel. This somewhat provoked Walter Haddon, a learned civilian; insomuch that he gave answer to several particular points in his book: which he did in a very elegant Latin style; thinking that what he had writ might have better informed and satisfied the man. Of this I have given some account in my Annals. After a year or two, Haddon was appointed the queen's agent in Flanders, and was leger at Bruges. At which time another Portugal bishop, called Emanuel d'Almada, undertook the defence of his friend Osorius; and stuffed a great volume full of slanders and brabbles: and in the end of his book caused certain ugly pictures to be pourtrayed, thereby to defame Haddon's personage; one of their ways of answering an author by personal abuses. In this *Apology*, (for so he called it,) Haddon seeing how it was filled with scoffs and absurdities, (which two things being taken away, there remained nothing else beside,) after some deliberation with himself, he despised the answering of it.

Vol. i. chap. 32 and 37.

Apology for Osorius, by Dalmada.

Character of Osorius.

Two years being past, Tho. Wilson, LL.D. (and Haddon's friend,) returning from Portugal to England, brought over, at Osorius's request, several volumes of the said Osorius, framed into three books. One of them he delivered unto Haddon. He perused it once or twice, (as he tells us in his epistle,) and trusted that Osorius, being now installed a bishop, would have been a much more modest man than he was before; but found that it fell out quite contrary. For instead of a civil and sober person, he found him a most fri-

volous sophister; for a grave divine, a childish counterfeit; and for a discreet bishop, a most shameless railer: and that hereunto was added store of vanity and proud haughtiness. Anno 1581. He concludes his epistle with these words: "That he trust-
"ed it should easily appear, both that he had not less pi-
"ously than necessarily entered into the honest defence of
"his country: and that the reader also might as plainly
"perceive, how maliciously and wickedly England had been 68
"accused and depraved by her cursed enemy, Osorius."

And as Haddon's epistle, so his answer, ran in a pretty sharp style against his adversary; whose way of writing gave just cause of provocation, which may be seen in one passage of his *Invective:* "If after this doctrine of this new "gospel and new religion was brought into England, there "were brought therewithal also honesty, integrity of life," &c. Then, a little after: "But if none were reformed by "the study of this new doctrine; but rather, if ever sithence "all rashness, unshamefastness, and lechery have been em-
"braced in all places: if intolerable pride and arrogancy
"have now taken surer footing than before: if seditions,
"uproars, and rebellions have been more easily raised: if
"treason have more boldly attempted the royal majesty,
"and have more freely pursued the blood of princes," &c. Osorius's Invective.

Dr. Haddon died before he had finished his answer. The remainder of Osorius's book (which was the greater part) was undertaken by John Fox, the martyrologist; who had an excellent Latin style, as Haddon's was, and withal was a very learned divine, and was thoroughly acquainted with the history of this church, and particularly the steps of the reformation: and so able to write in vindication of it. This book, wrote by these two Englishmen, contained a very learned vindication of protestants, and a confutation of the doctrine and practices of the church of Rome; and was managed with a brisk style against that bishop, whose book was all invective. Fox continues the answer to Osorius.

Fox began his answer with some notice of Haddon, deceased. "That so long as the nation had that excellent "learned man, as the church of Christ had a very worthy Some notice of Haddon.

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" and valiant captain; so had Osorius a courageous and " puissant encounterer, and meet conqueror of such a mon- " ster, &c. And that there was much cause to move them " and all the learned to much sorrow and grief of mind; " who had lost so great and learned a ringleader of learn- " ing: the loss of whom did by so much the more increase " their heaviness, in respect of that present enterprise, un- " dertaken against Osorius, by how much they were bereft " of so singular a patron."

Osorius's lies and slanders.

He took notice of Osorius's plenty of lies and slanders: and particularly of two notorious lies concerning Luther; as though he wickedly taught extreme desperation, and a bold and presumptuous confidence of salvation. Other of his insufferable calumniations taken notice of by Fox were these: that where Haddon had named the sacred doctrine of the gospel to have been the discipline of Luther, Zuinglius, Bucer, Calvin, &c. he replied, " That those men had " not only, with the rules of their doctrine, but also with the " ill example of their lives, rooted out all shamefastness, " modesty, civility, and obedience: and instead of faith and " freedom, they had bestowed upon their families presump- " tion and rashness, together with unpunishable licentious- " ness of sinning. That they had, instead of true righteous- " ness, brought in a false and deceitful righteousness. That
69 " they had made God the author of all wickedness. The " decayed church, which they pronounced to restore to her " ancient integrity, they had defiled with more abomina- " tions. So that by how much the more a man did decline " to their discipline, so much the more he was estranged " from all shame and chastity." And again: " A man " might descry the nature of this doctrine by the very foun- " dation of this church" [of England.] Which he proved thus. " Because Venus and Cupid were the founders of it; " breach of laws, and contempt of the pope, increased it: " flattery and lying had supported it: greedy covetousness " had established it: cruelty against the saints had sancti- " fied it: timorous fear of men had straitened it. Finally, " a doctrine of men, not sent by God, but stirred up by

"Satan, had, with most troublesome error, poisoned it." By this period the strain of the man was visible. And to have the reformed church of England thus represented to the world in a Latin book, was not to be borne without effectual vindication, and some sharpness too; which between Haddon and Fox was done well: and the translation into English was set forth this year. Anno 1581.

Fox endeth all with a very pious wish of unity and agreement among all Christians, and in a holy life suitable to their profession: "Most heartily wishing to all the elect saints "of God, whosoever profess his name and wear the badge "of Christianity, that, departing from iniquity, and gather- "ing all together in one uniform agreement of sincere doc- "trine, by the enlightening and inspiration of the Holy "Ghost, we may be altogether received into that heavenly "Jerusalem, and into that kingdom of immortal glory and "eternal felicity, which shall never have end: not for the "works of righteousness which we have done, but for the "love of our Lord and Saviour Jesu Christ; who suffered "for our sins, and rose again for our justification."

The Unfolding of sundry Untruths, &c. Writ against a libertine.

There was in these times a certain libertine in London, that had vented divers odd opinions, that headed, as it seems, that sect. A little book, in twelves, in answer to him and his doctrines, was set forth this year by one T. W. entitled, *The unfolding of sundry untruths and absurd propositions, lately propounded by one J. S. a great favourer of the horrible heresy of the libertines.* This book was printed at London by Thomas Mayne, whence we are told, that the said J. S. Feb. 26, 1580, uttered these speeches, [I suppose in some preachment,] which the said T. W. answered distinctly. I. That the first table of the law taught us our duty towards Christ's godhead. And the second table our duty towards his manhood, &c. They are to be found before, chap. iv. p. 63, 64.

Castalio's book. Free-will men.

The *free-will men* (as they called them) at this time gave some disturbance by their doctrine. And now they had procured Castalio's books to be printed here, or brought over hither. Sir Francis Knollis, treasurer of the queen's

BOOK I. household, a zealous man against this doctrine, and thought it highly convenient to have the book searched for, and the reading of it hindered; and that because, as he said, the anabaptists, and such as were for perfection in this life, went along with them. This moved him to write a letter to the lord treasurer and the earl of Leicester, to this tenor:

Anno 1581.

70 Sir Francis Knolles's letter to the court concerning them.

"My very good lords, your ableness and readiness to "do good in these perilous days of traitorous practices, "both against God and against her majesty, doth embolden "me to presume to remember your good lordships, that by "your good means order may be taken that the true au- "thors and favourers of the setting forth of Castalio's book, "with the abuses of the bishop of London in that behalf, "may be diligently examined, and bolted out. That the "hypocrisy herein used being known, the pestilent doctrine "thereof may be the more soundly suppressed. For it "seemeth to me that these *free-will men*, or *anabaptistical* "sectaries, do follow the same scopes that the *deified* men "of the *family of love* do follow; saving, that the same "perfection that the *family of love* do pretend to obtain by "virtue of *love*, the same perfection do Castalio his sectaries "pretend to obtain by the virtue of *faith*. But it is not by "faith in believing to be saved in the merits of Christ, but "by a faith in believing that every man is able to fulfil the "law of God: and that the cause why men do not fulfil the "law, is the want of this Castalio his belief. Now both these "sects do serve the turns of the papists; as all *free-will* "*men* and *justiciaries*, or justifiers of themselves, do. Yet "this difference is betwixt the papists and these sectaries, "I do mean touching their practices here in England. For "these sectaries are more hypocritical, and will sooner deny "their doctrines and assertions, to avoid punishment, than "the papists will." This was writ in September 29, 1581, at London.

Deified men, sectaries.

View of Antichrist. Part of a Regist.

A view of Antichrist; his laws and ceremonies in our English church unreformed; was another puritanical book that came forth about this year. The beginning of this book shews the purpose of it: viz. "A clear glass, where

" may be seen the dangerous and desperate diseases of our " English church: being ready utterly to perish, unless she " may speedily have a *corrosive* of the wholesome herbs of Anno 1581. " God his word laid very hot to her heart; to expulse those " cold and deadly infections of popery, which the attainted " apothecaries of Antichrist have corrupted her withal: else " long she cannot endure. And which more increaseth her " griefs, having relief daily offered unto her by her skilful " physicians, that would administer the same, is denied " thereof: and they also resisted and hated, because they " will not mingle their putrified drugs with the said pure " confection: which to do were present death."

The substance of this book is digested under divers tables. First, the book of the generation of Antichrist, the pope, the revealed child of perdition, and his successors. This began thus: " The Devil begot darkness, Eph. vi. Dark- " ness begot ignorance, Acts xvii. Ignorance begot error " and his brethren, 1 Tim. iv. Error begot free-will and " self-love, Esa. x. Free-will begot merits, Esa. lviii." &c. The second table, of the displaying of the pope and popery in our unreformed church of England. The third table, containing an hundred points of popery remaining: which deform the English reformation. At the end of this third table is subscribed, *A. Gilbe:* who I suppose therefore was the writer. The fourth table is, of the bringing in of divers of the popish corruptions yet remaining in our English 71 church. The beginning is, " The conjured font brought " into the Roman church by pope Pius I. ann. 147, as wit- " nesseth Platina and Sabellicus," &c. At the end of this table, or chapter, is subscribed *T. W.* which I suppose was Tho. Wilcox; a great man for the new platform.

There came out also this year, *An Exposition of the Sym-* Exposition *bol of the Apostles; or rather, of the articles of faith.* In of the Sym- bol of the which the chief points of the everlasting and free covenant Apostles. between God and the faithful is briefly and plainly handled: gathered out of the catechising sermons of Gaspar Olevian, professor of divinity at Hydelberg: and translated out of Latin into English, by John Field, who prefaced it with a

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long epistle dedicatory, concerning the busy Jesuits, unto his patron, the right honourable Ambrose, earl of Warwick, master of the queen's majesty's ordnance, and knight of the noble order of the garter.

Anno 1581.

Two sermons of Bradford the martyr.

Now were printed two sermons preached by John Bradford, the martyr in queen Mary's days. The one of *Repentance*, the other of the *Lord's Supper*. The epistle to the reader was written by Tho. Sampson. That of *Repentance* was printed before by Bradford himself: that of the *Lord's Supper* never printed before. Now both these were set forth with a long preface of the said Sampson; who was a man of learning and note under queen Mary, and an exile for religion. It may be worth setting down this preface from so eminent a man, and one that knew Bradford, and so was able to give some account of that holy man; and which Mr. Fox is silent of in his life and martyrdom. He tells us, that he knew him familiarly: and adds, that he must give God that praise for him, that among men he scarcely knew one like him. And that as he knew him, so he knew how it pleased God, by effectual calling, to turn his heart unto the true knowledge of the gospel. But I will rather leave the rest of these remarkable memorials of this heavenly confessor and martyr, transcribed in the Appendix.

N°. XI.

A brief Examination of divers Complaints.

A compendious and brief examination of certain ordinary complaints of divers our countrymen in these our days. "Which although they be in some unjust and fri-
"volous, yet are they all, by way of dialogue, thoroughly
"debated and discussed." Imprinted 1581. A book in octavo, written by W. S. gent. which he dedicated, in an epistle, *To the virtuous and learned lady, queen Elizabeth.* In which epistle he thus writes: "That being enforced by
"her majesty's late singular clemency, in pardoning certain
"his undutiful misdemeanours, he sought to acknowledge
"her gracious goodness and bounty towards him, by exhi-
"biting to her this small and simple present. Wherein he
"had endeavoured to answer certain quarrels and objec-
"tions, daily and ordinarily occurrent in the talk of sundry

" men, &c. Alleging such probabilities as he could, to stop " the mouths of certain evil affected persons. Which in " their curiosity required further satisfaction in these mat- " ters than could well stand with good modesty." CHAP. VII. Anno 1581.

It is a dialogue between a knight and a merchantman, a doctor, a husbandman, and a craftsman: and consisteth of divers complaints. As the complaint of the husbandman, by reason of *enclosures*. Complaint of dearth of victuals, by *artificers*. Complaint of the decay of towns, by *merchantmen*. Complaint of craftsmen against *gentlemen*, for taking of farms. The *gentleman* complains, that he cannot keep countenance as he was wont to do. The doctor's complaint was, for want of men of his art. And another complaint was against learned men. And here the author enters into discourse in behalf of learning: whether a commonwealth may be well governed without learning. That the learned have always had the sovereignty over the unlearned. Whether a man may be wise without learning. That learning supplies the lack of experience. That experience is the father of wisdom. The wonderful gifts that we have by learning. That there is no faculty but is made more consummate by learning. That knowledge in moral philosophy is most necessary for a counsellor. What makes learned men to be so few? 72

In short, this author laid down his design in the first page of his discourse, viz. What things men are most grieved with. Then, what should be the occasion of the same. And that known, how such griefs may be taken away, and the state of the commonweal reformed again.

Positions for education.

Now came forth also an excellent book for the education of youth, set forth by Richard Mulcaster, master of the school erected anno 1561, in the parish of St. Lawrence Pountney, by the worshipful company of Merchant Taylors in London. The book was called *Positions. Wherein those positive circumstances be examined, which are necessary for the training up of children, for skill in books or health in their bodies.* In his epistle, which is writ to queen Elizabeth, he gives the reason why he calleth his book *Positions:*

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Anno 1581.

" Because intending to go on further for the advancement " of learning, he thought it good at the first to put down " certain grounds very needful for his purpose. For that " they be the common circumstances that belong to teach- " ing, and are to be resolved on ere we begin to teach. The " end, he saith, of his whole labour (thus bespeaking her " majesty) was to help to bring the general teaching in her " majesty's dominions to some good and profitable unifor- " mity: which then, in the midst of great variety, did either " hinder much or profit little; or at the least nothing so " much as it were like to do, if it were reduced to one cer- " tain form. This he recommended to the queen; which " would bring great honour to her majesty's person, and " profit to the whole realm. That as king Henry, her fa- " ther, vouchsafed to bring all *grammar* into one form, " the multitude whereof being some impediment to school " learning in his time, and thereby purchased himself great " honour, and procured his subjects a marvellous ease: so " he exhorted her majesty, by that royal example, to fur- " ther that book [the *grammar*] to a refining, but also the " reducing of all other school-books to some better choice; " and all manner of teaching to some readier form. Can " so great a good but sound to your majesty's most endless " renown?" as he concluded. The next year we shall hear of another book of his concerning education, published, called *The Elementary*; wherein we may see more of this argument.

A Discourse of Royal Monarchy.

73 Now also was printed a book, called, *A discourse of royal monarchy;* writ by Charles Merbury, gent. I take notice of it as well for the author as the subject of it. He was a traveller, scholar, and courtier, and much esteemed by the gentry of the nation: and whose book was, by the bishop of London's desire, perused by Thomas Norton, one of the city counsel, and their solicitor; whole allowance and approbation is given to it. In this book is shewn the opinion of *monarchy* in queen Elizabeth's time. Thus he writeth: " Whereas he [i. e. the prince that governeth this kingdom] " is not to receive his power from any, so is he neither to

" be subject unto any higher power, either at home or " abroad. Though some did maintain, that a prince is " subject unto the states and peers of the realm, as the " kings of Lacedæmon were to the *ephori:* an opinion (if " it were not well tempered and conveniently limited) most " prejudicial unto the state of a monarchy; perverting and " converting the same into a mere *aristocracy.* Much less " is he subject in any thing unto the multitude of the com- " mon people: who, as they have more authority, are for " the most part most insolent, and more disposed unto re- " bellion. Wherefore, in all well ordained kingdoms, these " have no other than a *voice supplicative.*

" But some will ask, if this great monarch of ours shall " not be subject unto the laws, customs, and privileges of " the country where he governs; unto the oath which he " taketh at the entrance; unto such covenants and promises " as he maketh unto his people? Unto whom we answer, " That our prince is subject unto laws both civil and com- " mon, to customs, privileges, covenants, and all kind of " promises; so far forth as they are agreeable to the law of " God. Otherwise we think that he is not bound to observe " them. Wherein we neither diminish the liberty of the " subject, supposing all laws to be good, or ought to be " good: neither do we enlarge too much the power of the " prince, as to make him lawless, subject neither to God's " law nor man's law. As some flatterers persuade the pope " and emperor that they are above all laws, and may use " the bodies and lives of their subjects at their lust and " pleasure; taking from them their lands, goods, and liber- " ties, without right or reason. A thing expressly contrary " to the word of God, (*Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's* " *house*, &c.) And a doctrine most pernicious unto princes: " who, puffed up with such opinions, should take their " course unto a tyrannical kind of puissance, making their " covetousness confiscation, their love adultery, their hatred " murder. And as the lightning goeth before the thunder, " so they, depraved with such corrupted counsellors, should

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" make the accusation to go before the fault, and the con-
" demnation before the trial."

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Merbury the author: who.

This Merbury was a very accomplished gentleman, bred up under Dr. Humfrey at Oxford, who was his tutor, in the studies of humanity. Afterwards, at court, a servant to the lord chamberlain, [earl of Sussex.] He and his father dependents on the duchess of Suffolk and the duke of Suffolk: and had a revenue and pension from them.

74

The Path to Martial Discipline.

A book of martial discipline now also came forth in quarto, entitled, *The path to martial discipline;* the author, Thomas Styward. Who, (as he wrote in his epistle,) as in nature he delighted in martial studies, so by practice had achieved some experience therein. And indeed it was needful now for the English people to understand war; having so spiteful, threatening, and withal powerful adversary, as Philip king of Spain. And this the author makes the reason of his publishing a book of this argument, viz. to teach the English arms, in order to defend their native country and liberties. " That whereas, by the prudent government " of our most blessed and virtuous princess, we have the " happy quiet that no realm ever tasted of, the which he " beseeched the living God long to continue; yet weighing " the condition of the world, it was a thing impossible for " any realm or dominion always to live in peace, without " the use of the sword: wishing with his heart, that the " subversion of divers states, through idleness, and con-" tempt of these warlike orders, might be so imprinted in " our hearts, as we might with most willing minds pro-" secute the ancient order of the Romans: the which in " peace were not sluggards, or delighted in idle and wan-" ton pastimes; but in every city and town the noble sena-" tors and captains appointed such as had experience, that " at certain times of the year they should not only train " them that were ignorant, but used such warlike games, " as to the furthering of those affairs was thought most " meet. This martial discipline was now judged very ne-" cessary."

CHAP. VII.

The same year I find another book of the art of war was writ, and printed in quarto, entitled, *A compendious treatise de re militari.* Concerning principal orders to be observed in martial affairs. Written in the Spanish tongue by that worthy captain Luis Gutierres de la Vega; and newly translated into English by Nich. Litchfield. This he dedicated to the worshipful Mr. Philip Sydney. And the reason of it he added; "Because he found none more forward to further and favour martial knowledge; being of himself most ready and adventurous in all exercises of feats of war and chivalry. And therefore he presumed to dedicate the tract unto him. Dated from London, Dec. 9, 1581."

Anno 1581. A Treatise De Re Militari. Dedicated to Philip Sydney.

And he added this remark of it; That it was lately found in a fort in Ireland, where the Italians and Spaniards had fortified themselves. Which by fortune came into his hands by a soldier of good experience, who lately served there. Which after this gentleman, the translator, had perused, and taken the advice of some better in understanding than himself in those affairs, (which very much liked and allowed the work,) he was greatly boldened and encouraged to enterprise the translation thereof; partly, because these principal orders were always to be observed in warlike government; and chiefly, because in our English tongue he found not the like extant, for the necessary instruction and general commodity of our common soldiers.

Found in a fort in Ireland.

And how undisciplined and raw in matters of war our English now were, and what just apprehensions of danger arising hence from foreign arms, Styward, the author of the former book, shewed in an elegant copy of verses set before it: suggesting how very suspicious their present condition was, and exciting them to take warning by other neighbouring countries that were fallen under miseries and calamities from such as by superior force invaded them. These verses began;

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The exercise of arms needful.

As wisdom wills us to regard what plagues in time do hap
On such as seek for to be rockt always in pleasure's lap, &c.

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But I choose rather to lay this piece of old English poetry in the Appendix, which will both entertain and instruct.

Anno 1581. N°. XII. An Examination of divers Complaints.

Another political book came forth this year upon occasion of the dearth of victuals, and the high prices of all other things; which now were become much dearer than ever before: which caused murmurings and discontents among the people. The author undertook to look into the reasons thereof, in order to pacify and quiet the queen's subjects. The book was called, *A compendious or brief examination of certain ordinary complaints of divers our countrymen in these our days*, &c. By W. S. gent. The running title was, *A brief conceipt of English policy*. It is writ by way of dialogue, between a knight, a merchant, a doctor, a capper, [or a tradesman,] and an husbandman. Where thus one of them is brought in speaking: "Such poverty reigneth every where, as few men have so much to spare, as "they may give any thing to the reparation of ways, "bridges, &c. And albeit there be many things laid down "now, which before time were occasion of much expenses, "as maygames, wakes, revels, wagers at shooting, wrestling, running, and throwing the stone or bar; and besides, the pardons, pilgrimages, offerings, and many such "other things: yet I perceive we be never the wealthier, or "rather poorer, &c. That there was such a general dearth "of all things, as before twenty or thirty years had not "been, not only of things growing within the realm, but "also of all other merchandise, &c." The author, some learned man, dedicated this his book to the queen; because those popular quarrels and objections reached unto her majesty in daily and ordinary occurrents. That upon his zeal and good meaning towards her estate, he was earnestly moved to undertake this enterprise.

Eirenarcha.

Dedicated to Bromley, lord chancellor.

In this year, Mr. W. Lambard of Lincoln's Inn, gent. a learned lawyer and historian, set forth a book, called *Eirenarcha*, concerning the office of such as were justices of the peace, which he dedicated to sir Tho. Bromley, lord chancellor of England. In that epistle he spoke of his great

learning in the laws of England, in these words: "You, "who do go beyond them all (in the perfect knowledge of "our law) that have gone before you in that honourable "place which you now hold. And praying him, that, ac- "cording to the rule of law, (in his own hands,) he would "rectify the commission of the peace, and some other "crookedness, whereof that book [of his] should bring "complaint before him."

And in the same epistle he gives us the occasion of his engaging himself in the study of our laws concerning *justices*. Which was the command of the said lord chancellor, that his name should be put into the commission of the peace for Kent, where the said Lambard lived. "At which "time he thought it his part, as well for saving his good "lordship blameless in the choice, as also for his own in- "formation and discharge in the service itself, to look dili- "gently in that portion of our law which concerneth the "office of the *peace;* wherewith he had before that time "very little or no acquaintance. And therefore in greedy "appetite, he began first with M. Fitzherbert's treatise of "the *Justices of Peace:* then went he to another ancient "book of the same argument, but of an author unknown to "him: and thirdly, he came to M. Marrow's reading. All "which when he had perused, he seemed to himself, as he "added, to have taken some such taste of the thing that he "sought, as did rather incense than satisfy his thirst and "desire. And calling to mind that it was truly said,

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The occasion of his writing this book.

Gratius ex ipso fonte bibuntur aquæ,

"he betook himself to the old and new books of the *com-* "*mon laws*, and to the volumes of the *acts* and *statutes;* "and from his collections thence, framed a model thereof in "that book."

There was another edition of this book in the forty-fourth year of queen Elizabeth, 1602. revised, corrected, and enlarged. Where, in the proeme, he declared that his purpose was to compare the writings of some others that before had wrote of the duties of justices, [viz. Marrow and Fitzherbert,] with the book cases and statutes that had risen of

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Anno 1581.

latter times. And out of them all to collect some body of discourse that might serve for the present age, and somewhat further the good endeavour of such gentlemen as were not trained up to the continual study of the laws.

Collections of the Prophets, &c. concerning the conversion of Israel.

In this year also, or the year before, I meet with a MS. (whether printed afterwards or no, I know not,) entitled, *Certain collections out of the Prophets and the New Testament;* concerning the conversion and restitution of Israel. Whereupon doth depend the general judgment, and the general restitution also of heaven and earth. By R. E. anno 1580. This author, whose name was Roger Edwards of London, dedicated his book to the lord Burghley, lord high treasurer, lord Francis Russel of Bedford, lord Rob. Dudley, earl of Leicester, to Dr. Elmer, bishop of London, and many more.

Pentateuch, by Beza.

To all the rest I add Beza's valuable gift, presented this year, towards the furnishing of the new library at Cambridge; being an ancient copy of the Pentateuch in six languages: with his letter to the lord treasurer, chancellor of that university, when he sent it. Which, it seems, his nephew Anthony Bacon brought along with him from Geneva, where he had been, and visited that learned man in his travels. Upon whose motion and encouragement Beza presumed to write a letter to him: especially upon that occasion that offered itself, namely, the presenting him with something that he believed would not be unacceptable to him. That he had got a copy of the five books of Moses; printed either at Constantine in Africa, or at Constantinople, many years ago; which he asked leave to call *The Hexa-*
77 *glott:* viz. the Arabic, Persian, barbarous Greek, and ancient Spanish: set forth for the use of the Jewish synagogues: besides the Hebrew and Chaldee. Which, for the rarity and antique novelty, (as he might call it,) he thought chiefly ought to be sent to his honour. Which might serve as a monument worthy his wisdom and excellency, to be reposited in a library, then a preparing by him in the university of Cambridge, the chief care and government whereof was committed to him.

And so concluded his letter, praying him to take in good part his boldness, as a testimony and pledge of that high esteem he had for his lordship. Dated from Geneva, 8. id. December 1581. But the whole letter, in elegant Latin, ought to be preserved, in grateful memory of the donor. Which ancient book, I suppose, still remains in that library; as it hath been often made use of by our commentators. Anno 1581. N°. XIII.

And in another letter to that lord, the next year, he persuaded him to procure the printing of the said Pentateuch, which he had sent him the year before: at least the Persian, Arabic, and vulgar Greek versions, with the Hebrew verses added. Which might, he said, be done at no great charge, by Plantin at Antwerp. And that such an edition would be highly profitable to the whole Christian world, and procure to himself an immortal name. And so prayed him to think again and again upon it. This letter of Beza will not be improper to be joined to the former in the Appendix. Moves the lord treasurer to get it printed by Plantin. N°. XIV.

CHAP. VIII.

The French match like to succeed: and a league with France. Treaty with Mary queen of Scots, frustrate. Parties in Scotland. Ireland chargeable. Plots. Parry in Venice and Lyons: his intelligence: writes in favour of the good knight. A proclamation against harbouring Jesuits and priests: and going to the colleges at Rheims and Rome. Sessions at London. Mass-mongers, &c. The queen assists the protestant churches. Duke of Bipont, prince palatine, comes into England. Wierus, his agent. Letters of the queen's ambassador in France concerning the Duke of Savoy. Beza's letter to the lord treasurer in behalf of Geneva. Prince of Orange's death foretold by the pope's nuncio.

AS to the match with France, which still stuck upon terms required on the part of the French king, he seemed now to incline. So the queen's ambassador wrote to the Anno 1582. The French king yields to terms

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lord chamberlain in a letter dated September 26, 1582; advertising his lordship, how they in that court gave him to understand, that the king had the last week written into England, and to his brother, the duke, that his majesty was willing to grant to all demands made (on the English side) for the effecting of the marriage. And that he further heard tell, that the king was inclined to enter into league with her majesty; about which commissioners from both princes were busy the last year, as hath been related. And then the said ambassador made this observation hence; "That such were the occasions of the world, as they per-"suaded more in princes, than any person could do." Adding, "That the king was at that time very weak, and at "Moulins, and intended to repair easily to St. Germaines "on Leye." But that disease of the king proved not mortal, being reserved some years longer for a more violent death, as their histories shew.

Anno 1582. about monsieur's match.

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A fine coach sent to the queen by the French king.

The queen had sent the French king a present of English dogs. And he was now preparing a very splendid chariot, to present again to her. And so the ambassador signified in his letter to her majesty, viz. "The French king "hath commanded to be made for your majesty an exceed-"ing, marvellous, princely coach. And to be provided four "of the fairest moiles which are to be had, for to carry "your highness's litter. The king hath been moved to "shew himself in this sort grateful to your majesty on the "receiving those dogs, and other singularities you were "lately pleased to send unto him, for his falconer."

Something I have to insert here of Mary the Scotch queen, taken from certain notes of the lord treasurer Burghley's hand. It hath been shewed before concerning several treaties with her by honourable agents from queen Elizabeth. Besides which, a fourth treaty began, anno 1582; wherein sir Walter Mildmay, a chief privy-counsellor, was employed. And while the proceeding therein was a little suspended upon a practice of an answer from Scotland, touching the Scotch king's disposition; her majesty discovered, that the duke of Guise was preparing some attempt

Treaties with the Scots queen broke off: and why.

against England for the Scottish queen. For whose enlargement also Francis Throgmorton at the same time practised an invasion to be made into this land; and other traitors to be accepted. Which being discovered, and he apprehended, gave cause that this treaty proceeded no farther. To which I will subjoin what follows in the same MS. concerning other treaties the two next ensuing years; viz. CHAP. VIII. Anno 1582.

In anno 1583, the earl of Shrewsbury and Mr. Beal were appointed by her majesty to deal with the Scotch queen in another treaty, with promise to return sir Walter Mildmay; if she would discover certain practices against her majesty, which she pretended to know. While this treaty was in hand, by the Scotch queen's pro..... [procurement] and direction, the duke d'Aubignie, [Lenox,] the lord Fenhurst, and sir James Bafford, all mortal enemies to the state of England, were brought into Scotland. And so the treaty was broke off by that occasion.

Last, in anno 1584, another treaty was entered into with Nau, the French secretary. At which time the treasons and practices of Parry were discovered. And so the treaty ceased. By all which it is evident, that the Scotch queen hath never entered into any treaty, but only of purpose to 79 abuse her majesty with some treacherous attempts or other: as the writer of these notes concluded.

In that kingdom of Scotland were great disturbances this year, raised by two factions there; whereof one of them, that pretended to be of the protestant side, viz. earl Goury, Mar, and others, by a wile seized the king's person in a castle, and there detained him, till he should have removed the duke of Lenox from him, whom they esteemed to be of the popish faction, and should do other things, as they thought good; as our historian relates. And to smooth over the better this their exploit, in thus handling their king, they published a declaration, which bore this title: Factions in Scotland. Camb. Eliz. sub anno 1582.

Ane declaratioun of the just and necessary causes, moving us of the nobility of Scotland and uthers, the now king's faithful subjects, to repair to his highness presence, and to remain with him: for resisting the present daungers ap- The king of Scots detained in a castle.

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pearing to God's true religion, and professors thereof, and to his highness own person, state, and crown, and his faithful subjects that hes constantly continued in his obedience; and to seek redress and reformation of the abuse and confusion of the commonwealth; removing from his majesty the chief authors thereof, &c. *Directed from Striveling with special command, and licence to be printed*, 1582.

Lamb. libr. xviii. 6.

This remarkable declaration is still remaining in Lambeth library. This party queen Elizabeth favoured, because they opposed the Guisian faction there, very busy, implacable enemies to her, and were at this time intent upon an invasion by the way of Scotland.

The ill state of Ireland.

As for Ireland, it was oppressed with wars and commotions, and the ill management of the queen's officers there. Insomuch that the lord treasurer, who knew well how expensive that kingdom was, had these words in a letter of his to sir Nic. White, master of the rolls there; "That he "knew not how to relieve that miserable country, and la- "mented the state thereof: as finding it to take as much "harm by physicians and surgeons; I mean," said he, "captains and their bands, as it did by rebels." It was written from the court at Oatlands, September 11, 1582.

Parry's intelligence from abroad.

Plots were carrying on every where against the queen and government by papists: and Parry (not yet discovered to be such a traitor) among the rest very busy abroad in such work; though he cunningly made the lord Burghley believe at first, that he was a very diligent spy for the queen in divers parts abroad. And often writ his letters of intelligence concerning them to that lord, and to the secretary. Take some minutes of a secret letter or two of his, wrote in

From Venice.

March 1582, from Venice, of news and reports abroad of the queen, and of her persecution of the Romanists. Where he took occasion to mix his thoughts about the French king, and the king of Spain, and the queen's concerns with each. Whereby might appear how his inclination stood; that is, favourably to Spain, and that interest. "That the late en- "terprise in Flanders, reported there [at Venice] to the "great dishonour of the French, had filled those parts full

" of expectation what the queen's majesty would do:" [meaning, whether she would assist and protect those of the Low Countries against king Philip, she having countenanced and granted men and money to the French king's brother for that purpose, but was gone away lately in some disgrace home.] " And that as her government had hitherto " been thought to exceed all the princes of her time, so it " was looked, that her majesty should now serve herself on " all good occasions pretended for her quietness and better " assurance." [No longer to stir up so great a prince as the king of Spain, who must needs create her and her kingdoms great disturbance.] He added, " That the French king " and his mother did find themselves grieved for some " liberal speeches used of them in that town, [viz. Venice.] " But that that commonwealth had the honour of princes in " great regard, and could not abide to have them touched " by word or writing..... That it had been told him " in great secrecy, (though, he said, he might not avow it,) " that the queen-mother lieth in the wind, and watcheth to " give our queen [Elizabeth] a mate, and would undoubt- " edly do it, if her majesty did not look well to her game." [Meaning, by the crafty insinuations of that queen, to bring about the match between the queen and her son, the duke d'Anjou, a person loose enough, and with whom she was not like to live with comfort.]

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He went on with his intelligence. " We hear of great " and daily preparations for the sea in Naples, Spain, and " Portugal. But not that don Antonio's fortune" [whom queen Elizabeth favoured against Spain] " can serve him to " offend the king catholic. It is judged a very slender po- " licy, that we, having no ambassador in Spain, do still en- " tertain the Spanish ambassador in England: where I fear " me there is too much to be done by money;" [viz. money distributed by that ambassador to carry on his designs.] " That many were of opinion, that it was a matter of less " difficulty for us to confirm that ancient league with Bur- " gundy," [another favourable word for Spain,] " than to " continue our intelligence with France: with whom for

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" five hundred years I do not find that we have had any " long peace. And out of doubt I am, that we have very " mighty enemies in France to our quietness. Our traffick in " the Levant cannot but be dangerous, and full of adven- " ture for our merchants, so long as we stand upon doubt- " ful terms with Spain. The prince of Orange is thought " now to live in more danger than ever; and that he shall " not long escape, if practice may prevail." [This shews Parry to be acquainted with the intrigues of Spain, that prince being basely shot by a Burgundian some time after.] " The new book at Rome, dedicated to the cardinal " S. Sixti, and entitled, *De persecutione Anglicana*, hath " raised a barbarous opinion of our cruelty. I could wish," added he, " that in those cases it might please her majesty " to pardon the dismembering and quartering." And in the end of his letter he gives a hint of Shelley, (a fugitive who was made lord prior of St. John's of Jerusalem by queen Mary, and now, as it seems, at Venice.) " Sir Ri- " chard Shelley is very desirous to return, and promiseth " very great services, if he be not disquieted for his con-
81 " science." This letter was dated from Venice the 4th of March, 1582, without any name subscribed.

His letter from Venice, a place fit for intelligence.

In another letter from Venice, dated January 28, he suggested to the same statesman, to whom he addressed before, how he was placed in that city, a place fit for intelligence: " That if he should write to his lordship, that either that " place was so barren, or himself so slothful, that he could " not honour and serve his lordship as he was wont, he " should greatly err. But being first desirous to under- " stand from his lordship, in what kind his service might " best like him, he had purposely forborne to be too busy in " writing. And being greatly looked upon, [as a spy,] it " might greatly import him to look how and what he " wrote. He found it a matter very unpleasant, to be " troubled or tied to the advertisements of ordinary occur- " rents, [which was then chiefly required of him.] And " that yet if any thing happened that he should think " to be of importance, he would not fail to advertise his

" lordship. That that place [Venice] was very plentiful of " good and bad [news]; but the best was hardly to be had " without charge:" [an argument used to increase his salary.] " Which he could think well bestowed, to look into " three men's proceedings in that town." Who were agents perhaps of some foreign princes; whose servants he might corrupt by money. Anno 1582.

The writer then turned to the English merchants' trade there; viz. " That our traffick into the Levant did and " would more and more offend many. And that there was " nothing undevised that might tend to the discredit of our " merchants, or increase of their danger. [Out of hatred " and malice to the English nation.] But that if our wool " were wrought at home, and our clothes (almost out of " price) well made, it could not but marvellously enrich our " state." Traffick into the Levant.

He adds, " That he had sent to his lordship two Italian " books by sea; and that he would send him many mo, if " he were as able as he was willing."

Another business of his letter was concerning a *good knight;* whose name he mentioned not. It was undoubtedly sir Richard Shelley, abovementioned, who departed out of England for his religion: but of better principles of loyalty than the Jesuits and seminaries. This gentleman Parry met at Venice, and fell into acquaintance with him: and being known to the lord treasurer, took the opportunity, in his correspondence with that lord, to move him in his behalf. " That in his letters he had writ to his lord- " ship how willing the good knight, mentioned in his ho- " nour's letters, was to come home, so as he might be war- " ranted by passport to come and go safely. For, as his in- " tent was (as it had been always) honourable and dutiful " to his prince and country, so he was loath that his coming, " only to discharge his duty to her majesty in matters that " he might not write, or commit to any man, should turn " or be wrested to his harm or dishonour. Neither did he " think, that any man could work this readiness in him, but " that he had a singular good opinion and hope of her ma- Sir Richard Shelley, the good knight.

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"jesty's gracious and his lordship's real dealing and pro-
"ceeding. And so hoping to hear from his lordship con-
"cerning the *good knight*, he committed the same to
"God," &c. Of this sir Richard Shelley we shall hear from his own letters afterwards.

Parry's great drift was to conceal his treachery and falsehood, and to make the English court believe him a *true* man. Thus in another letter of his to the lord treasurer a few days after, viz. March the 10th, from the city: "That "he would forbear writing of trifles, [matter of less con-"cern,] not troubling his lordship with them: and would "reserve himself wholly for such special service as he "should think fit for the queen's majesty, and grateful to "his lordship, and Mr. S. [secretary.] He knew his lord-"ship could not lack any ordinary occurrences out of all "parts, nor such as were of greatest importance from great "personages, &c. I have presumed, that your lordship "hath ever esteemed me for a *true man* to my prince and "country: so much that whatsoever do come to their ears, "I beseech you to promise for me; and I will not fail to "perform it, God willing." [This last period hath a line drawn under it, by the lord treasurer's pen, as his custom was in passages of letters sent him of more remark.]

Another letter of Parry's from Venice to the lord treasurer.

Would be thought a *true man.*

"I pray you tell Mr. Secretary, that here is such a "speech of the persecution and cruelty, that your lordship, "sometime in the same predicament, is almost forgotten;" [that is, in respect of other of the queen's counsellors for these proceedings.] "My lords of Huntington and Leices-"ter, and Mr. Secretary, are the men most wondered at."

Let me subjoin some more of this false man's intelligences the next year; when he was now rambled to Lyons in France. Whence he wrote to the same lord a letter, dated May the 10th, to this import: "That his great liking to live in the "state of Venice was overruled by the necessity of his de-"parture," [whether by being suspected to be a spy for the queen, or rather for his running in debt more than he could pay, as he was a riotous and great spender in England,] "though I have not perhaps fully satisfied the expectation

Another letter of his from Lyons, 1583.

" had of me, yet have I done the best to serve the queen's
" majesty. If I be not mistaken, I have shaken the foun-
" dation of the English seminary, that at Rheims; and ut- Anno 1582.
" terly overthrown the credit of the English pensioners in His pretended services at Rheims and Rome.
" Rome. My instruments were such as passed for great, ho-
" nourable, and grave. The course was extraordinary and
" strange: reasonably well devised, soundly followed, and
" substantially executed; without the assistance of any one
" of the English nation. Your honourable favour and Mr.
" Secretary's hath overthrown my credit with our country-
" men on this side. Yet if I were well warranted and al-
" lowed, I would either prevent and discover all Roman
" and Spanish practices against our state, or lose my life, in
" testimony of my loyalty to the queen's majesty, and duty
" to my honourable friends, that have protected me." [All this craftily by him insinuated, to create a firm trust and confidence in him and his service.] He goes on. " If it
" please your lordship to confer with Mr. Secretary, touch-
" ing my letters herewith sent, to advise and direct me, I
" am ready to do all I shall be able and am commanded. 83
" Whatsoever I have already spent, I do think well be-
" stowed. But it is neither my poor state, nor any trifling
" allowance that will serve to do that is to be done; the
" meanest man that is to be followed and courted [abroad
" where he was] being a secretary." [Thus hoping to get a liberal salary from those against whom he was all this while practising.]

" I have taken my leave of ordinary occurrences long
" ago, as little worth, and less availing our state. I am pro-
" mised very good intelligence from Venice. If it be per-
" formed, your good lordship shall be well served.

" I came from Baden, [in Switzerland,] where the diet is
" holden. The ambassadors of France, Savoy, and the can-
" tons and confederates, were assembled. The ambassadors
" of Zurick, Bern, and Geneva, [protestant states,] told me
" they had small hopes of any accord. They mean to urge
" the matter to some sound resolution. I find the French
" king greatly mistrusted. Geneva is in good hope to be

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" relieved out of England. I spake with Mr. Beza. I think " the man greatly decayed, and not long lasting." [But he was mistaken; Beza lived many a year after, to 1605.] " I " was also with Mr. Gualter, [an eminent minister of Zu- " rick,] a good man, and well affected to our nation. I was " very well entertained, and presented in Zurick and Ge- " neva." This was the sum of his letter from Lyons. Thus Parry went in a mask hitherto, and fared well by that means. We shall hear more of him and his intelligence the year ensuing, from Lyons and Paris, still cloaking his malice.

A proclamation against Jesuits and seminaries, and their harbourers.

A large proclamation came forth in April this year against Jesuits and seminary priests, and against the harbourers of them, and such as sent their children to the colleges abroad, for the better security of the queen's life and reign, and the government and religion established; which I shall here set down, the rather, since our historians are silent of it, and may serve considerably to enlighten that part of the history of those times, and of that popish, busy, dangerous faction.

It set forth, " How the queen's majesty had heretofore " been given to understand, that certain societies and con- " venticles, some under the name of *seminaries*, and some " of *Jesuits*, had been of late years erected by the bishop " of Rome, as well in the city of Rome, as in the dominion " of other princes; namely and especially, for the natural " born subjects of her majesty's kingdoms and dominions; " with intent and purpose to train them up in false and er- " roneous doctrine: by means whereof divers of her ma- " jesty's natural born subjects had not only been perverted " in matters of religion, but also sought, drawn, and per- " suaded from the acknowledgment of their natural duties " and allegiance unto her majesty, as their natural prince " and only sovereign; and by special direction from the " pope and his delegates had been made instruments of " sundry wicked, traitorous practices; tending not only to " the moving and stirring up of rebellion within their na- " tural countries, (which, through the goodness of Almighty " God, and her majesty's provident government, had al-

" ways been foreseen and prevented,) but also to the endan- " gering of her majesty's most royal person. That her " highness hereupon foreseeing the great mischief that " might ensue such traitorous and wicked instruments, did 84 " therefore, by her proclamation, bearing date, at her palace " at Westminster, the 10th day of January, in the twenty- " third year of her most prosperous reign, notify unto her " subjects, That if any of them, or any other within her " highness's dominions, after the publishing of that her " proclamation, should receive, maintain, succour, or relieve " any Jesuit, seminary man, massing priests, or other like " persons aforesaid, which should come or should be sent " into this realm, or into any other her dominions, or " should not discover the receiving or harbouring of the " same persons, or any such vagrant, counterfeit persons, as " might justly by their behaviour be suspected to be of " such quality and ill condition: as also, (in case they " should remain with them at the time of the said procla- " mation, or afterwards,) should not bring them before the " next justice, or before some other public officer, to the " end they might be in like sort committed, and forthcom- " ing to be examined; and to receive such punishment as " by her highness should be thought meet according to " their deserts; that then they should be reputed as main- " tainers and abettors of such rebellious and seditious per- " sons; and receive for the same their contempt, such severe " punishment, as by the laws of the realm, and her ma- " jesty's princely authority, might be inflicted upon them.

" That sithence which time some example having been " made for the condign punishment of such as have con- " temptuously broken her highness's express commandment " in that behalf given by the said proclamation; and some " of the said traitorous persons, as namely, Edmund Cam- " pion, Jesuit, Raulphe Sherwine, and John Briant, semi- " nary priests, having disguisedly and very secretly wan- " dered in the realm, and at length apprehended; and so " thereupon justly, lawfully, publicly, and orderly indicted, " arraigned, condemned, and executed for divers treasons;

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" and some others their complices having been likewise
" justly and lawfully condemned for the like crimes: her
" majesty finding, what through the obstinacy and malice
" of some, and the wilful ignorance of many others, that
" neither the said proclamation nor the said examples have
" wrought such effect of reformation, as, upon good hope
" conceived of this her forewarning, her highness had ex-
" pected and desired; and perceiving withal, that some
" traitorously affected have of late, by letters, libels, pamph-
" lets, and books both written and printed, falsely, sedi-
" tiously, and traitorously given out, that the said most hor-
" rible traitors were without just cause condemned and
" executed; had therefore thought good to make known
" unto her good and faithful subjects, and generally to all
" others within her dominions, whereby they might not be
" abused nor inveigled by those and such like most wicked,
" false, and dangerous traitors and seducers, that it had
" manifestly and plainly appeared unto her highness and
" her council, as well by many examinations, as by sundry
85 " of their own letters and confessions; besides the late ma-
" nifest attempts of the like companions, directed by the
" pope out of number, of the said seminaries and Jesuits,
" broken out to actual rebellion in Ireland; that the very
" end and purpose of these Jesuits and seminary men, and
" such like priests, sent or to be sent over into this realm,
" and other her majesty's dominions, from the parts beyond
" the seas, was not only to prepare sundry her majesty's
" subjects, inclinable to disloyalty, to be up, to give aid to
" foreign invasion, and to stir up rebellion within the same;
" but also (that most perilous is) to deprive her majesty
" (under whom, and by whose provident government, with
" God's assistance, these realms have been so long and so
" happily kept and continued in great plenty, peace, and
" security) of her life, crown, and dignity.

" That seeing the great mischief that otherwise might
" ensue unto the whole estate of her majesty's realms
" and countries, if these attempts were not more severely
" looked unto and punished; and to the intent none should,

" after the publication hereof, excuse themselves by pre-
" tence of any ignorance; her majesty did therefore hereby
" signify to all her loving subjects, and all other within her
" dominions, That all the said Jesuits, seminary men, and
" priests aforesaid, coming into these her dominions in such
" secret manner, were, and so, of all her subjects aforesaid,
" ought to be holden, esteemed, and taken for traitors to
" her majesty, her crown and realm. And that all such as,
" after the publishing of this proclamation, should wittingly
" and willingly receive, harbour, aid, comfort, relieve, and
" maintain any such Jesuit, seminary man, or priest, as was
" aforesaid, should be and ought to be dealt with, used,
" and proceeded on, as willing and witting aiders, com-
" forters, relievers, and maintainers of traitors, committing
" high treason to her majesty's person: and that every such
" person, as shall have any such Jesuit, seminary man, or
" priest, in his or her house or company, at the time of the
" publication hereof, or after, knowing him to be such,
" and shall not forthwith himself do his or her best endea-
" vour to bring him, or cause him to be brought before the
" next justice of the peace, or other public officer, to be
" committed to prison; whereby he might be forthcoming
" to answer his offence, according to her highness's laws;
" that then every such person shall be deemed, taken, and
" dealt with, as a maintainer and aider of traitors as aforesaid.
" And that every person, wittingly concealing any such Je-
" suit, seminary man, or priest, or any their practices afore-
" said, shall be deemed and taken to be in case of mispri-
" sion of treason.

" And moreover, her highness's pleasure and express
" commandment was, that none of her subjects, nor any
" other under her obeisance, shall suffer their children, or
" any other, being under charge or government, except
" lawful merchants, and such as without covin shall be
" agents or factors for lawful merchants, in their trades of
" merchandise beyond the seas, and mariners for their voy-
" ages, to depart out of this realm without her highness's
" special licence first had and obtained; upon pain of her

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" highness's displeasure, and such further punishment as " may be imposed upon the offenders in that behalf, for " such their offence and contempt. And that as well all " such of her majesty's subjects as were at that present of " the said seminaries and Jesuits, erected beyond the seas " as aforesaid, and shall not return within one quarter of a " year after such proclamation made; as all other which, " after the proclamation hereof, shall pass over the seas, " and be of any of the seminaries or societies erected as " aforesaid, shall be *ipso facto* taken, reputed, and esteemed " to be traitors to her highness's person, her crown and " realm: and that all maintainers, aiders, relievers, and " comforters of such persons, shall be esteemed, taken, and " dealt with as maintainers, aiders, relievers, and comforters " of such traitors. Given at our manor of Greenwich, the " first day of April, in the 24th year of our reign."

This was a second proclamation against the harbourers and maintainers of these Jesuits and seminaries; and was thought necessary to be set forth, to vindicate the queen and state in the late execution of some of them; many letters being writ, and libels scattered about, to defame her majesty, as though those traitors were put to death unjustly: and to declare to all her subjects their due deserts as traitors; and how apparent their purposes were to raise rebellions in her kingdom, nay, and sought her life and crown; and therefore how necessary this her care was for the prevention thereof.

Of these busy factors for popery at this time, came a letter to the lord treasurer from Fleetwood, the recorder of London; informing him of what was done at one of their sessions, to this tenor: " That they had been every day oc- " cupied with seminary priests, mass-mongers, libellers, and " such like. And that in the first week of Lent, it fell out " that there was a book cast abroad in commending Cam- " pion [the Jesuit that was lately executed] and his fellows, " and of their death. That he [the recorder] pursued " the matter so close, that he found the press, the letters, " the figures, and a number of the books. And that being

Seminary priests, mass-mongers, &c. at the sessions at London.

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" in this search, one Osborn, a seminary priest, came droop-
" ing into a chamber where Mr. Topcliff, of the court, and
" himself were. Him they examined. And it appeared, that he
" was a seminary priest, and had dwelt at the hospital [for
" the English] at Rome four years. And after, he was pro-
" fessed into a house of the Franciscans, being barefoot fri-
" ars, that lived by begging. And that he laboured, as he
" said, by cutting of wood, and bearing of it upon his back.
" That they also [of that order] lay upon no beds, but
" tumbled in the straw, like swine. That they used no shirt.
" That they had no more garments but such as they daily
" wore: the which were slender, thin, and extreme cold.
" Their diet slender, and they eat but once a day. They
" drank water. They might touch no money.

Osborn, a priest and Franciscan friar.

Et sunt undique obruti pediculis.

" He [this friar] added further, that being of this order
" but seven weeks, it being so strait, he was driven to flee,
" and come into England. And in Christmas he said Sun-
" day masses at Mr. Browne's house, the lord viscount's bro-
" ther, before the lady Vaux and certain others; and that 87
" *in crastino epiphaniæ*, he said mass in the Fleet, [where
" many recusants were committed,] in the lord Vaux's cham-
" ber, [to whom he was related,] before that lord, Mr.
" Tresham, Mr. Tyrwhit, and others. For the which of-
" fence, these three were upon Wednesday after convicted
" in Guildhall, at an *oyer and determiner*. Where the said
" Osborn gave lively evidence; although they before judg-
" ment did stoutly deny the same. Yet after, they did most
" humbly submit themselves unto her majesty; and so de-
" parted to prison again."

At this court of *oyer and determiner* were others arraigned for hearing mass at a house of Mrs. Alford's, in Salisbury-court, viz. Mrs. Rogers, sometime wife of Bernard, steward of Gray's Inn; Mrs. Alford, the wife of Fr. Alford; Mr. Rogers, a gentleman; and one Hyde, Mrs. Alford's man. The seminary priest was one Dean. The said Hyde (who was reconciled by Dean) and Dean himself gave the evidence. And for that cause Mr. Secretary's pleasure was, that they should be spared. Mrs. Alford was also spared, because Mr.

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Francis is bound for her; and she promised to go to the church. This favourable dealing was by Mr. Secretary's order.

The queen assists the Netherlands.

All the busy managery of affairs at home and abroad now turned upon the hinge of religion. And as the queen saw how little safety there was for her from Spain or France, being so vigorously set to extinguish the reformed religion, she shewed herself a friend to the Netherlands, who were now defending themselves and their liberties against Spain with their arms.

Duke of Bipont comes into England.

So with the other reformed churches, and protestant princes in Germany, she kept a correspondence: and namely, with the prince palatine of the Rhine, one of which house was duke of Bipont, or Deuxpontz; who divers years past came into France with a strong army of Germains, to aid the prince of Navarre, in the civil wars there upon the account of religion. To which duke the queen sent a great sum of money into France by sir Thomas Gresham, the queen's factor then at Antwerp, out of her good will to those poor oppressed churches: this was in the year 1569,

Wierus his agent here.

when one Wierus, a learned man, was his agent here. Where he was transacting his prince's business with the queen; and received great respects from Cecil, the secretary, and afterwards from the same when lord treasurer. The son of this duke, and prince palatine, whose name and title was George Gustavus, palatine of the Rhine, duke of Bavaria, count Veldent, &c. was now coming into England, attended with Wierus's brother. With whom he sent a letter to the said lord treasurer; the contents whereof shew the high esteem that statesman had of that agent; and that agent's character of him, in these words: "That by reason of those "not only admirable, but also most amiable qualities which "he saw and experienced in him twelve years ago, [1569,] "when he was agent for his prince palatine of the Rhine; "he could not nor ought to omit, that his brother, with his "prince, should repair to his lordship without his letters, as "witnesses of his most humble observance of him. And that

88 "wherein he might, either in the least or greatest matters,

" any ways serve him, he would endeavour to prove before " all men, as long as he should live, that he should never " repent of his favour and protection, [*clientele*,] which he " desired to receive of him, or rather to be continued to " him. And of the favours which he [the lord treasurer] " should, according to his singular humanity, shew to that " prince and his brother, both of them his admirers; and " which he was able to do in that great place wherein he " was. And so he should oblige all that illustrious family, " heretofore most addicted to him in many respects." Written from Veldent, July 26. Subscribed, *Tuæ generosissimæ excellentiæ humiliter addictissimus, Theod. Wierus, Dr. archisatrapa comitat. Veldentiæ.* Anno 1582.

As those protestant German princes palatine had all respects at the English court, so to another foreign prince the queen shewed as little affection; namely, the duke of Savoy. Who laboured all he could to swallow up the neighbour city, Geneva; and that chiefly out of his pretended zeal to destroy the religion there professed. The citizens this year are applying themselves, (as they had done before,) by their agent, monsieur Mallet, to her majesty for her assistance, and now in their great danger from that duke, to grant them a supply of money. And out of compassion to them, she appointed a voluntary collection to be made in all the dioceses for that city; and the privy-council directed their letters to the archbishop of Canterbury, for his setting it on foot by his letters to the bishops of his province. The success whereof may be read in Archbishop Grindal's Life, under this year 1582.

The duke of Savoy; the queen's ambassador in France, his letters about him.

Book ii. chap. 14.

There was a letter (not mentioned there) of the syndics and council of Geneva, then addressed to the lord treasurer, laying open their present distressed condition; and thereby to use his interest to move the queen to favour their request. And that backed with another from Beza, their chief minister, to the same lord, to this tenor:

The city of Geneva's letter to the lord treasurer, shewing their condition.

" That he, depending on his benignity, so much spoke of " by all foreigners; which though he might seem thereby

Beza to the same, to favour their

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" too confident, yet partly his equity, and partly their ne-
" cessity would easily, he hoped, excuse.

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" That no doubt it had been told him, what snares had
city in their present necessity.
" been laid for their city of Geneva, and with what force it
" had been assaulted; and how wonderfully God had deli-
" vered it that present year. That he knew very well how
" greedily it was desired by the enemies of the gospel: and
" that beside those that had declared an irreconcileable war
" against the gospel, it had other enemies, whatsoever was
" pretended to the contrary, in respect of the opportunity
" that the situation of that city afforded. And how much
" the defence of that city imported, he [the lord Burghley]
" sufficiently perceived. And that most assuredly in this
" state of things, as long as that *propugnaculum*, that for-
" tress of the Helvetian churches, and that most seasonable
" refuge of the French churches, stood, they must despair
" of executing the council of Trent, was the true scope of
" all those warlike attempts, either in France, or in those
89 " their countries. And he hoped that these *pontificians*,
" leaving them [of Geneva] behind, whatsoever success
" openly they might have against Holland, (which he pray-
" ed God to avert,) they might pass over the sea, and make
" other attempts..... [he meant upon England.]

" On these accounts he beseeched that lord, to whom he
" writ, that by his power with the queen, in that their
" scarcity of money, to obtain of her money, for the assist-
" ance of that city and church; that had not illy deserv-
" ed of others, and also sometime hospitable to this nation."
This letter, dated October 10, proceedeth further: to take off a prejudice that might remain in the queen's mind against Geneva, he endeavoured to clear that church and city of it; namely, " That it was a receptacle of certain wicked per-
" sons: which he affirmed was a shameless slander, since
" there was no city under heaven that received strangers
" with more careful and accurate examination of them, and
" where right judgment was more severely done. And for
" this he appealed to the English themselves; some whereof,

" of all ranks and qualities, had honoured their state and " school with their presence." CHAP. VIII.

And whereas there was another thing that might give a disgust against Geneva; that also he thus took off: " That " he remembered there was a book set forth there [at Ge- " neva] by a certain Englishman, in the unhappy times of " queen Mary, which gave the queen's majesty offence: " [this book seems to be Goodman's, against women's go- " vernment:] but that as soon as it was known there, it was " evident that it was condemned and suppressed, by the " judgment of that church, and by the authority of their " magistrates. And that as for the diversity of some indif- " ferent rites, and of the different manner of the government " of their churches, far be it, that the minds of those that " plainly agreed in consent of the same doctrine should be " divided. And he appealed to his lordship how mode- " rately they always spoke and wrote, being required of " those matters." Anno 1582.

These particulars, and several others mentioned in the abovesaid letter of Beza, makes me reckon it worth reading over, and preserving in the Appendix, exemplified from the original. This letter was accompanied and brought with the beforementioned from the council of Geneva, to the same statesman: which is also added in the Appendix, written in French. And what good success these applications had in the English court and church, may be found in the Life of Archbishop Grindal before shewn. No. XV. No. XVI.

Concerning this duke of Savoy, Brook, the queen's ambassador in France, in a letter to secretary Walsingham, gave this notice privately: " That it was given him to un- " derstand, how that duke had given order to win chevalier " Briton [who was a servant of monsieur, the French king's " brother] to become at his devotion, and to repair unto his " court; where he promised to do him much honour. Upon " which he thought good to put the secretary in mind, that " if the said chevalier should depart from monsieur's service, " and be entertained by the duke, if he would, he might do " her majesty secret service in that court, and might come The English ambassador in France to secretary Walsingham.

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" by intelligence to many matters intended against her ma-
" jesty and those of this religion, now that the said duke had
" shewed himself so great an enterpriser against those of the
" religion. That he [the ambassador] thought he had some
" of his acquaintance which would assure him that the said
" chevalier Briton should do her majesty secret service."

The said ambassador propounded another project to the secretary against the duke of Savoy: " I know not whether
" your honour may think it good, that by monsieur's means,
" the prince of Geneva, son to madam de la Granache,
" may be gotten out of prison, where he lieth in Paris;
" who might be raised up as an opposite instrument unto
" the duke of Savoy and those of the house of De Ne-
" mours."

In the same letter he informeth, " That he had been ad-
" vised by a person of great quality, who had conversation
" with the nuncio and Spanish agent, that they were as-
" sured the prince of Orange had such an indisposition of
" health, [as though he were poisoned,] that he could not
The prince of Orange to die within a month.
" live above a month or six weeks." And upon this the ambassador gave his probable conjecture, " That the report
" concerning that prince might be so given out, in respect
" of his indisposition of health, that he could not live be-
" yond such a time, to cover a wicked design about this time
" against his life." And indeed so it proved; for he was shot by a young, desperate fellow at Antwerp, in the hall,
He is shot.
close by the door of his withdrawing chamber, the bullet entering in at his throat under the right chap, being so near that the fire entered with the bullet into the wound, burning his ruff and his beard, and pierced his jugular vein; and came out at the left cheek, hard by his nose. The surgeon being called, found that the fire which had entered into the wound had cauterized the jugular vein, and done him much good: wherefore the wound was not mortal. But it proved otherwise. The villain was immediately thrust through with an halberd. That which moved him to do the villainy, as
General History of the Nether-
the historian relates, was the temptation of a great sum of money promised by king Philip, to any who should kill that

prince. In his preparation for that act, he was confessed by a Jacobine friar, who fortified him in his resolution; persuading him, and making him believe, that he should go invisible; and gave him some characts in paper, and certain little bones; [of some saints perhaps;] which they found in his pockets, with many conjurations written. And so he was accompanied with the monk to his enterprise. And this I relate, the rather, upon occasion of the English ambassador's intelligence of the reports at Paris, of the shortness of the prince of Orange's life.

Anno 1582. lands, by Ed. Grimston.

CHAP. IX. 91

A contest with the bishop of Coventry and Litchfield about the chancellorship. The case referred to civilians and judges. A petition about it to the privy-council. This bishop's troubles in his diocese. Vexed with lawsuits. The earl of Leicester his enemy. Lord treasurer his friend. Desires a commission ecclesiastical. Names of recusants convict sent up. The ill state of his diocese by papists, and exempt jurisdictions. His letter to the lords. A wicked scandal, laid to the charge of the archbishop of York, discovered. Judgment in the star-chamber upon the actors. The archbishop's earnest letters to the lord treasurer: his letters of thanks to the queen, and treasurer. They make open confession at York of their treachery.

NOW for some collections of remark concerning some of the bishops, falling within this year.

A contest with the bishop of Coventry and Litchfield.

There happened a sharp contest between Overton, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, and one Dr. Beacon, about the chancellorship of that diocese, the bishop having granted it to him, and afterward with his consent joined Babington, M. A. with him, granting the place to them both, *conjunctim et divisim*, and to the longer liver. And lastly, upon pretence of *Non user*, excluding Beacon wholly, and granting the whole office to the latter. This occasioned a resist-

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ance and disturbance in the cathedral church, which amounted to a riot. The bishop then adjourns the court to his own palace, to be holden there; Beacon resorting thither also to offer his service and duty, that no advantage might be taken against him for *Non user*. But the gates were shut upon him. The case came into the star-chamber: and so thence to the privy-council; and they referred it to the archbishop of Canterbury. And he, by a commission of visitation of that diocese, to the bishop of Wigorn, to examine and decide this controversy. And how far this matter proceeded under both archbishops may be read in their Lives, to which I refer the reader. But I have still some other things to relate concerning this notable case, that had been carried into so many courts, brought before so many judges, and the eminentest civilians then in the land, shewing their learning, and giving their judgments therein.

Life of Archbishop Grindal, p. 272.

Life of Archbishop Whitgift, p. 104.

92 Babington was now constituted sole chancellor by the bishop. The archbishop committed this matter to the judgment of Dr. Aubrey and Dr. Hammond. And the case, as drawn up by Beacon, they thought fit to put to some of the learnedest of the common law, viz.

The case put to learned lawyers.

" *Quæritur*, Whether these circumstances may not excuse Dr. Beacon by law from the danger of *Non user;* " attending neither by himself, nor his deputy afterward; " until full order to establish right and quietness concluded " and taken.

" *Answer of lawyers.* These circumstances amount to " a *disseisin;* and Dr. Beacon disseized of his office. Wherefore during the time he is so wrongfully kept from the exercise of his office, *Non user* cannot prejudice him. For " *Non user* is not a cause of forfeiture; but in case where it " is voluntary.

" Tho. Egerton. Yelverton.
" Fra. Beaumont. Johnson.

" Secondly, Whether the grant passed by the bishop, as " before, his lordship in his own person, or by any other, " may intermeddle in the exercise of jurisdiction, or exclude

" the patentees, so that his lordship allow them the fees and " profits growing by the office. And whether one patentee " may exclude another. If both, or either a wrong, how " the patentee may remedy himself. Anno 1582.

" *Answer.* Where the fees be casual and uncertain, grow- " ing by the exercise of the office, the bishop cannot law- " fully exclude or remove the grantee. But if the fee be a " certain sum of money, the grantor may discharge the " grantee of the exercise of his office, allowing him his fee.

" Tho. Egerton. Yelverton.
" Fra. Beaumont. Johnson."

The case drawn up by the bishop, as the former was drawn up by Beacon, was thus.

The case drawn up by the bishop.

" The office of a chancellorship within the diocese is " granted to one for term of life. The bishop, by the pro- " curement and consent of the same grant, doth sell and de- " liver, as his act and deed, another patent, of the same of- " fice to the former grantee, and to A. B. jointly and seve- " rally to the longer liver of them. Which was delivered " into the hands of a third person; upon condition A. B. " shall assure unto the other a certain yearly annuity, dur- " ing life. A. B. refuseth to make such assurance.

" *Quære*, Whether the first patent be void by the making " of the second. And whether the second be also void, by " the non-performance of the condition.

" *Answer.* The second grant being delivered by the bi- " shop, as his deed, and not as an *escrowe*, taketh presently " effect, as an absolute grant to the joint patentees; and the " condition void. But if it were delivered as an *escrowe*, " then the first grant standeth in form, till the second per- " formed.

" Tho. Edgerton. Fra. Beaumont.
" Yelverton. Johnson."

Upon this judgment of these learned lawyers, Dr. Aubrey 93
and Dr. Hammond decided this controversy. But Dr. Babington would not stand thereto; but put up a petition to

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the lords in this contest between him and Dr. Beacon. Which was as follows.

Anno 1582. Babington's petitions to the privy-council.

" To the right honourable, the lords of her majesty's most " honourable privy-council.

" The order made by Dr. Aubrey and Dr. Hammond in " the cause committed unto them between Beacon and Ba- " bington seemeth insufficient and uncertain. For the same " is in part referred, and doth in truth wholly depend upon " the allowance or disallowance of the lord bishop, who is " in no sort or condition tied to the same order: but at " good liberty to frustrate and make void the said joint " patent, in case it shall by law be voidable. Wherefore " Babington most humbly beseecheth your honours, that " the consent to be given to the said order may be respited " him, until the lord bishop shall either have yielded his " consent, or otherwise do shew some lawful cause before " your honours, as touching the insufficiency of his said " joint patent. For Babington, in truth, would be very loath " to contend with the lord bishop, his master, in and about " the said joint patent, except the same shall appear and be " found good and sufficient; or otherwise to give over his " interest he hath or may have in or to the said office, by " reason of any other more assured grant made unto him " from the said lord bishop of the same.

" Where it was likewise thought good and determined by " your honours, that all suits and controversies between " Beacon and Babington should be compromitted and com- " pounded; the said doctors have only made order, as " touching the interest in and to the said office; leaving " Beacon and Babington at full liberty to prosecute the said " suit against each other. Whereupon Beacon, even sithence " the order made, doth proceed in his suit against Babing- " ton. Wherefore Babington being very loath to dwell in " controversy with the said Beacon, in case they be ap- " pointed to join together in execution of the said office, " humbly desireth your honours, that either all causes and " controversies between them may be ordered and conclud-

" ed; or otherwise, that the said Beacon and Babington " may be at liberty to try likewise, by due course of law, " their right and title in and to the said office. Anno 1582.

" Also, where it is ordered by the said doctors, that Mr. " Weston, register, should collect the fees indifferently for " the said parties; and to answer monthly to either an ac- " count of the same, Babington humbly beseecheth your " honours, that he may have the collections of such fees and " profits as are due, unto himself. For that he would be " very loath to expect the account or allowance of any other " in that which is his benefit, living, and maintenance. And " doth offer to become bound, not to intermeddle with any " fee or commodity due to the said Beacon.

" Your honours' humble and most obedient orator,

" Z. Babington."

I have other papers before me concerning this conten- 94
tion, which created so much trouble to the good bishop; as namely, his reasons propounded against admitting Beacon to the chancellorship; and Beacon's tedious answers to these reasons. Which being long, I will not exemplify them here, but choose rather to reposit them in the Appendix. But the bishop's reasons, which he offered to the council, or to those to whom the matter was committed, I will here subjoin, for his vindication. N°. XVII.

" First, Because the said Beacon hath no patent of vali- Reason why the bishop refused Beacon.
" dity. And therefore the bishop doth not think good to " bind himself to a man being free from him, and from all " men. The reason is proved thus. Beacon had two sole " patents and one joint patent. The first made void by the " acceptance of the second. And the second by the accept- " ance of the third. And the third is void, because it is " sealed and delivered to a third person, to the use of the " patentees. But upon condition. And the condition is not " performed. And besides this, though all or any of the " patents were good, yet for the defect of due execution, " they be forfeited, as by public instruments testifying the " same it may appear.

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" Secondly, Because the said Beacon, though he had a " good patent, yet is not a fit man to exercise the office. " The reason is proved thus. Beacon is very unskilful in " the law: and, for lack of knowledge, not able to give a " sentence, nor to judge of causes aright. B. is very cor- " rupt, and hunteth after bribes; whereby justice may be " perverted. B. is a great favourer of such as are enemies to " the queen's laws, and disturbers of the state: as namely, " of one Marbery; who, for his anabaptism, or such like " schismatical or heretical opinions, hath been committed, " and is still put to silence, and deprived of his ministry.

" Thirdly, Though he were fit, yet is he the bishop's " deadly enemy: and therefore not to be trusted. The rea- " son is proved thus. B. defaceth the bishop in all places " where he cometh. B. calleth the bishop, *beastly knave*, " *horson knave*, *perjured man*, *simoniacal bishop*, &c. B. " entereth into conspiracies with others, to deprive the bi- " shop of his bishopric; and hath divers ways sought to en- " trap him, and bring him in danger of the law. B. hath " stood in open accusation of the bishop at the council- " table; and hath procured the dean of Litchfield to do the " like. B. hath joined himself with the bishop's enemies in " all matters. B. hath been a treacherous and perfidious fel- " low to all his masters, the bishops, whom he hath served " heretofore. And therefore B. is nowise to be trusted." What answer Beacon framed to these articles in his own behalf, consult the Appendix, number as above.

The ground of the bishop's troubles from his church.

This bishop had the misfortune to be opposed by the dean and chapter of his church from his first entrance almost into his bishopric, which was in December, 1580. and the abovesaid Beacon, the chief manager of the quarrel on their side. The main ground of it was, that the bishop had demanded some assistance from them and the wealthier 95 of his clergy, under his great charges, too burdensome for him, in his entrance upon the bishopric: which was their *subsidium charitativum*, as it was called; and for which there had been some precedent in that episcopal see. But they of his church denied to give it. And that which added

Subsidium charitativum.

to the bishop's trouble was, that the great earl of Leicester, who was formerly his patron and friend, had relinquished him, and countenanced him not in this affair. Of this and other things he made his complaint at large in a secret letter to the lord treasurer, his other friend and patron. Anno 1582.

Vexed with lawsuits in all courts by his enemies.

" That that earl fell off from him, and rather took the " other side. The cause whereof, he said, he knew not, un- " less it were for *apostasy*." [Which what the bishop meant by it, seems to be, that he had applied himself to the lord treasurer, and took him also for his patron, and depended not upon Leicester alone.] His present troublesome condition he unfolded to the said lord treasurer in the month of February. " Which he called his laying forth his griefs " and oppressions, sought to be brought upon him by his " adversaries. Whereof one Boughton was one of them: " who had brought many suits against him, both at quarter " sessions and assizes; and preferred bills against him in " the star-chamber and in the common-pleas. And all from " the countenance of the earl of Leicester, and from private " letters. That he [the bishop] had writ to him: which " that earl had communicated to his enemy. So that here- " by his own counsel, for fear of displeasure, dared scarcely " to encounter him in his causes. So that, as he added, he " might almost say, he was denied that which every com- " mon subject might claim, viz. the court of justice, and " benefit of her majesty's laws. That Beacon also, [of whom " so much hath been related already,] who before feared " him, did now triumph over him, by means of the coun- " tenance of such who had set him on; and made bold to " sue and trouble him every where at his pleasure; in the " star-chamber, in the chancery, at the council-table, before " the archbishop of Canterbury, in the common-pleas, at " the assizes and sessions, yea, and in his own consistory. " And brought action upon action against him, almost for " every thing he did, and for every word he spake. Inso- " much that, as he added, these suits put him behindhand, " and so consumed him, that he should hardly be able to " recover it of a long time."

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A reason of the actions brought against him.

One ground of these vexatious actions commenced against him was, that being a stirring man, and observing the ancient jurisdictions and privileges of the see encroached upon, both by the city and the church, he claimed them, and endeavoured to recover them, and to overthrow those pretended *exemptions* which obstructed his visitations. Concerning which he gave the lords of the council an account; and laid the justness of his course before them, in a letter writ in May following. Which is hereafter exemplified in the Appendix.

No. XVIII. XIX.

These were some of the complaints, with many more, the poor bishop made to that lord: whose letter I had rather to be read also at large in the Appendix. It is not unlikely he had the more enemies and ill-willers, his diocese (especially Staffordshire) abounding with papists, and other disaffected: which he was no friend to. And had called this year upon the court for a narrower search after such by a commission ecclesiastical.

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The bishop's troubles ended by a commission ecclesiastical.

But this bishop's troubles came to some conclusion this year by means of a commission. And however they represented the bishop as covetous, and contentious among his clergy, yet they were not without fault towards their bishop: which those in the commission took notice of, and shewed him so much justice and favour, that he might not be hindered nor discouraged in the discharge of his episcopal office. This, with the designs of his prebendaries upon his first coming among them, he acknowledgeth in another letter to the lord treasurer, dated from Eccleshal, April 8, to this tenor.

Signified by him to the lord treasurer.

" That the prebendaries of Litchfield, which had so mis-
" used him, had received judgment from the high commis-
" sioners due to their deserts. For which he was in great
" part to thank his honourable lordship. And that there
" had been marvellous plats [plots] laid then, in the begin-
" ning of his government, to have *dawed* him, [as he ex-
" pressed their purposes upon him.] And surely, added
" he, they would have done it indeed, but for such honour-
" able countenance and backing. And that if any body

" should be able to charge him with wrong or wilfulness in " any of his doings, (the case on both parts indifferently " heard,) he would lease his credit for all. But that he " trusted he so tempered himself in all his affairs, both ec- " clesiastical and temporal, that till manifest fault and ob- " stinacy appeared in the offenders, he never sought any " remedy by law; but compounded and ended all matters " at home. And so would do, if he were not forced to the " contrary." Anno 1582.

And then to take off any surmises that he was contentious, as some had laid to his charge, he proceeded in these words: " My honourable good lord, it is a country full of " quarrels; and they will join together notably to lade me " with troubles and griefs: and if I should not repress them " in the beginning, they would overcome me for ever. And " therefore I follow that old rule, *Principiis obsta*, though " to my great travel and charge. If any shall inform your " lordship against me, (as I know they have done already, " and will do still,) I refer myself wholly to your own ho- " nourable judgment and order: only I desire to be heard " as well as they. The first tale is good, till the second be " told. And thus presuming overmuch upon your honour- " able patience, to trouble you with so tedious letters, I " humbly take my leave.

" Your honour's most bounden,

" W. Coventry and Litchfield."

This bishop desires a commission ecclesiastical for papists.

This careful and active bishop observing the popish faction at this time so great in his diocese, for the discovery and suppressing of that sort, earnestly required a commission ecclesiastical to be granted from the court: applying himself for that purpose to the lord treasurer, and acquaint- 97 ing him with a speech he had lately made to the queen, (as it seems, in a sermon,) concerning her danger from papists. In his letter he shewed him, " That he had sent up Mr. " Plaisted to attend upon him and the earl of Leicester; " and Mr. Secretary, for their furtherance in the high com- " mission. That the time now was somewhat quiet, and

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" the opportunity good to make the motion. And the ra-
" ther because of late he had been held, as he said, before
" her majesty, (and with her good liking, as it seemed,) to
" move her to the earnest repressing of the papists, and fur-
" thering of God's cause, and the gospel, as she had already
" graciously begun. That he told her highness in these
" plain words, *That full little did she think, when she was*
" *in the lions' den, to live to be queen of England, such*
" *were the practices of the papists to cut her off from that*
" *expectation, and to cut off themselves also from that dan-*
" *ger and fear, which they had of her, if she should reign.*
" *And yet God had mightily and miraculously preserved*
" *her, as we saw, from the hands of her enemies; only, or*
" *chiefly for that purpose, to re-erect his kingdom, to ad-*
" *vance his glory, and to restore and establish his gospel,*
" *and the true Christian religion among us. And there-*
" *fore as God, even God alone, beyond the expectation of*
" *man, had settled her in her royal seat for that purpose,*
" *and she also had most honourably and graciously per-*
" *formed that good purpose of God in her, so she might*
" *think, that the same God, for the same purpose, had main-*
" *tained hitherto, and would still maintain and defend her*
" *in her state, maugre the heads of all her evil willers,*
" *though the Devil himself, and his vice-devil, the pope, and*
" *all the popish enemies she had in the world, conspired*
" *never so much against her.* These, he said, with much
" more, it pleased her majesty to take graciously at his
" mouth, declaring then God's message unto her. And
" therefore, as he concluded, he trusted her highness would
" as graciously accept of his lordship's suit now in his be-
" half, tending to the same purpose and effect."

This bishop's speech to the queen concerning the papists.

The news of papists convict sent up by the bishop.

This commission, which he saw such great need of in his diocese, I suppose he soon after obtained; because the next news we hear from the council to the bishop was, to return up the names of all the papists convict there: which in the month of May he did; together with his letter at large to the council, desiring such a commission, as necessary; discovering therein also the ill state of that diocese and coun-

try, in many other respects: as concerning the city of Litchfield; and concerning the prebendaries of that church, who had their peculiar jurisdictions by themselves; and so, as exempts, out of his reach: concerning the softness of bishop Bentham, his predecessor: concerning the civil government of the city; and the charters and liberties granted to the bishops by former princes infringed: and the dividing of the city from the see; the ill government of it: (saying, that "in short they lived as they listed, both in the city and "in the church." Further, that bishop gave the council to understand, how the ancient privileges and liberties of the bishopric were conveyed from him, or encroached upon; 98 the ill state of Staffordshire: disturbances by papists in some churches; and arresting of some persons in the church, even at the time of the communion, particularly by some officers of the lord Paget. All this the zealous bishop writ at large to the privy-council. See the letter in the Appendix, set before. A copy of which he thought fit to send to his friend, the lord treasurer, with this letter following.

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His letter to the lord treasurer, shewing the state of his diocese.

"Right honourable, I have written up at this present to "the whole body of the council, partly for answer to your "honourable letters, lately sent to me for the certifying of "the *convicted recusants* in my diocese; partly for other "matters occurrent, as in need and duty I thought requi- "site. I am bold to send your honour a copy thereof here "enclosed; to the end, if it please you, you may aforehand "be acquainted with the point. I humbly beseech your "good lordship, as you were always wont in these and other "my suits, to give me your honourable countenance: where- "by my want, or excess, if I shall be found therein, may, by "your good means, either be pardoned or excused. Certes, "my honourable lord, I am here in a very perilous coun- "try; and, if I may speak it without offence, the very sink "of the whole realm, both for corrupt religion and life. "And therefore would gladly have such reasonable assist- "ance and backing, as might be to the better furtherance "of my service. I am still ready to trouble your lordship, "as one of those whom I think to have great care of the

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" public causes. I trust therefore you will not be offended " with my often and tedious letters unto you. Touching " mine own matters, both for that I have already in expe- " rience of your lordship's honourable friendship towards " me, and also for that of late I heard from Mr. Plaisted " of your lordship's countenance there, I acknowledge my- " self most bounden to you, &c. Dated from Eccleshal, " the 20th of May, 1582."

A horrible scandal plotted against the bishop of York.

Now we proceed to relate an injury of no common size done to another eminent person of the episcopal order, viz. to Sandys, archbishop of York, by a wicked slander, and vile artificial prosecution of it: so base, that the like was scarce ever heard of before; and that created that good bishop the greatest trouble that ever he met with in his life: sir Robert Stapleton, a knight of Yorkshire, being the great contriver of it. The end whereof was to get a good lease of the lands, and great sum of money from the archbishop. The business was acted in the month of May, 1581, at Doncaster, where the archbishop in his journey lodged. Here Sysson, the host, caused his wife to go by night into the archbishop's bed to him: and he presently after followed, with his dagger in his hand, into the chamber; which he put to the archbishop's breast, his man Alexander being in company with him: and Maude, that had been the archbishop's servant, present too, and in the plot. The words that Sysson used, when he came into the chamber, and saw his wife in bed with the archbishop, was, *God's precious life, I will mark a whore and a thief.* Sir Robert Stapleton was then in the inn, though he pretended not to be there at that
99 time, or privy to any such thing, and to be the archbishop's friend. But that he was there, it was justly presumed: for Sysson sending his man for him, he presently came in in his apparel, (so that he had not undressed himself, however late it was,) expecting to be called in, according to the plot laid. And Sysson requiring 800*l.* of the archbishop, Stapleton brought it down to 600*l.*

In this distress the poor archbishop was fain to comply with Sysson, and the rest of the conspirators. And to con-

ceal this abuse done him, and the shame that would attend it; which he perceived would reflect not only upon his own reputation, but the church too; in this distress he yielded in some measure to a lease of some lands of the bishopric to Stapleton. But after, when the knight would further make his own terms with the archbishop, and require still more lands, manors, and benefits, to the utter impoverishing of the see, the good archbishop resolved then no longer to conceal the matter; but to send up the whole cause, and the truth of their horrible dealings with him, in a letter to the lord treasurer Burghley; and he to acquaint the queen with it.

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The queen requires a lease of Southwel of the archbishop.

But first I must relate by what means it came to this issue. Sir Robert Stapleton, besides what he had obtained already of the archbishop, still intended to make a greater benefit of him; and having some interest with the queen, petitioned her to get the rich manors of Southwel and Scrowby for him. And having the archbishop thus, as he thought, in awe, threatened him to discover all, unless he would comply with the queen's letters to him, to grant long and unreasonable leases for the same. But notwithstanding, the archbishop was at a point, whatever came of it, not to yield in a demand so destructive to the see; and intending to come up himself, but prevented by sickness, wrote his letter to the queen, offering to lay down and quit the bishopric; and all rather than to do it. With which letter he sent another to the lord treasurer: shewing the hardships required of him, and the great damage that he should do, not only to himself, but to all that there should succeed him, and his own steadiness in so good a cause; deserving, for the honourable memory of this archbishop, to be exemplified here from the very original; and was as followeth:

Which the archbishop refuseth to grant: and why. His letter to the lord treasurer.

" My honourable good lord: of late I received a letter
" from her majesty, earnestly requiring me to grant unto
" her highness one manor in lease, according to a lease con-
" ceived and sent withal. In the letter one manor is re-
" quired without name: but in the lease two of the greatest
" manors I have be comprised, to wit, Southwel and Scrow-

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" by, with all their manors, houses, woods, parks, rents, re-
" versions, liberties, privileges, and all other commodities
" whatsoever can be named, belonging unto the same, to
" be granted for lxx years, a certain rent reserved. The
" rent for Scrowby reserved in this new lease is xl pound
" by year. But in truth, by all ancient records, and in my
" yearly accounts at this day, Scrowby, with its members,
" amounted to clxx*l.* by year. And so is answered. This
" lease excludeth the bishop of York out of Nottingham-
" shire, from all houses, lands, and livings; and will grow
" in time to be a loss to the see of York of as many thou-
" sand pounds as it is now required to be let for years.

" I am fully persuaded her majesty was never made ac-
" quainted with the contents of this lease, the inconveni-
" encies whereof are so great, that, with a good conscience
" towards God, I can never consent unto it.

" I was fully purposed to answer this person; but after
" three days journey, I fell so weak and so sick, and so still
" remain, that I could travel no further. And therefore
" forced by my letter to answer her majesty. Which thing
" I have done in such sort, as I hope her majesty will be
" fully satisfied therewithal. But whatsoever shall fall out,
" I trust your lordship will favour this honest cause: no
" wight upon the earth more loath to displease her majesty
" than I, as one most bound unto her highness; if the grant-
" ing of this lease would not highly displease God, kill my
" conscience, and spoil the church of York. My good lord,
" extend your wonted friendship. And if her majesty can-
" not be satisfied with my answer, and so shall dislike of my
" service, then to offer unto her highness in my name the
" resignation of the archbishopric; that one may be placed
" that can better serve. And my resignation shall be ab-
" solute, and it shall stand in her majesty's pleasure to give
" me ought or nought to live on, during these few evil days
" which I have to live. I will hope in God, that he will
" make an end of all my travels before I depart out of this
" place. Thus, my good lord, commending me and this
" good cause unto your honourable consideration, I com-

" mend you to the good direction of God's holy Spirit. " Southwel, this xxivth of November, 1582."

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All this while the knight was labouring to get some good lease of the archbishop by the queen's means, if not that which was formerly requested. And so far at length her letters prevailed, that a lease was by him sent up made to her majesty; and so to be conveyed over to him. Nor was that acceptable to Stapleton. Who came therefore to the archbishop at Bishopthorp; and urged him about the same business. " And there with vain and proud speeches, he " lying sick in his bed, (as the archbishop related it to the " lord Burghley, in another letter to him,) wonderfully mo- " lesting him: saying, he was the queen's messenger to him, " and might say what he would. The archbishop said, that " he was ready to follow the tenor of her majesty's letters, " and grant whatsoever her majesty required of him. But " his commission by word of mouth had no end: putting " in and out, altering and augmenting at pleasure. That " he surveyed all his lands: picked out what liked him, to " see what the farmers would give. So that he, said the " archbishop, is the lord of my livings, and the leasor of my " lands. That his letters to her majesty, wherein he will- " ingly granted her highness's whole request, he would not " receive at his [the archbishop's] hands, but needs he must " have the conveying of the lease. But that he minded not " so to gratify his enemy. That to prevent him, he pre- " sently sent up by post his letter of his resolution of grant " unto her majesty. And that he would, within fourteen " days next, send up the lease sealed and confirmed accord- " ingly. So that there should be no fault in him, except it " were a fault to beat down his pride."

Words of sir Robert Stapleton to the archbishop.

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The archbishop further added concerning this adversary of his, " That he reported of him to a person of great ho- " nour, that he had him on the hip: that one Rawley would " prove him an usurer: and that he himself would make " him [the archbishop] glad, ere it were long, to pray her " majesty to take in lease Southwel and Scrowby. And " that yet it was not four days before he wrote this letter,

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" the same person (as the archbishop added) deeply sware " unto him, in the presence of Mr. Cheeke, [viz. Henry " Cheeke, secretary to the council in the north,] that he " never had, neither ever would speak evil by him."

The archbishop reveals the villainy used towards him.

But the knight little knew at this time that the archbishop had a little before discovered all his practice. For being no longer able to bear his dealings with him, and that he should have him thus *upon the hip*, (to use the knight's phrase,) he had, about a fortnight before, by a letter to his friend, the foresaid lord, opened the whole work of darkness. And by his means the queen herself was fully acquainted with it; which affected her with exceeding indignation against the actors, as we shall hear in the sequel. But take his first letter in this discovery of iniquity: thus addressing to that lord.

" My good lord: *In rebus adversis amicus certus cerni-* " *tur*. I find myself more bound unto you than to any " man living. At a dead lift you are my most faithful " friend. I have need of your present help: otherwise, " like to be oppressed with great and shameful wrong. " False informers have prevented me. I was upon the way " fully purposed to have opened unto you their treachery, " and to have prayed your aid for their condign punish- " ment. My only fault is, that I have concealed the thing " so long. I was drawn thereunto by their deep oaths that " my good name should never come into question. In re- " spect of the gospel, I have suffered myself thus shame- " fully to be abused. But hereof, my lord, assure yourself, " I am in this matter, wherewith they chiefly charge me, " most innocent from all criminal fact. And that I swear " unto you by the living God, and as I shall be saved by " Jesus Christ. So that you need not fear to defend my " just cause, which thing cannot be dishonourable unto " you."

The archbishop sent his chancellor Went with this to his lordship; " who, he said, should impart unto him the whole " practice and treachery contrived against him: praying him " to hear his said chancellor. That he was a man of inte-

" grity and fidelity, and would tell him nothing but the
" truth." He added, " That he put his whole trust in his
" lordship. That he would use the means, according to his Anno 1582.
" wisdom and wonted favour, to deliver him from this great
" wrong offered him. That he had a great while languish-
" ed, and been almost swallowed up with sorrow, lest the
" word of God should hear evil by him. But now when
" the false informers had disclosed themselves, and done 102
" their worst, he, as he concluded, encouraged himself to
" this battle, as well trusting in his own innocence as in the
" lord treasurer's old, wonted, assured favour. Thus with
" his prayers, &c. Dated from Bishopthorp, the 6th of
" Jan. 1582. Subscribing,

" Your lordship's most assured, and so bound,

" E. Ebor."

The archbishop requires severe punishment.

And this letter was backed to the same lord by a second; styling sir Robert and Sysson, the two contrivers of this mischief, " evil men, and who had deserved severe punish-
" ment. For monstrous (he wrote) had been their trea-
" chery and cozenage against him." Adding, " I know
" your lordship, in respect of God's cause, and in respect
" of innocence, and somewhat of me, your old poor well-
" willer, will not suffer these wicked men to escape condign
" punishment."

The queen incensed when she heard it.

When the queen was informed of this vile and base combination against the archbishop, she was highly incensed at so notorious a crime. And forthwith letters from the court were sent down; one to Sysson, and another to Stapleton; to summon them up to answer certain accusations to be laid against them. In short, they were brought under strict examination of their doings. And interrogatories were administered to them, and the rest engaged in the fact. Which may be read at large in the Appendix. And the matter, by the care and diligence of the lord treasurer, was brought to such an issue, that all was discovered, and the shame and wickedness appeared to all.

They are summoned up.

No. XX.

And the queen commanded sir Christopher Hatton, her

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vice-chamberlain, to signify the content she took in the proceedings. Who thus wrote to the said treasurer her majes-

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ty's mind therein; together with his own joy and satisfaction on the same account.

Hatton to the treasurer upon the discovery.

"My very good lord, I thank God from my heart that "your trouble in this great cause hath brought forth so "blessed an effect. Innocency is delivered. Truth hath "prevailed, to God's glory, and due commendation of your "wisdom and goodness. Her majesty rejoiceth exceedingly "in it, and yieldeth her most gracious thanks to your lord-"ship for your so grave and wise proceeding in it.

"My lord of Leicester hath her majesty's direction to "signify thus much of her pleasure, with some further "matter unto your lordship. Dated the 24th of Fe-"bruary."

And so likewise, on this occasion, the archbishop was not behindhand in returning his thanks, for clearing his innocency, and discovering the treachery against him. Whose letter neither can I omit; writ from his seat near York, and was as followeth:

The archbishop's letter to him.

"My honourable good lord, I cannot requite your great "goodness towards me, but by my earnest prayer. All the "rest that is in me is not able to answer *unum pro mille.*

103 "Without your constant favour and present help, doubtless "mine innocence should have been condemned, and the wick-"ed justified. But my God hath raised you up to stand in "the gap, for the trying further of this treachery, and the "clearing of mine innocency. As herein you have served "the Lord Jesus, in removing this great offence from his "spouse, the church; so will he, no doubt, requite you for "the same, sevenfold in your bosom.

"I hear the knight [sir Robert Stapleton] hath confessed "his treachery; not penitently, but threateningly. My lord, "after he hath answered and satisfied the church, by this "his vile practice mightily offended, then let him do to me "what he can. I fear not his worst. I know in what safe "state I stand. My conscience will not accuse me. *Et* "*veritas liberabit.* If they had not invented, that the strum-

" pet should say I solicited her, they should have had no-
" thing wherewith to colour their treachery. But God doth
" know, and my conscience doth ever record with me, mine
" innocency. Yet can I never stand clear in the sight of a
" great sort; neither can God have his glory; except, as
" the church hath been publicly offended, so it may be pub-
" licly satisfied. I know your lordship, as well for the zeal
" you have to God, as also for the love you bear to justice,
" will see this vile treachery openly punished, and stoutly
" finish that you have so stoutly begun. The cause is
" God's; the praise will be yours: and I most bound ever
" to pray for you. God send you health, and the spirit of
" fortitude, to suppress all falsehood. And thus I humbly
" take my leave, commending your good lordship to the
" good direction of God's holy Spirit. Bishopthorp, this
" 28th of February, 1582.

" Your lordship's most bounden,

" E. Ebor."

Stapleton's behaviour informed of to the lord treasurer.

Upon this course taken, Stapleton seemed at first to be penitent and sorrowful, and willing to make his acknowledgment to the archbishop. But it was but in appearance. For he soon grew cold and remiss; and threatening the archbishop some ill turn: as the archbishop's letter above hinted. Insomuch that information thereof was given to the lord treasurer, then absent from court: who forthwith sent his servant, secretary Maynard, to the earl of Leicester, to let him know as much, and to acquaint the queen with it. And what the effect of this message was, and how the good queen had resented it, and her order thereupon, will appear by the earl's letter in answer to that of the treasurer, viz.

The earl of Leicester acquaints the queen with it.

" That he had declared to her majesty the advertisement
" that his servant Maynard had brought him that after-
" noon, touching sir Robert Stapleton's coldness again, or
" rather cholericness, towards the archbishop; as had ap-
" peared by his late words and speeches. That her majesty
" had willed him to signify to him, [the lord treasurer,] that

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" her pleasure was, for that she doubted that Mr. Stapleton had too much intelligence where he then was [under some favourable restraint,] that he so suddenly seemed to change his manner of dealing, that he should be forthwith committed to the Fleet, to close prison: and that he [the treasurer] should send for the warden of the Fleet; and give him charge, upon his duty to her majesty, for his strait and close keeping of sir Robert, till he had further order from her majesty. That Maude likewise, if he dealt not plainly, be committed to some sharper and straiter place: and such other as were touched with this cause, Sysson excepted, who seemed to justify his confession. And that her majesty would have sir Robert's answer under his hand, as he confessed any matter worthy setting down; and would know, if that he hath already confessed were not under his hand.

" That her majesty was very earnest in this cause: that it be not now handled to her dishonour, and the blot of the bishop: and that she found him like to prove innocent in this accusation: and feared his lordship's sickness, and other weak handling, might hinder it; which his lordship's travail had brought to so good pass. That thus much more her majesty said, that if the imprisonment of the Fleet were not sufficient, she would be content that his lordship and he [the earl] and they [the rest of the star-chamber] should commit him to what place they should think most fit. So earnest, added the earl, was she to have the matter truly well handled, for the trial of the truth and purgation of the bishop.

" Thus have I done (as he concluded) her majesty's commandment touching this matter; being loath and sorry to trouble your lordship, knowing how much troubled you are otherwise. But her majesty reposeth great confidence in your lordship's direction. And so praying to God to send your lordship as good health as I wish myself, I end. At the court, this 28th of February, 1582.

" Your lordship's assured friend,

" R. Leycester."

CHAP. IX.

This command of the queen brought on a further trial of these men; in order to a more perfect knowledge and discovery of the whole matter. And a commission was sent down to those parts where the villainy was acted, for the stricter examination of the parties and the causes, in order to the exemplary punishments of the delinquents. Of this commission, in another letter to the lord treasurer, the archbishop seemed to be the chief instrument; that so his innocence might the more evidently appear in those parts where he lived; and that chiefly by the just and open punishment of the guilty: and advising, that the knight, being the chief contriver, might chiefly be punished. And this letter (though somewhat long) I will also insert, the rather, as containing several things more particularly, as the afflicted bishop related his own case and circumstances; upon a new commission now sent down into those parts to examine witnesses.

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A commission sent down to examine witnesses.

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The archbishop to the lord treasurer; requiring public punishment.

"I fear that I trouble your lordship too much with my "many letters: but the necessity of my case forceth me, "and the persuasion that I conceive of your approved "friendship, and your most firm favour towards me, em- "boldeneth me so to do. Your lordship's last private let- "ter maketh the commissioners here to retire. And this "new commission warranteth them fully to receive wit- "nesses for the better trial of this treachery. So that I "doubt not but that I shall be cleared here in all respects. "God shall have the glory: and after her majesty, you de- "serve the chief praise. For if your lordship had not stood "stoutly at this stern, to break the violent charges of the "sea, doubtless, ere this, I had suffered shipwreck. Here- "in you have served God, who can and doth requite it. "But truly, my lord, except public punishment follow upon "this public offence, neither can my good name be repaired, "neither can the church of Christ be satisfied. For it is "here given out, as well by the knight's friends, as also by "the papists, that these parties now troubled, must needs "confess somewhat, as also be lightly punished, to cover "the bishop's fault. If they may escape, as is looked for, "they will insult more than hitherto they have done.

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"I think your lordship somewhat perceiveth how they "labour already to fall from their former confession. And "I assure myself that your lordship, if it were but only in "respect of God's cause, will be the means to see this foul

The captain of the conspiracy.

"fact throughly punished: and especially the captain of "this conspiracy. He in this action is *causa sine qua non*. "For never durst the others, his confederates, have enter- "prised this vile practice, but in sure persuasion that he "would bear out this matter. So that it is the knight which "in right should bear the great burden; or rather, answer "for them all. His sacrifice must make the satisfaction. "I seek not private revenge, God is my judge. And with- "out the public punishing of him, neither shall I, nor any "other of the clergy, be able to live in countenance or safety. "And for my part, I will never live a bishop with so great "disgrace. But it maketh small matter of me; the com- "mon cause is to be considered; nay, the church of Christ "must be satisfied. This is not my fancy, but the judg- "ment of the wise; the common cry of the world. And "for clearing of your lordship, as also of others, my honour- "able good lords, from suspicion of affection, or partiality "towards me in this cause, it is thought most convenient

Star-chamber.

"it should receive judgment in the star-chamber, a court "of great equity, and void of all suspicion of partiality.

"But I fear this thing will be hardly brought to pass "without your lordship's special favour and furtherance. "Neither mind I to move the matter to any other. For as "yet it seemeth to be scant ripe, before I know your lord- "ship's pleasure therein. For in this, as in all other, I will "wholly rely upon your lordship, and follow your direction. "Yet can I see no other way how I may escape perpetual

106 "infamy, neither the church of Christ an incurable wound "of offence. And better a millstone about my neck, and I "hurled into the sea. I trust, therefore, your lordship will "not mislike hereof: but rather advise me, when the time "shall be convenient to lay my suit that way. And I shall "humbly pray your lordship to acquaint my chancellor with "your opinion herein; that he may speedily impart the

"same unto me. There be some of the council that require "my presence in London. Truly, my lord, my weakness "will not suffer me, as yet, to travel. For grief hath so "overgrown me, and this vexation hath so feebled me, that "I am forced as yet to keep my chamber, against my fol- "lowing this matter in person.

"An opinion of some would argue in me an earnest and "a revengeful mind: others would travail with me for a "mitigation of their punishment. And that were to pro- "cure shame to myself, and slander to God's gospel. And "a great sort would say, that I were commanded to come "up to answer for myself. Neither do I think it fit for my "age and calling, to trudge up and down about this mat- "ter, or to stand at the bar for my defence. All these "things notwithstanding, if her majesty shall not dislike of "it, and if it shall please your lordship so to advise me, I "will, soon after Easter, adventure upon the journey, if it "should be to the loss of my life.

"And stark tired with the writing this long letter, (I "wrote not so much these four months past,) I take my "leave of your good lordship, commending the same to the "good direction of God's holy Spirit. Bishopthorp, March "the 23d, 1582.

"Your lordship's most bounden,

"E. Ebor."

The judgment given in the star-chamber in behalf of the archbishop.

In short, the case was heard in the star-chamber, witnesses examined, and at last judgment was given, that the knight and the rest should go down to York; and there before all, in a public manner, at the assizes, declare and confess this their vile practice, with other penalties; for the vindication of the archbishop's innocency, and for the giving satisfaction to the church. These their confessions were made before the archbishop, then also present: who, after they had ended, gravely and piously spake to each of them; yet smartly now and then, laying this business close to them, in order to make them sensible of their impiety, and to bring them to repentance, and also forgiving them. This confes-

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sion of sir R. Stapleton and the rest, and the archbishop's answers to them, (which will shew more particulars of this treachery,) are well worthy reading. And therefore, being somewhat long, I have preserved them in the Appendix.

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No. XXI.

Their misbehaviour at their confessions.

One would have thought that the judgment of the lords, thus despatched and performed, should have put an end to this business. But it did not. For the knight made but a mock-business of his confession, and of his asking the archbishop forgiveness; and his behaviour appearing so confident. And he and Maude coming to the bar to read their confessions, and make their submissions, both wore white ribands about them: the knight appeared with a white riband cast about his body; and Maude the like tied about his arm. And the knight told one of his friends that shewed himself dejected for him, and said, "That there was no "cause why this should breed any sorrow in him. For he "came now but to serve her majesty, as he had done in "weightier affairs heretofore; and doubted not to do here-"after." So that the voice of the people in that shire and the next ran especially upon two points, observed by all men in their submissions: first, their *white ribands*, an unusual or rather new fashion; yet having a certain signification. Secondly, their saying by them often iterated, of their *coming but to serve her majesty;* to *fulfil her majesty's commandment:* which were so taken and interpreted: as, in the first, professing their unspotted innocency: in the second they declared, that notwithstanding the former, for her majesty's pleasure they were thus punished, and thus disgraced. Which words seemed to divers wise men most pestilent and heinous; and to the queen's majesty most injurious.

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The archbishop informs the lord treasurer thereof.

This disorderly behaviour, even at their submissions, compelled the archbishop, not only upon his own account, but chiefly for the queen's honour, to send another letter to the lord treasurer: in the entrance whereof he shewed him, "That he had followed his good advice and counsel; and "that he had followed the example of his master Christ, "and forgiven his persecutors and enemies, who had many "ways crucified him. Inwardly, he had done it at the com-

" mand of God; outwardly, because his lordship so moved " him." Informing him, " That in the parties themselves " there appeared neither any humility, neither any spark " of repentance; saving only in the Scot, [viz. Alexander, " Sysson's man, who was in his confession very penitent.]

" That the knight came to the bar in great bravery, with " proud looks, and disdainful countenance and gesture: hav- " ing a great white riband in baudrick sort cast upon a black " satin doublet. That he read his submission with so low " a voice, and so running, as one reading a letter, as fast as " he could. Of the presence he could not be heard nor " understood. And that it was most scornfully done, with- " out any token of repentance. And that when he had " made an end, he said thus: Now I have read it *verbatim*, " and fulfilled her majesty's commandment.

" That Mallory read more soberly, yet without any token " of repentance. That Maude abused the judgment of the " star-chamber, and the whole presence most lewdly. That " he came in with a black satin doublet, with a white ri- " band fast about his right arm. That he spoke so low, and " read so disorderly and disdainfully, that the justices of " assize rebuked him sharply; he alleging, that he could " not well see, nor hear, neither speak. And so derided " the order, and laboured to deface him, [the archbishop.] " That the Scot [Alexander] was the only man that hum- " bled himself, and with tokens of repentance prayed mercy."

And then the archbishop subjoined, and shewed that lord to whom he writ, " That he considering what was fit for " him to do, and not what they deserved, forgave them all 108 " so far as became a Christian, and as God required of him: " yet with protestation, that he left the order of the star- " chamber in its full form. And requested the justices of " assize to spare Maude the pillory, and the Scot his ear. " Which things, notwithstanding, added the archbishop, he " would never have done, but in respect to his lordship's " letter. For, he assured him, more proud, impenitent, " scornful men never came in public place to ask forgive- " ness."

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The archbishop told more of their wicked practices against him, even after their public confessions, to blot him and clear themselves. Insomuch that he wrote, "That the case "had stood far better with him, if they had not come down "at all. And that he doubted not but that his lordship "would consider of these disorderly doings, even as might "best serve to God's glory, and for the honour of the lords "of the star-chamber: whose judgment they discredited, "and whose order they utterly contemned. And that for "himself, he saw that while he lived there, he should live "both in great misery and in great danger; and should la- "bour unprofitably, hurling pearls before swine; and be- "stow all his labours upon an unthankful people." This writ from Bishopthorp, the 2d of August, 1583.

One only of them shewed repentance, and begged forgiveness.

Nor was there any of this company that shewed true repentance at their confessions, but Alexander Farly, the Scot, their servant: who, before he began to make his confession, voluntarily acknowledged his fault, and craved pardon of the archbishop, and that he would grant him a release of the loss of his other ear, one having been cut off before his coming down to York. And standing upon the pillory, he prayed for my lord archbishop: at whose hands, he said, he found more favour than at any man's else. And being demanded concerning his obstinacy, why he never confessed his lewdness before the sentence was ready to be given, he answered, it was to keep his oath taken for the concealment of it. When this man came to York, to receive judgment, he willed all serving men to take heed of gentlemen, and not to trust them; for their flattering promises had provoked him to that wickedness: and then they left him in that misery.

This unadvised behaviour brought those men into new troubles. For they soon were summoned up again, and committed to the Fleet; and came into examination in the star-chamber about the *white riband*, and a whetstone also that hung at it, when the knight was at York, reading his confession. I am sensible I have been somewhat long in my relation of this accident happening to archbishop San-

dys: my purpose being to retrieve and preserve, as much as I can, the memory of these first bishops under queen Elizabeth, the great directors and instruments of our reformation. Whereof this learned, pious exile and confessor, as well as prelate, was one of the chief.

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But this business ended not yet. For I find sir Robert Stapleton was proceeded against sharply for his misdemeanour. For he was deeply fined, and committed a prisoner to the Tower; and remained there, and in the Fleet, in the years 1583 and 1584. Which affliction seemed to humble him, and bring him to repentance. For thus I find a letter of his to the lord treasurer importing, as I take it from the original, viz. "That as my great follies and offences deserve the punishment that willingly and with contentment I do endure, so I humbly crave, upon my true repentance, that your lordship would please, for the relief of my weak body, most deeply decayed with long restraint in prisons, close and unwholesome, to be a mean unto her majesty for my liberty of this house: whereby in taking air and convenient exercise by walking, I must hope for the remedy that by physic is denied, both for the unfit season of the year, being intemperately cold, and his feebleness and inability of stomach, unapt to receive medicine. He added, that he dared not trouble his lordship with long letters, but did beseech him, for God's cause, to mitigate his displeasure, which he confessed he had largely deserved. That the Highest knew he was right woe for it, and did purpose to become a new man in lowliness and integrity of life. That this was the same duty that he offered to God for his sins: and he verily hoped his most gracious sovereign would not refuse it: neither that his lordship would reject that just petition of him that was in misery. Even so he humbly took his leave, beseeching God to preserve him in all honour and happiness. From the Tower, the 24th of December, 1583."

Stapleton fined, and committed to the Tower.

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His letter thence.

And I find the said knight in the Fleet in May, 1584, petitioning the said lord to procure the release of his imprisonment and fine; all writ with his own hand, to this te-

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nor: "That as one most heartily sorry for his great of-
"fences, he did lay himself at his lordship's feet; craving
Anno 1582. "his mercy and honourable favour towards the relief of his
Another penitent letter of the same. "poor estate by release of his grievous imprisonment and
"heavy fine. He acknowledgeth, that his lordship had of
"late been pleased to mitigate his extremities in more ho-
"nourable sort than he was able to deserve; he humbly
"craved, that for God's cause he would continue his good-
"ness, especially at the present, sithence upon some ready
"help consisted his great good or harm, to the establish-
"ment or utter overthrow of his poor house and children.
"All which he committed to his honourable consideration,
"&c. Dated from the Fleet, the 27th of May, 1584. Sub-
"scribing,

"Your good lordship's, in all duty and service,

"R. Stapleton."

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CHAP. X.

The bishop of Peterburgh addresseth to the queen for confirmation of their statutes for residence. Commission for concealments oppress the clergy in the diocese of Lincoln. The bishop's complaint thereof to the lord treasurer. Ensnaring interrogatories put to the ministers and churchwardens. The said bishop's letters in behalf of his clergy, and his own jurisdiction, encroached upon. The bishop of Lincoln in an ecclesiastical commission upon Mackworth, for having two wives. The troubles of Scory, bishop of Hereford, from sir H. Sidney, lord president of Wales. His rigorous government. The state and revenues of the bishopric of St. David's.

TRANSACTIONS of remark of some other bishops happening this year, follow.

The bishop of Peterburgh endeavours

Edmund, bishop of Peterburgh, had now some business with her majesty: which was, to have the statutes of the cathedral church confirmed; chiefly to oblige the prebenda-

ries thereof to residence. The want of which he made complaint of to her, in a long letter, dated June the 19th, from Peterburgh; introduced with this humble, apologizing preface: "That he knew not whether he should begin to crave "pardon for his boldness in presuming, after his simple "manner, to write to her most excellent majesty, or to "make his excuse, that he had deferred until that day to "signify unto her a matter of so great necessity as that "which he was to declare. Wherefore touching both those "points, determining to rest upon her accustomed favour "and royal virtue, he proceeded to his purpose. Letting "her understand;

Anno 1582. the confirmation of the statutes.

"That her good and gracious father, king Henry VIII. "had erected in Peterburgh a cathedral church. And that "kind of foundation implied always a society of learned "men, stayed and grounded in all parts of religion, apt to "preach the gospel, and convince errors and heresies, which "in the singleness of opinions (where particular men over "particular churches, as pastors, are set, within the dio-"cese, where it is chief) may happen to arise; and fur-"ther, to assist the bishop, the head of the diocese, in all "godly and wholesome consultations. Insomuch that the "cathedral church ought to be, as it were, the *oracle* of the "whole diocese, and a light unto all places lying near it. "And that after this house [of God] was erected, there "came to the same certain statutes for the government "thereof, under his majesty's name: and so had conti-111 "nued; not without regard the rather through a confir-"mation made of them by her majesty's visitors, appointed "for that place and country adjacent, *anno primo* of her "most happy reign. Insomuch, that a long time after his "coming to that bishopric, he did, (he said,) as well he "might, contain the prebendaries of the said church in the "duties of residence, hospitality, and preaching the word, "indifferently well.

Addressed to the queen for that purpose.

The cathedral church the oracle.

"But that (as he went on) of late years these good of-"fices were diminished; and at the last, in a manner, he "spake it not without deep sighs, almost clean vanished:

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" insomuch as, he said, he dared not express unto her how " little residence was there; being loath in any wise to trou- " ble her majesty therewith, if he had been able to reform it " of himself. That he had extended his authority and force " of jurisdiction to the uttermost, and followed the severity " of laws in higher courts, pretermitting no means under " her majesty, to redress that which was, and still remained, " amiss: and had not found either very good success, or " mean charges, expenses, and trouble. That the chief and " sole cause, in a manner, of all this matter, besides the " perverseness of men's natures, being the uncertainty of the " authority of the statutes of the said church; the froward " and disobedient always pretending for their defence, that " the same were and are of no force; and that they stand " at liberty to do, or not to do, the premises at their plea- " sure. Because they were not extant under the great seal, " and indented."

And thus having shewed the cause of his complaint to the queen, he proceeded to make his request: " Wherefore " he, styling himself her majesty's most faithful and poor " subject, appointed under her to that church and govern- " ment, most humbly prostrated himself before her in this " matter, as of great importance, both in respect of God's " glory, and of her father's and her own renown, for this his " majesty's most famous work of erecting cathedral churches, " instead of monkish and superstitious houses, was, and so " still remained, the beauty of the reformation of religion, " and the greatest benefit next to the doctrine of the gospel " itself, that the church of God in his realm received at " his most royal hands, far exceeding all other acts that " were done by any of his progenitors before him; and " surmounting all that was like to be done in any time to " come: if that which his will founded might likewise be " well governed."

And then further to press his motion, he used these words to her: " Let not then, I most humbly beseech you, the " matter of government of these houses, (for they all that " are of your father's foundation be in like uncertainty of

" the authority of their statutes, and especially this church " where I am,) stand any longer doubtful; but let it be " by your most sacred majesty decided and determined, Anno 1582. " under what rules and orders they shall live. And so shall " the holy plant of your father's hand be by you well nou- " rished and cherished; and you shall be rightly heir, as " well of his glory, as you are of his imperial crown and " dignity. And the Lord shall bless, prosper, and multiply " your days and years; to the great comfort of the church, 112 " and all your most faithful subjects."

And still to excite the queen to a despatch of this business, he added: " That this thing, until it be perfectly " finished, being a matter that needed no long delay for the " difficulty, nor would be deferred for the great utility, all " celerity would seem little to him, being an old man, de- " sirous to leave his church in good order before he died: " and knowing that it was now more than ten years since " it was moved by him and others to their archbishop that " was dead; and by him to her majesty, as he said, to be " reformed: concluding, that he that was loath to begin to " write, now found difficulty to make an end, because of " the weight of this matter that he was entered into. But " because he was grown to more length than he purposed, " he must of necessity make an end: most humbly beseech- " ing her majesty to pardon him in that he dared to pre- " sent, after his rude manner, this, or any cause unto her. " Subscribing,

" Your majesty's most faithful subject,
" Edmund Petriburg."

Commission of concealments in the diocese of Lincoln complained of.

The commission for concealed lands and estates, granted out by the queen, created great perplexities and wrongs to the clergy, as at other times before, so this year; the queen gratifying some of her dependents, and particularly the gentlemen pensioners, with these commissions. Whereof one of them was Edward Stafford. Whose deputies extreme dealing with the clergy in the large diocese of Lincoln, was

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at length complained of by Cooper the bishop, to the lord treasurer: who was the clergy's chief patron, to whom they usually applied in their distresses and hardships, often nowadays put upon them.

These deputies of Stafford, that the poor clergy in this diocese might be sure to be well squeezed, were instructed to administer to the ministers and churchwardens *Articles of Inquiry;* and which they would deliver no copies of. The sum of which articles the bishop sent up to the said lord treasurer, enclosed in his own letter to him, for some redress of his clergy. I shall first set down the articles, and then his letter, which will give us a plainer discovery of this matter.

The articles had this title: *A note of certain articles offered by Mr. Stafford's deputies to all the clergy generally, so far as they to them have been offered, and can be remembered.* For copies, they themselves would deliver none.

Articles of inquiry put to parsons, &c. by the concealers.

" *Imprimis*, Where you are parson, vicar, or curate. " And to whom the gift of that parsonage or vicarage doth " belong. And how long have you been possessed of it. " And whether you be incumbent upon it.

" 2. *Item*, Of what age you were at the first taking of it.

" 3. *Item*, Whether you have any more benefices than " one; and how you are qualified. And by whom. Whe-
113 " ther under the hand and seal of any nobleman. And whe- " ther you be dispensed withal according to law.

" 4. *Item*, Whether you have read the articles within " two months next after your admission to any parsonage or " vicarage. And every year after, once. And whether you " have subscribed thereunto.

" 5. *Item*, Of what degree you are. And whether you be " preacher; yea, or no. And whether you are licensed " thereunto.

" 6. *Item*, Whether you observe the order of prayer, and " do administer the sacrament, in such sort as is appointed " and commanded by her majesty in the Book of Common " Prayer.

" 7. *Item*, Whether you have married in such sort as is " appointed by her majesty's Injunctions; having the hands " and seals of two justices of peace allowing thereof.

" 8. *Item*, Whether you do use the church ornaments " and rites, as are appointed by authority.

" 9. *Item*, Whether you have paid your yearly tithes and " subsidies; yea, or no. If not, how long is it since you " made default. And how much is behind.

" 10. *Item*, Whether you have used any simony, or other " unlawful means, to come by any such parsonage or " vicarage, &c." With a great many mo, more dangerous a great deal of answers unto directly, upon a man's oath. Which the ministers were not able to bear away. And all this by force, they say, of *viis et modis*, [a term that ran in their commission,] as the bishop added at the end of these articles.

" II. Articles, or interrogatories to be ministered to the " churchwardens and sworn men, touching their ministers.

" *Imprimis*, Whether is your parsonage impropriate: " yea, or no. If it be, to what abbey, &c. did it belong. " Who is the farmer thereof. And from whom hath he his " lease. At whose hands purchased he it.

" 2. *Item*, Who is the vicar of the same. How long hath " he been vicar there. By whom was he presented. And " what is the value of the said vicarage.

" 3. *Item*, Whether is your said parson resident upon the " same. And what hospitality doth he keep.

" 4. *Item*, What your parson's or vicar's name is, not " being impropriate. And how long he hath been parson or " vicar there.

" 5. *Item*, Whether the parson or vicar hath any more " benefices or ecclesiastical promotions: yea, or no. What " are the names thereof. And how many he hath. Who be " the patrons; and within what diocese lie they. And how " long hath he enjoyed or occupied them.

" 6. *Item*, How long hath he been instituted, and had " his induction for the second, third, or fourth benefice or

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" spiritual promotion. And what day, to your knowledge, " took he possession of the same.

" 7. *Item*, Whether hath he a licence or dispensation to " keep so many benefices: yea, or no. And by whom he is " qualified.

" 8. *Item*, Whether hath he compounded for his said be- " nefice, yea, or no, in the office of the First-fruits.

" 9. *Item*, What profit hath he received of his first bene- " fice, since he was admitted to the second, having no dis- " pensation.

" 10. *Item*, Of what age was your parson at the time of " the admitting him to the said benefice.

" 11. *Item*, Whether was your parson made deacon be- " fore his admission to the said benefice.

" 12. *Item*, Whether did your parson, within two months " after his induction, publicly read the articles in the " church, whereof he hath cure, in time of common prayer. " And therewith at such days and times, as yearly they be " appointed, according to a statute made the 13th Eliz. that " now is. If not, when, and how long it is since he made " default.

" 13. *Item*, What reward, or sums of money, or other " consideration, or thing, did your parson give promise, " yield or pay, for or in respect of having or obtaining " your said benefice. And by whom.

" 14. *Item*, How many benefices hath your parson at this " present; or how many hath he had at one time, since he " was an ecclesiastical person. And which of them had he " first. What be the numbers thereof. Where lie they. " How many miles distant the one from the other.

" 15. *Item*, What faculty, licence, or dispensation hath " your parson to enjoy mo benefices than one. If he have " a licence, what date beareth it, or under what seal ob- " tained he the same.

" 16. *Item*, Whether your parson be chaplain to any " nobleman; by colour whereof he doth enjoy a plurality. " Of what calling is his said lord and master. And whether

" did he obtain, under his lord and master's hand and seal, " a sufficient testimonial into a court, when he obtained his " licence where he then served, according to a statute in Anno 1582. " that case provided.

" 17. *Item*, Of what clear yearly value be the said bene- " fices, according to the valuation in her majesty's books.

" 18. *Item*, Whether he have paid his subsidies and " yearly tenths due for his said benefices. If not, when and " how long is it since he made default.

" 19. *Item*, Of what degree in school is your parson. And " whether useth he to preach. Or if he do, whether he be " sufficiently authorized thereto.

" 20. *Item*, Whether hath your parson subscribed to the " articles: if not, how long is it since he made default so " to do.

" 21. *Item*, Whether hath your parson married in such " sort as he ought to do, having two justices of peace's " hands for the allowing thereof.

" 22. *Item*, Whether your parson have, or do minister " the sacraments, say service in the church and chapels; " using such rites and ceremonies, as the laws of this realm, " Book of Common Prayer, and Injunctions do permit: 115 " and how long he hath done contrary.

" 23. *Item*, Whether your parson have been resident " upon his benefice since the time of his possession. If " not, how long hath he been absent in one year. And the " cause thereof.

" 24. *Item*, Whether your parson have spoken at any " time in the church, or otherwise, in the derogation of the " Book of Common Prayer, or in ministering the sacra- " ments in such manner and form as in the said book is set " forth."

In regard of these deputy commissioners, and these their ensnaring inquiries, to get money out of the poor clergy, or to imprison, or deprive them, and to get the benefices into their hands or patronages, and likewise their encroaching upon the jurisdiction of bishops herein; the good bishop of Lincoln wrote an earnest letter to the lord treasurer, (as

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was mentioned before,) dated Sept. 23. And giving further light into some of the grievances of these commissions, I shall give the tenor of it from the original.

The bishop of Lincoln to the lord treasurer, for advice concerning this commission.

"That it might please his honour to understand, that at "that present he was forced in behalf of the poor preachers "and ministers of his diocese, to desire his lordship's advice "and direction in a matter very nighly touching them, and "wherein, in his poor judgment, (he said,) they were of- "fered very hard dealing by the deputies of Mr. Stafford. "That they entered not into his diocese till that present "time. And now they brought down with them a com- "mission out of the exchequer to certain gentlemen of "every shire, to inquire for the lapse of such benefices as "were granted to Mr. Stafford. Which, as he took it, were "only those that fell to her majesty's gift by dissolution of "abbeys, and none other. That the manner of the inquiry "mentioned in the commission was only this; *Vel per sa-* "*cramentum proborum, et legalium hominum; vel aliis* "*viis et modis, quibus melius poterint.* And that by this "latter claim of *viis et modis*, they took upon them, with- "out consent or knowledge of the ordinary, by the bailiff "of their hundred, to summon all the clergy, even curates "and readers; and to offer them an oath to answer to cer- "tain articles. Which articles comprehended all manner of "faults, either by law or by statute, or by injunction, or by "order appointed in the Communion Book: whereby any "minister might lose his living, or come into any punish- "ment by such faults committed.

"Which, as he proceeded, in his opinion, was more than "the meaning of the queen's majesty in her commission, or "more than the words in law could carry. For that this "was more, added he, than episcopal jurisdiction. And that "if her majesty had granted this authority to Mr. Stafford, "or to his deputies, especially to such deputies as they "were, bishops or other ecclesiastical officers in this realm "should have little to do. And yet the ministers very "simply reformed, if they would give any money. And "that this authority used they, not only to such ministers

" as had ecclesiastical livings of the patronage from the " queen, but (as he had written) to all other.

" Wherefore he desired his honour, even for God's sake, Anno 1582. " most humbly, in the behalf of the poor preachers, that 116 " his lordship would vouchsafe to help him with his direc- " tions in this case; and to signify, whether the ministers " ought to obey this manner of dealing, and to be their own " accusers, to their utter undoing. That the better sort un- " doubtedly were greatly discouraged and dismayed; see- " ing themselves more extremely dealt withal than the resi- " due of the queen's majesty's subjects. For in the inquiry " for concealed lands and other things contained in her ma- " jesty's grant to Mr. Stafford, there were none such extra- " ordinary means used; but only juries impannelled, by in- " struction to inquire of such things as were thought to be " wrongfully detained from her majesty. Which manner of " dealing, if it were used toward the ministry, no complaint " should be made. Herein he most humbly and earnestly " desired his honour's direction: for that he knew he [the " lord treasurer] had examined the value and force of " their commission. And both he, and the poor ministers " of his diocese, should be bound to pray for the continu- " ance of his honour. Which God, he prayed, would pros- " per to his glory."

And then, by way of postscript, he heartily desired his lordship's answer with some speed. For that the matter was hotly and hastily followed. No delays of time or consultation would be granted.

The effect of this seasonable intercession of the good bishop to a good friend at court in such straits, was, that a stop was immediately put to Stafford's commission. For a *Supersedeas* came down to his deputies, against the unlawful methods taken by these men, in managing their commission. Whereupon the said bishop wrote a letter of thanks to the statesman that procured the stay thereof so speedily. For his letter bore date but six days after his former; wherein he gave the treasurer information of these doings in his diocese: yielding most humble and hearty thanks to

A *Supersedeas* to Stafford's commission.

For which the bishop returns thanks.

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his lordship for his honourable favour, in staying, by *Supersedeas*, the disordered proceedings of Stafford's deputies against the clergy of some part of his diocese.

But because there was no doubt some fair and plausible account would be given of the course taken in prosecuting this commission; and so some crime might be laid to the bishop, in what he had said or done in the representing thereof: therefore he proceeded in his letter, for prevention, to open their doings more at large. Using these words:

"For that I know not what information they will make "unto your honour upon this stay, I am bold to signify "unto your lordship such disorders, to the proof whereof I "will stand. First, That they summoned the clergy by "the bailiffs and constables, without any notice given to "me, or to my chancellor, or to any other ecclesiastical offi- "cer; although we were all present in the country when "it was done. Secondly, That they summoned the whole "clergy, parsons, vicars, curates, and readers: whereas her "majesty's grant to Mr. Stafford, as I take it, touched only "those benefices that came to the queen's disposition by the "dissolution of abbeys, chantries, &c. only. And there- 117 "fore, as I think, he cannot meddle with those ministers "that have their benefices of other patrons. Thirdly, That "they offered a number of articles to the ministers upon "their oaths, very captious and dangerous to answer unto, "against themselves. And this also was generally offered "to all. Fourthly, They inquire upon these ministers by "the oath of their parishioners in a great many articles. A "number whereof appertain nothing to the queen's ma- "jesty's grant. For they see thereby certain words in her "majesty's commission out of the exchequer: by force "whereof they may not inquire of penal statutes or injunc- "tions, which appertain unto the ministry. And so at this "present they affirm unto me, that their learned counsel "did tell them."

Disorders in executing this commission.

He further informed the lord treasurer, what sort of men the parties were, that hitherto were assigns for Mr. Stafford within his diocese: namely, for Huntingtonshire two, one

of them a collar-maker: for Buckinghamshire two others; all of them very mean persons. And that there were with them some common promoters, and other ordinary and busy men, to be, as they said, their solicitors, and followers of the cause. That there was not one of them tolerably affected in religion; and some of them known to be backward. And therefore their proceeding against the clergy the more to be suspected. Who were or should be for the other shires of his diocese, he knew not. For that in Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, he did not yet hear that any had begun. Wherefore in conclusion the bishop humbly desired his lordship, when those commissions should come forth, to have consideration of the things beforementioned.

The bishop acts in an ecclesiastical commission against Mackworth.

The same bishop of Lincoln I find acting this year in an ecclesiastical commission against one Mr. Mackworth, for wickedness and heresy, two gross crimes; namely, for lying with another woman, his wife being alive, and affirming the lawfulness of having two wives. He was also very unkind to his wife: so that there was mention of a separation. This cause (which had been before the lords in the star-chamber) was set upon by several persons in an ecclesiastical commission. And an account of which, and what judgment was passed upon him, thus the bishop gave to the lord treasurer in the month of January.

Annals, vol. ii. ch. 13.

The proceedings and judgment upon him.

" That it would please him to be advertised, that on the " 18th and 19th days he was at Stamford, to deal with Mr. " Mackworth. Where after a sermon, to the reproof of his " wickedness and confusion of his heresy, in a very great " assembly, as well of the gentlemen as of the common " people of the country round about, he was convented be- " fore him, [the bishop,] and other of the commission eccle- " siastical; viz. sir Tho. Cecille, Mr. Haulle, Mr. Wowr- " lich, and others, sitting with him. And that at the " time he behaved himself very rudely. But that in the " end he was contented to submit himself to such sort of " acknowledging his fault openly as they should appoint

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" him. Which was, that on two several Sundays, in two several churches, after a sermon made in each place, he should particularly acknowledge his faults and errors, in such manner as they [the commissioners] should lay them down in articles.

Mackworth's wife moves for a separation.

" That in the afternoon his wife's proctor moved for a *separation*; and order to be taken for his giving security of living for her and her children. That after much wayward ness in challenging his wife's brother, as the cause and follower of all his trouble, he earnestly desired that the matter might not proceed to separation: offering the commissioners to put in a bond, as they should desire, to his wife's friends for her security, to have an honest and quiet life with him, as with a loving and Christian husband: adding further, that if sentence of separation should be given, it would be an occasion of great grudge between them; so that they should not at any time hereafter live together so quietly as now they might.

" That they went forward, and prepared the matter to sentence, taking consultation, until the next day in the afternoon. At which time he earnestly, and with some tears, renewed his former motion. And they understood that the gentlewoman was not unwilling thereto; but left herself to the commissioners directions, if they did think it safe for her so to do: nevertheless they thought it not to stand with their duties to accept any such reconciliation, before they had imparted the same unto their honours [of the privy-council, in the star-chamber, as it seems; from whom the cause might have been sent to the bishop and the rest.] That therefore they deferred the sentence to the 30th day of January, to Bugden. Where Mr. Mackworth must appear, to hear the resolute order, the one way or the other."

And so depending upon their order, the bishop concluded, " That they heartily desire their honours' direction therein: that if he would yield to such conditions as the gentlewoman and her brother should think reasonable,

" whether it be their honours' pleasure, that they should " accept that reconciliation, and proceed no further to di- " vorce. And that they might know it, if it might be, by " the 30th of that month." My intelligence reacheth no further in this matter. But these few memorials are enough to shew the paternal cares and concerns of this and other bishops in these times. Anno 1582.

But I go on now to a remark or two of another bishop, falling out this year. The bishop of Hereford had very hard dealing; and perhaps chiefly upon the like commission of *concealments*, as that abovementioned in another diocese. And I the rather take notice of this bishop, whose name was Scory, having been one of king Edward's bishops, and returned from exile upon queen Elizabeth's access to the throne, and one of the bishops that assisted at the consecration of archbishop Parker, the first archbishop upon the reformation. This ancient venerable bishop was vexed by the council of the marches of Wales, whereof sir Henry Sidney was president. By whom the rest of the council were led, in effect, as he pleased. I have briefly taken notice of this bishop's case elsewhere; but now shall relate it more at large. To the common patron of the bishops and clergy this bishop appealed in a letter written to him in the month of November. Thus shewing his condition: Trouble of Scory, bishop of Hereford. Life of Whitgift. p. 109. 119

" That he was now in his old age compelled to seek re- " fuge and aid of him, [the lord treasurer,] and others her " majesty's most honourable privy-council, as the only help " next her majesty, to see justice and equity to be given " unto her highness's good subjects. Therefore his humble " petition unto his honour now was, that by his good and " favourable means he might be heard before the said lords. " To whose justice he appealed from the strait doings and " inquisitions of the lord president and others there: call- " ing in question his [the bishop's] name, by examining " thousands to his great discredit and injury. And that if " in their great inquisitions they could charge him worthy " of discredit, he appealed to their honours for the hear- His letter of complaint to the lord treasurer and council.

BOOK I.

Anno 1582.

" ing: and to suffer shame and punishment, if they found " him worthy of the same. And that he had good cause to " appeal from the said lord president, and some of the " council there, (viz. whom he used to pleasure him when " he would.) For that except Mr. Justice there were none, " he said, but whom it was his pleasure to have: and he all " those times absent. That it might appear plainly by their " examinations and inquisitions of the country, on all and " every interrogatory, as should please certain base commis- " sioners, without calling him first to answer the same; or " to know what he could say therein. Besides divers other " dealings, not used to any bishop of this realm, since the " conquest, he was sure.

" That he had referred the relation hereof to his son, the " bearer; and humbly prayed his lordship that he might " be heard. And that the said lord president, and Mr. Fa- " bian Philips, the executioner, and practiser of the said " commissions and inquiries, might certify their doings " against him, [the said bishop.] Whereby their honours " should the better see and judge the injury and discredit " he had by their doings received. This was dated the " 20th of November, 1582: and subscribed,

" Your good lordship's to command in the Lord,

" Jo. Heref."

The president rigorous in Wales.

The abovesaid lord president was very rigorous in these parts of the principality of Wales, by commissions which he got for squeezing money out of the poor people, upon pretence to save the queen's charges for the maintaining of her council there: as, by virtue of a commission to require twenty pounds monthly upon recusants for not coming to church: and by colour of this and other commissions he pressed the inhabitants, and the clergy, and chiefly this bishop, in large and arbitrary payments. Which therefore Whitgift, bishop of Worcester, and one, I think, of the council there, freely informed the lord treasurer of in a letter: how inconvenient those commissioners were; and their

burdening the queen's subjects there for their own gain. See the Life of Archbishop Whitgift.

But still the next year I find the same bishop of Hereford's complaints continued against the arbitrariness of the said lord president, in respect of his abuses and outrages offered in his government. Of which he, being now come up, thought to have spoken to the lord treasurer in person; but being gone from his house without Temple-bar into the country, he acquainted him with it by a private letter, wrote in June, 1583, especially that lord being desirous to understand further touching the government of that principality: of which the bishop, in his said letter, gave him this account; viz.

Anno 1582. Life of Archbishop Whitgift, book ii. ch. 2.

Sir Henry Sidney's rigorous government of the principality.

" How the same, for the four years last past, had been " governed by the lord president, and such as he had for " the more part attendant about him, that were at his de- " votion and commandment, his lordship might require the " same of the bishop of Worcester, [Whitgift,] and some " other of the most worshipful of the said principality; " whom he [the lord treasurer] knew to be best affected. " For the fame commonly was, that there were never such " devices to get money as had been lately practised. Which " he thought would appear, if but half the inquisitions " were orderly made thereof, as his lordship had lately un- " towardly made against him, [the bishop.] He added, that " there was a gentleman of worship said at his [the bishop's] " table, about the beginning of April last, that the said lord " president had received, within two years last past, 30,000*l.* " But what was answered to her majesty, said the bishop, " his lordship [as lord treasurer] best knew. And that not- " withstanding, they said that the queen's house there was " in debt. Whether it were so much, he doubted, (as the " bishop went on;) but a principal attorney, and one that " had something to do in the fines, said to a man of the bi- " shop's, (as he told him,) that none were there rewarded " any longer than they could bring in money.

" That for his own part, he did not intend to accuse " his lordship of any matter, were it ever so evident, that

BOOK I. Anno 1582.

" touched not her majesty, her state, crown, or dignity: " yet for that he was sworn one of the council there, it was, " he said, his part, either to her majesty, or to his lordship, " [the treasurer,] (who above others took care of the good " government of her subjects,) to intimate some occasions to " inquire further; if he so thought good."

The bishop's request to the lord treasurer.

This poor persecuted bishop, having stayed in town thus long till the summer of the next year, 1583, now upon his departure gives his friend, the lord treasurer, the melancholy account, how uncomfortably he was like to spend the remainder of his days in his diocese, by reason of the hard usage he was like to meet with, by means of the president, in these words: " And now I humbly take my leave of " your good lordship, and intend to return to my charge, " where I am persuaded I shall live in small security of life, " goods, or fame. Of the last whereof, he adds, his lord- " ship, [the president,] and his, had already utterly spoiled " him. For now in the said principality among some of his " friends, I am committed to the Fleet among others [of the " clergy] deprived. [Meaning, as it would be given out
121 " there.] And among the lawyers, the tempters here, I " must with six bishops make a purgation."

And then in conclusion he requested, " That if his good " lordship, in consideration of the lord president's greatness, " by allies, friends, and authority, and of his own littleness " by wanting the premises; of his desire of revenge; and " ability to perform the same; and of his [the bishop's] " weakness the same to defend or avoid; would be a means " to her majesty, that he and his might be either exempted " from his lordship's authority, to answer in the courts " there at Westminster, as other bishops out of the said " principality did use to answer; or else to be removed to " some other place; where he might be in some safety out " of his lordship's reach. And by obtaining this for him, " he should be bound with a grateful mind to ascribe to his " lordship's goodness the security and quietness he should " thereby enjoy, the few days he had to live: which the " three and twenty years last past [during which time he

" had been bishop there] he could never find in the said " principality." CHAP. X.

Anno 1582.

An account of the bishopric of St. David's.

Richard Davies, bishop of St. David's, dying in the month of October, the last year past, an account was taken of the revenues of that bishopric, by order, as it seems, of the lord treasurer, and sent up this year to him by some officer or steward of that diocese. Whereby it may appear, how much wrong that bishopric received, and was diminished in its revenues, by means of a commission of *concealment*, granted to one Carey, a groom of the queen's privy chamber, his rigorous proceedings by virtue thereof; and how impoverished it was now at that bishop's death: being reduced from four hundred and fifty-seven pounds, odd money, *de claro*, (as it was given in 27 Henry VIII.) unto two hundred and sixty-three pounds. This record, transcribed from the original, is preserved in the Appendix. N°. XXII. And hereby may be gathered also how much the revenues of the church in this reign suffered by these commissions of *concealments*, granted now and then: and what a little gainer the crown was by them.

CHAP. XI. 122

Puritans. An inscription about the queen's arms in a church in Bury; abusive of the queen. Wright, chaplain to the lord Rich. His troubles. Informations concerning him. And his answers. Papists; lord Vaux, and sir Thomas Tresham. Their examinations. Lord Vaux's confession. Sir Richard Shelly abroad. He offers to make discoveries to the queen. A safe conduct granted to him. His loyalty. Some accounts of him and his family. Bourn late in the inquisition. One Gower, a fugitive, comes to the English ambassador at Paris; desires conference with some learned about religion. Is cast into the bishop of Paris's prison. Seminary priests and mass-hearers brought to the sessions at London. A box of stamps for popish libels taken.

NOW to gather up some things concerning the ill-willers

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to the church established, and its constitution; viz. those called *puritans* and *papists*.

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How the town of St. Edmund's Bury in Suffolk stood affected to puritanism, hath been shewn somewhat largely before. I shall relate one remark more of an act of some of this sort; which shewed they had no good opinion of the queen, for her maintaining the church in the present service, doctrine, and rites thereof. And that appeared by certain words some of them caused to be set on either side of the queen's arms in the church there, viz. after this manner.

A spiteful inscription on the queen's arms in Bury church.

The queen's arms.

I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot. I would thou wert cold or hot.

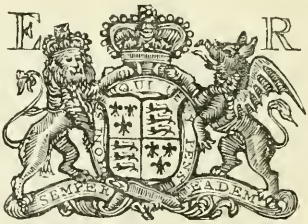


Therefore because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, it will come to pass, I will spew thee out of my mouth.

Four or five words of these verses were painted by the painter: and then, by advice, the rest was staid; and these words following put in the room; viz.

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I know thy works, and thy love, and service, and faith, and



thy patience, and thy works; and that they are more at the last than at the first.

And then this sentence next after: *Notwithstanding, I have a few things against thee, that thou sufferest the woman Jezebel, which maketh herself a prophetess, to teach and to deceive my servants; to make them commit fornication, and to eat meat sacrificed unto idols.*

Thus bold and seditious some of this faction were. But it was soon reported up to court; and the matter resolved

to be strictly examined. And on the back side of this information was writ, by the lord treasurer Burghley's own hand, in order to the finding out the authors, the names of such as were to be called up; viz. 1. *The minister.* [He, probably, in whose church this inscription was set, and who permitted it to be done.] 2. *The bookbinder:* whose name was found to be Tho. Gybson, a bookbinder in Bury; who had caused the first sentence to be put up. This man had printed Browne's books. 3. *The painter's name.* What the further discovery of this was, and the conclusion, I find not.

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Information thereof sent up.

I meet with one Robert Wright, a puritan preacher, now in the Gatehouse in Westminster. He had been domestic chaplain to the lord Rich's household at Rochford. Proceedings of Elmer, bishop of London, with him in the commission, have been shewn in the Life of that bishop. Articles were laid to his charge, containing divers matters relating to his principles and practices in those parts of Essex, where that lord's seat was. The particulars whereof I shall now shew more at large from the original papers. The beginning of his troubles was, that he had spoke some time ago against keeping the queen's day. Which, he said, was *to make her an idol.* Which she heard of, and was very angry. Upon this, he was brought before the bishop and the ecclesiastical commissioners. Then the bishop charged him openly in the consistory, that he had slandered the queen, and was worthy to lie seven years in prison. And that for Wright's saying, that the queen's majesty knew what was done in the lord Rich's house, [when they had their exercises.] But Wright answered only, Μὴ γένοιτο.

Matters charged upon Wright, a puritan.

Life of Bishop Aylmer.

He is brought before the commission ecclesiastical.

His keeper being a man that favoured puritanism, having some secret word from the secretary, let him go home into Essex, to see his wife lying in, and a child he had of about twelve weeks old. But he could not be so secret, but Dr. Ford, the civilian, advocate against him in court, saw him going to Tooby in that county, to his wife's brother, one Mr. Butler, and told the bishop: who thereupon threatened to complain to the queen of the keeper. Upon this, Wright writeth to the lord Burghley, acquainting him with it in

Addresseth a letter to the lord

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Anno 1582. Burghley for favour.

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these words: "O my lord, I most humbly crave your lord-
"ship's favour, that both I may be delivered from such un-
"pitiful minds; and especially, that your lordship will stand
"good lord unto my keeper, that he may not be discouraged
"from favouring those that profess true religion." This was written in May, 1582.

But that statesman upon this occasion, and the informations given in against him, sent him the notes of matters laid to his charge: and what answers he had given to each, viz.

Articles of inquiry put to him; with his answers.

"Being examined of the Book of Common Prayer, whether
"it were good and godly; he said he could not answer
"what he thought of every particular; because he had not
"read the same. Again, what he thought of the rites and
"ceremonies used publicly in the church; he refused to
"make answer thereunto. Being examined touching the
"form of ordaining ministers in the church of England; he
"answered, that he did not know of any form appointed for
"the ordaining of ministers of this church, but by hearsay.
"Confesseth, that being a layman, he hath preached and
"catechised in the houses of the lord Rich, and Mr. But-
"ler of Tooby: also in the house of the lord Gray, and
"lord St. John's of Bletso, at several times, within two,
"three, or four years past. That in preaching he used to
"say prayers of his own devising: never used to pray as in
"the Book of Common Prayer: never prayed for archbi-
"shops and bishops. That he catechised the servants of
"the lord Rich, and others that had been there, at eight
"and nine at night. Confessed, that he is not licensed to
"preach; and that he needed not any licence, because the
"preaching and catechising was private. He was charged
"to have spoken against the authority of archbishops and
"bishops: and to have said that they are clogs of Anti-
"christ, and might not be called lords. This he neither de-
"nied nor confessed. That the election of ministers ought
"to be by the flock and congregation. He confessed, that
"he was chosen in this sort in the house of the lord Rich.
"And he said in honourable presence, that he was pastor
"of that house, and had cure of their souls.

" Confesseth, that he had gone over the seas to receive " orders: and that he received orders of Villers, and other " ministers at Antwerp." [As Cartwright: and here Travers was ordained. This Villers was a Frenchman and preacher. He had been in England, and read a divinity lecture; and chaplain afterwards to the prince of Orange: but an enemy to England, as our historian tells us.] But to go on with this man's confession. " He affirmeth, that every " minister is a bishop. The manner of his admitting to the " ministry he doth not answer, being charged by his oath. " He hath used one Greenwood to say service in the house " of the lord Rich; not following the order of the Book of " Common Prayer. This Greenwood was a man known to " have given over the ministry: and to leave his function " for disliking he had of the orders prescribed by the Book " of Common Prayer."

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Camd. Eliz. p. 209.

Together with these articles and his answers, sent to him by the lord treasurer Burghley, he sent also another paper of depositions against him; which bare this title:

Matters proved against Wright, by deposition of sworn witnesses, by virtue of a commission sent down. 125

" He called the preachers that followed the Book of " Common Prayer *dumb dogs*. That the ministers were " thieves and murderers. And that there are no lawful ministers in England.

" That the people were drawn away from a sermon at the " church at Rochford, by the tolling of a bell, to a sermon " preached by Wright, in the hall at Rochford.

" Being examined by what authority he preached; he " answered, he was called by the reformed church.

" He affirmed that the lords of the council did know of " him, and also of his preaching.

" That the preachers and ministers called to the lord " Rich's house, were taunted and rebuked by R. and Wri. " [lord Rich and Wright.] Found fault with the laws ec- " clesiastical, and depraved the ministry.

" That preachers were openly examined and rebuked for

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" their sermons in a great audience in the hall of the lord " R. by procurement of Wright."

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The witnesses against him (whose names are set down at the bottom) were, Nicolson, rector of South-church; Bernard Turner, vicar of Shopland; Bowden, rector of Leigh; Berriman, clerk; Arthur Dent, preacher; Edward Barker, clerk; and others.

To these notes, sent him by the lord treasurer, he gave a long answer; and used these words, in good assurance of his own opinion: " That if his lordship would vouchsafe to " read his long and tedious answer, he must needs lift up " his hands, and thank the Father of lights, as St. James " speaks, for his excellent and right noble humanity."

Now here should follow a modest and wary answer of Wright, given in by him, and sent, as it seems, to the same lord; mollifying and excusing all his words, assertions, and doings, laid to his charge, as abovesaid. But it being some-

N°. XXIII. what long, I choose to leave it transcribed in the Appendix.

N°. XXIV. As also his answers in vindication of himself, to those depositions against him, mentioned above; and clearing himself, as well as he could, of them.

Papists.

Now to cast our eyes upon the malecontents and enemies to our church and establishment, I mean the papists; to discover a few things concerning some of them, and their actions under this year.

Among several who had entertained Campion the Jesuit, executed a year or two before, and that were privy to his

Lord Vaux, and sir Thomas Tresham, entertainers of Campion.

treasonous purposes, the lord Vaux, and sir Thomas Tresham, were found, committed, and fined. To examine and deal further with them, the lord treasurer and sir Walter Mildmay were appointed commissioners from the queen. I

Lord treasurer's memorials.

meet with these brief memorials; and the substance of what was spoke by them, being by the queen's authority brought before the two said persons. Lord Vaux first desired the queen's favour. Secondly, confessed his fault, in refusing

126 before to answer upon his oath, whether, to his knowledge, Campion was within his house. Thirdly, he desired to be spared from coming to church, until he may be otherwise

resolved in his conscience. And yet he is content to be instructed by any that shall be appointed thereto. That he hath no other house near London, but one that he hath hired of the lord Mordaunt. Anno 1582.

Sir Thomas Tresham answereth in substance to all, as the lord Vaux had done. He hath no other house near London, but one in Tuthill-street.

Soon after, the lord Vaux (upon whom a heavy fine was laid) relenteth, whose confession was as followeth:

Lord Vaux's confession.

" Whereas I, William Vaux, lord Harawden, was called " before the lord Burghley, lord treasurer of England, and " sir Walter Mildmay, knight, chancellor of the exchequer; " and in the queen's majesty's name willed to declare what " I had to say by word of mouth for myself, agreeable to " my sundry writings of submissions, sent to the council; I " did then humbly declare, that I did most heartily, and " above all worldly things, desire to be restored to her ma- " jesty's favour, as a most obedient subject to my sovereign " lady and queen: and so I did acknowledge my most " bounden duty to be; and for whose health I did also " daily pray, and would during my life.

" Secondly, Being demanded what I thought of my of- " fence, for which I was first committed to prison, I did " humbly confess, that I do now know, that I did grievously " offend, that I did refuse to answer upon my oath, do now " know upon better instruction, that in that refusal I did " grievously offend; and if it were to be done, I would not " so offend, nor will hereafter ever offend in any like case; " beseeching her majesty to be my gracious lady, and to " forgive and pardon me for the same: and to have com- " passion for me for the great fine set upon me for the said " offence.

" Thirdly, Being demanded, whether I would, as I am " bound by the laws of the realm, come to the church: be- " ing also admonished, that I should not be molested to " answer to matters of opinion and controversies of religion, " but should therein be dealt withal by instruction; I de- " sired most humbly to be forborne to be compelled to come

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" to the church. Not for that I should so do in contempt " of her majesty, or of her laws; but that my conscience " only, and nothing else, as not thereto well persuaded, did " stay me. And yet I did and do offer willingly to hear " any instruction, whereby my conscience may be better in- " formed and satisfied; and will admit any conference with " any learned persons to inform me herein, so as it shall ap- " pear not to come to the church upon any contemptuous " meaning, but only for offence of my conscience.

" And in this sort, as I did in speech answer and declare " at more length in my most humble sort to the said lord " treasurer and Mr. Chancellor, so in testimony hereof I " have in this writing repeated the substance thereof; and " do confirm the same by my handwriting."

127 This was drawn up by the hand of the lord treasurer, being the sum of what the lord Vaux had verbally confessed, and was now to subscribe, in order for favour to be shewn him. There was one of this name, viz. Vaux, secretary to don John of Austria, (but whether this lord Vaux, or his relation, I know not,) who recommended Thomas Copley, a fugitive, to the French king, to be made a baron.

Camd. Eliz. sub ann. 1577.

More laws made by the parliament against the papists.

More strict laws were made by the parliament that sate this year, against the papists. Which was found necessary to be done, those recusants increasing by means of seminary priests and Jesuits, great numbers of them secretly coming from their colleges abroad into the kingdom, to pervert the queen's subjects. And what disturbances were made by some of the popish gentry, even in the churches in Staffordshire, (which abounded with papists,) even at the time of divine service and communion, may be seen in a letter of the bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, written to the council, specified in the Appendix.

N°. XIX.

Among such Romanists as lived abroad, and withdrew themselves for their security from the laws of the land against popery, Dr. Shelly was one, of the ancient family of the Shellies, of Michel Grove in Sussex, called sir Richard Shelly, being lord prior of St. John's of Jerusalem. A man he was of learning; and had removed himself to Malta,

where the English of this order had privilege. He was one that professed all loyalty to the queen, and disowned those methods that the Jesuits and priests acted by, in obedience to the bishop of Rome, and making disturbance in the queen's dominions. He now earnestly desired to return to his native country; and by a letter to the lord treasurer, (who was his acquaintance and alliance,) made that his request to come home; having only the favour of a grant of his own religion to enjoy to himself, without incurring danger for that cause.

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Sir Richard Shelly, lord prior of St. John's, desires to come home.

In his letters to that lord he desireth to see the queen, and have leave to come over, to discover to her, for her own safety, such matters as to letters was not to be committed. And that the late tragedies committed by papists, as the wars in Ireland, were by a generation [Jesuits] that he never liked. He desired a passport for him and his folk, to come and go without any further examination, (as upon occasion ministered of just jealousy had been taken of others,) and without any manner of communication to be held with him, saving of matters of state, and for the queen's safety, and of his country. This was the substance of such a passport as he desired. And to the same import he had written to secretary Walsingham, for this end, that he might confer with her majesty and their honours *de summa rerum*. His circumstances were now become more strait, which inclined his return into England, since, as he wrote to the foresaid lord plainly, "That Jacomo di Bardi, a merchant in Venice, "where he resided, had failed with his stock, that he had "lived upon, ever since he forbore the king of Spain's pen- "sion and wages. So he was now driven to straits. He "hoped that lord would see that he should not be brought "to *turpis egestas*."

And to make discoveries to the queen.

Yet again this same year the lord treasurer received from Shelly another letter. Where within a small piece of paper, of his own hand, (whereas most of the rest was of another's hand,) he gave him intelligence of the danger of England from the Spaniard, and other matters. And so it seems probable he did often before give private information to that

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His secret intelligence.

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lord of foreign matters, wherein the queen might be concerned; in these words: "Albeit I trust it be not needful
Anno 1582. "to put your lordship in remembrance, that you have a "good eye to the Spanish army; which is here thought to "be of XI. m [eleven thousand] men. Yet for that is here "whispered, (and that *res est solliciti plena timoris amor*,) "I thought it my duty also to write you thus much. And "further, to beseech you, that kissing the queen's hands "with all dutiful reverence, in my behalf, you assure her "majesty, that father Possovino, the Jesuit, now here [at "Venice] towards Rome, with an ambassador from Musco-"via, hath commission, from what other princes of Germany "I wot not, but certainly from the elector of Saxony, to "the said pope, in matters of religion."

He was called in Venice, *illustrissimo seignor, il conte Conchilio* [from *concha, a shell.*] And under that title he instructed the foresaid lord to direct his letters to him.

Is employed to the state of Venice.

Here he held a correspondence with that lord and secretary Walsingham: who now employed him in a business depending between the queen's merchants and the state of Venice. In which he took such pains, that though it proved unsuccessful, yet the reporting of his diligence therein to the queen, she took it in very good part. And this lord took this opportunity to intercede to her for him; representing him as a loyal subject to her; and for her allowance of his return home: which Shelly took gratefully. For so he declared

The profession of his fidelity.

himself to that lord in another letter, "That he was bounden "to his lordship for the testimony it pleased him to give to "her of his perpetual fidelity; which had been," he added, "always accompanied with a particular and partial affection "to her royal person. But the queen's terms, it seems, were, "that he should turn to the church of England." To which he answered, "That he beseeched her wisdom in no wise "to procure or wish him to change his religion; which "taught him the reverence he owed, and the obedience "that he was bound to observe, to her royal state. And "that he made loyalty and obedience to princes, to depend "upon his catholic profession."

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And concerning his loyalty to the queen, (which this year was called in question, the English fugitives having given such reason, by their plots against her, to doubt of it,) he appealed to a letter which he had wrote divers years before, [anno 1575,] whereof he sent the said lord treasurer a copy, for the vindication of his constant affection to her majesty. The intent whereof, as he said, was, "That it might please "his honour to consider, that he had been, and always was, "one man: and whatsoever his religion had been, he had "always respect to the duty of allegiance; and that he had "always tendered the queen's safety, and that of his coun- "try, so much as any of them that enjoyed most wealth at "home. That he was employed by king Henry VIII. and "king Edward VI. and by them esteemed loyal, and faith- "ful too: appealing to that lord as knowing it."

Always loyal, required so to be by his religion.

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Further, "He called God to witness, that he departed "not from the realm with determination to forsake the "queen's service; no, nor then to abide and live abroad nei- "ther. But that he went to Antwerp to suit of three thou- "sand crowns, that one Francis, a Milaner, had failed with "all of his. But that it stopped his coming home again, and "made him resolve to retire some where, till things were "better settled, when he heard that the *crucifix* was in "Smithfield broken and burnt in bonfire. And though he "was encouraged to come home, with remembrance of that "service done to her majesty in the time of her adversity, "whereof the king of Spain was his witness; and of her "majesty's gracious accepting of him at his coming out of "Flanders, and the kindness that he [the lord Burghley] "then and always shewed him; yet he feared at the fury of "the people."

Why he stayed abroad.

Again, I find him thus avowing his loyalty in another letter: making loyalty and obedience to princes to depend upon his religion. And the contrary, disobedience, flowed from leaving the catholic religion; in these words: "Whereas, "in place of this conscience and this patience, [both which "he had shewed, being taught it by his catholic religion,] "wheresoever our discipline is neglected, there follow strait

His conscience and patience.

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" contrary effects of licentious liberty and disobedience, di-
" rectly against the absolute authority and inviolable ma-
" jesty of the prince's state; and all is applied to a popu-
" larity; that being let loose.

" *Qua data porta ruit, et terras turbine perflat.*

" Which he talked not as a clerk, or disputed as a scholar,
" but simply reported that he had seen, and wished to be
" weighed."

Though I have related so much of this gentleman, I cannot but add a few more remarks of him, to revive his memory, which is in effect lost, however a great courtier he was, and employed in matters of state, and of an ancient worshipful family.

For his free profession of loyalty, and losses sustained, he was reduced by this time to narrow circumstances: and so he said, that the schism [meaning the *reformation* of *religion*] had driven him to *nullosque lares, inopemque senectam.* And made him address thus for favour of the queen.

Recommends his deserts to the queen: his faith and honour.

" That she would once reward him, as God did Job,
" *omnia duplicia*; seeing she had seen that he was a man of
" such faith and honour, as voluntarily had chosen to en-
" dure three and twenty years exile and poverty, rather
" than to prevaricate any way, either in the cause, or of my
" princess; and rather than to dally either with my con-
" science or my allegiance; which constantly cost him full
" dear, for one respect in England, and for another in
" Italy, [where he met with hardships, because he would
" not assist or approve the plots of other fugitives against
" the queen.] That in regard of his lack, he hoped the
130 " queen would supply it from home. As for that he could
" obtain abroad, he would not buy it so dear." Subjoining,
" I will rather starve, than remedy my necessity with any
" design upon me to be made, for the dommage of my
" prince or country."

Informs concerning the English fugitives.

In another letter he informed the lord treasurer concerning the disloyal fugitives of England, in these words: " The
" busy heads of the Englishmen, that seemed to be abroad

" only to hinder each other, both there and at home; and all " to discredit their nation, and to undo, for so much as in " them did lie, our noble natural country." Upon these accounts of his principles they discredited him at Rome with the name of a *spy*, for the dutiful affection that he shewed her majesty. Anno 1582.

In short, the queen the next year granted him leave to come home; and allowed him [which till now she would not grant] the liberty of his conscience. But the English papists (whom he called, *the base, busy generation of our promoters*) went about to abase him, as a *spy*, and to disgrace his going home, as though it were only for fear, and that he dared not abide any longer abroad. And it is likely the queen was the more inclined to Shelly's return, for his avoiding the *inquisition*, which he was in great danger of. For he was inquired after in the *inquisition* at Rome, by the information of divers English zealots, as in one of his letters he signified: " That every varlet might make him to be inquired for in " the *inquisition;* but that the proudest of the priests dared " not adventure to accuse him." Adding, " That he would " write to the cardinal of that office, who," as he said, " had " complained to him of the perverseness of our nation, when " he caused to be delivered Mr. Poynes and Mr. Bouser: " [persons, it seems, that had been in the inquisition, whom " he got delivered.] And that he would write to those car- " dinals, to beseech them that these might themselves be " laid fast, and bear the pain that the accused should bide " that were not convicted." The queen permits sir Richard Shelly to come home. In danger of the inquisition.

In the correspondence between them, the lord treasurer had assured him, (at which he rejoiced, as he wrote,) that her majesty had no worse, but rather better opinion of his faithfulness and zeal to her royal state, than of many, being better warranted by her licence to be abroad than he was. " By which words of his lordship, he said, he gathered his " lordship's grounded opinion and knowledge of his loyal " proceeding alway, and also the particular intelligence that " his lordship had (very meet for a man of his calling) of " our countrymen's behaviour, that were abroad. Where- The queen satisfied with Shelly's faithfulness.

BOOK I. " by," added he, " hanged not a tale, but a great talk, to be " had with his lordship at his coming home." This was writ in May, 1583.

Anno 1582.

Her letter to him.

With his passport the queen granted him the favour of a letter, signifying the same: and declaring therein her natural abhorrence " of bloodshed, and those executions, [which " about this time were done in England;] which she avowed " to be driven to by the deep malice of her enemies: seek- " ing the way to make her odious, and to put her in hazard " of her state," as she wrote. The queen also granted the like favour to his nephew, Shelly, of Michel Grove, whom she styled *her loving subject;* notwithstanding their conscience in religion, since they were true and loyal to her. This nephew had been in those parts, [in the *inquisition*, as it seems,] and released.

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Upon this grant of the queen, he kissed her majesty's gracious hands; and would make use of as soon as he had despatched the matter concerning her merchants, to get the impost laid upon them taken off, hinted before.

His safe conduct.

The *safe conduct* the queen granted him was, to come into the realm without examination, or other kind of molestation for his conscience in religion. He took up a thousand crowns of gold, for to defray the charges of his return home, there in Venice, to be paid by exchange by his nephew here in England. But I find he returned not yet into England. But kept his correspondence with the lord treasurer.

Let me add a few more memorials of this English gentleman, that made such a figure abroad for his zeal to his Roman catholic religion, and yet firm allegiance to his sovereign: it being my intent, in these collections, to retrieve, as much as I can, the memory of eminent persons in these times, by this time almost sunk into oblivion.

King Henry's talk with him about his father.

He reporteth in one of his letters, how king Henry VIII. spake once kindly to him of his father. And that he loved him very well. But that by the lord Crumwel's means his father had lain under much trouble: saying, " That in the " lord Crumwel's time he passed storms, and suffered great " loss." Yet it was after recompensed very liberally. The

king told sir Richard at Deptford, where sir Edward Rogers carved, and he attended, concerning the great good cheer he received at Michel Grove [in Sussex, his father's house] at supper. The king then spake much of his father's uprightness in the discharge of the law, who was a judge. And that the king forced him to be so, much against his will: for that his father's father put him, being his eldest son, into the inns of court, but to learn to understand his own *evidences*. And so he came to the knowledge of the law: never thinking at first to practise, but that the king, much against his will, made him both sergeant and judge. CHAP. XI. Anno 1582.

He gave this further particular account of his family and of himself: "That all the family of the Shellies in her ma- "jesty's reign, both men and women, the queen knew to be "her affectionate and assured subjects, and such as would "rather die, than do or consent to any thing against their "duty of allegiance. And that for himself, he was a moral "and religious, but no way a partial nor a factious catho- "lic." And as for the other sort of catholics, that were for sowing seditions, and changing the government, whereof there are many where he was, he gives this account of them. Family of the Shellies loyal.

"The practice of our peevish, perverse countrymen was "first to get him out of Rome; and since, with no less envy "and malice, to prevent the service that he might do his "country at home: to spread abroad that he was in dis- "grace with the pope and with the king of Spain; and ere "long that he was or should be in the inquisition. But 132 "that," added he, "neither is, nor ever was so; and so but "a slander. For in Rome and Spain, (for so are his words,) "nothing doubting of my religion, they do not only to- "lerate, but allow and like of my due and true affection to "my prince and country, and acknowledge me for such a "kind of subject as they wish their own state to be peopled "with. Though this is without show. But alleviating the "fact which *per regione di stato* they are found to main- "tain." The malice of the English at Rome against him.

He was very great with the pope and the Spanish king. Great with the pope

BOOK I.

Anno 1582. and king of Spain.

"I may and dare speak with these two princes more confi-
"dently than any other man not armed with the circum-
"stances that accompany my person." And concerning his merits and sufferings for the safety and the good of his country, in opposing and discovering the destructive purposes and plots of the Jesuits and their party, thus he writes to the foresaid lord: "It is seldom seen that a man should "lose that I have lost, not only with patience, but without "any grudge; yea, and with continuing such carefulness "and forwardness to serve and save my country, as though "I had been hired thereto with more than hath been taken "from me: yea, and forbore entertainment to avoid jea-

His memorials for the safety of his country.

"lousy at home. And that he had given in, and his lord-
"ship would see them, the *stout* and *sterling* memorials, as
"he termed them, in Flanders, in Spain, and in Rome;
"whereby, I trow, I have discovered the very way of our
"safety and salvation, &c. to the end our safety may be
"grounded upon the faith of honourable princes; that
"have need, and will be glad of us; and not hang upon
"the infidelity of hired soldiers, failed merchants, and sedi-
"tious commoners."

I have yet one remarkable passage more to relate concerning him. About the year 1583, there came to him one Gilbert Bourn, a relation perhaps of the popish bishop of that name, under queen Mary, and like enough the son of sir John Bourn, secretary of state to that queen. This gentleman, a Romanist *by religion*, but of principles more loyal than the rest, got acquaintance with Shelly in his travels; liking his temper, and expressing so much dislike of the disloyal carriage and practices of many of those Roman catholics of the English nation, and their unnatural dealing

One Bourn shews Shelly a seditious book.

against their sovereign and country. This man having got a written book, that was secretly conveyed about in Rome, and other parts among catholics, brought it to the knowledge, and lastly, to the hands of sir Richard. For which they hated this Bourn. A book, as the said sir Richard styled it in his letter to the lord treasurer, (whom he acquainted with it,) *of slanderous and false infamy*, touching

the first cause of our schism, and of the queen's majesty's mother. This must be Sanders's book, (that was handed about in divers copies before it was printed,) that made the queen's mother to have been king Henry VIII.'s natural daughter, and afterwards his strumpet, and afterwards his queen. This vile book sir Richard answered, to the honour of his queen and country. And it came soon to the sight of the pope: and was allowed both of himself and of all the greatest cardinals in Rome, if we may believe him.

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His own words are these: "For the defacing and abo- 133
"lishing whereof, I penned a little treatise, that came to
"the pope's sight, &c. I say, for the handling and true tell-
"ing of that story. But for my readiness to deal in the
"matter, and my being so forward in the queen's defence,
"it is by our English promoters' whisperings so scanned,
"and so commented upon by a baser and a more factious
"sort of cardinals, that it was concluded I was the queen's
"fed man. Which opinion being so false, as your lordship
"knows, is yet so nourished by their malice, that Mr.
"Bourn, being after imprisoned in the inquisition, was, Bourn in the inquisition.
"among other things touching me, thereof examined spe-
"cially. Not that the pope, or the cardinals of the inquisi-
"tion, nor none of them all, saving the French cardinal of
"Sens, bishop Ross, and Dr. Lewis, that were Stewkley's
"counsellors, but none of the college [at Rome] that I
"know of, had any misliking of my dealing. But rather
"indeed so well like of my faithfulness in allegiance, as
"her majesty doth most graciously bear with my conscience
"in religion."

This Bourn had been kept three years in the inquisition; and no manner of fault could be proved against him. Sir Richard Shelly got him released: and withal wrote to some of the cardinals, beseeching that such *promoters* which caused so many English to be clapt up without any cause, (unless mere suspicion,) might themselves be laid fast, and bear the pain that the accused should abide, that were not convicted. And in another letter of Shelly's to the said lord, by Bourn, now going into England, telling

English clapt into the inquisition by promoters.

BOOK I. Anno 1582.

that lord therein, "That this his punishment, however undeserved, was all for the best; to bring him home the sooner to serve his own country, bearing so true a heart to her majesty as he hath shewed: and coming abroad but for to learn, hath well profited both in learning and experience. Which good qualities, he trusted, would recommend him to his lordship's favour in all occurrences; and the sooner at his [Shelly's] intercession."

Bourn.

But I shall add no more of this catholic loyal gentleman at present: of whom other notices may occur hereafter. There is but little of him in our published histories of these times; and therefore I have writ the more of him: only in Holinshed's Chronicle, where the trial of Campion and other Jesuits and seminaries are set down at large, it is told how there was one Cradoc, a merchant then at Rome, who related, that there was one Dr. Shelly, the English prior, who was a knight of the Rhodes, for that he somewhat spake against cruelties that were used to his native country, [as was now done in the inquisition,] was somewhat misliked of, and had almost been turned out of his office.

Holinshed's Chron. p. 1325.

J. Gower, a fugitive, minded to turn protestant.

I meet with another English Romanist, living abroad for his religion, or rather fled abroad for his life, being one concerned in the rebellion in the north; whose name was John Gower, now at Paris. This man comes to Brook, the queen's ambassador there: and shewed himself willing to become of the reformed religion, as professed in England. The whole business, and the hard measure he met with, by that account, I had rather leave to be understood by the letter which the said ambassador writ to secretary Walsingham about him, and what discourse he had with him, and the event.

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Comes to the queen's ambassador in Paris.

"I have thought it convenient, right honourable sir, to "inform you now, how, about the latter end of May, there "came unto me one, who named himself John Gower, ap"parelled after the manner of a Jesuit, when they disguise "themselves to pass abroad, somewhat unknown. Giving "me to understand, that he was one of them that took "arms in the north, with the two earls of Westmerland and

CHAP. XI.

Anno 1582. Cotton library. Otho, D. 4.

" Northumberland. The which he did then, provoked, as " he said, only for the affection in his conscience he bare " unto the pope's religion; and not unto any unloyal, ma- " licious intent towards her majesty. So as he then escap- " ing out of the realm had sought ever since in the most " part of his time by reading, for the further knowledge of " the papists' religion, the which he professed; saying, he " had notwithstanding ever abstained from those that were " factious and seminary men. And how a year passed " through the means of his friends, especially my lord chief " justice Wrey, he had recovered her majesty's pardon: " having, while he continued the same conversation among " the catholic priests, through reading and studying the " scriptures, grown to doubt of some points which they " held for religion. Whereon lately he came to this town " [Paris] with a letter from Dr. Allen, addressing him to " Dr. Darbishire, [sometime chaplain to bishop Bonner,] " and other Jesuits, for a supply of money to carry him " into England; and reporting to those Jesuits, according " to their accustomed order in the like case, they demanded " his opinion of certain articles; to the which, he said, he " answered somewhat contrary to their expectation, render- " ing them doubtful of his opinion. Whereby he at that " time failed to receive relief at their hands: and thereon " began with himself to think good for to repair unto me, " [the English ambassador,] beseeching me, he may have " means to go into England: whereby he may enjoy the " benefit of her majesty's gracious pardon.

" After the said Gower had uttered this much unto him, " he asked him, what points they were he found in read- " ing of the scripture, wherein he varied from those of the " papists' profession. He shewed him, [the ambassador,] he " thought not well of their having of candles, lights, bells, " and their images in churches. Then the ambassador told " him, he was glad the reading of the scriptures had in any " sort benefited him. And demanding further, what he " thought of the pope's authority, he answered, that he " esteemed his power was as other bishops. Then he in-

BOOK I. Anno 1582.

" quired what his opinion was of the mass. He told the
" ambassador, he thought it a high point to answer reso-
" lutely: but desired, that through conference and dispu-
" tation he might grow to some settled opinion. He there-
" upon further said, since he was coming to God, and shew-
" ing also to have a mind to be restored unto her majesty's
" favour, he was right welcome to him: exhorting him to
" be of good courage; for that he would not only seek he
" should have conference with some well informed, and
135 " learned in the scriptures; but he would likewise give him
" means to pass into England.

" Gower then declared, how he suspected those Jesuits
" would seek the means in some sort to trouble him. The
" ambassador willed him not to fear. So he parted. And re-
" sorted to the ambassador again in the afternoon. Where,
" whenas he [the ambassador] went with him apart into his
" garden, taking with him the New Testament, both in
" English and French, and turned to the places concerning
" the Lord's supper; beginning with St. Matthew, until
" they came unto the place of St. John, the sixth chapter,
" where it is read, how *it was Spirit that quickeneth, the*
" *flesh profiteth nothing*, &c. Upon the shewing of which
" words, he grew vehement and obstinate. Whereupon the
" ambassador left dealing with him concerning the supper
" of the Lord. And entered into inquiry of him his opi-
" nion, what he thought of the authority of the bishop of
" Rome. He told him, that the said bishop had been
" taken of long time by the ancient fathers to be the head of
" the church. Wherewith he alleged these words of scrip-
" ture; *Tu es Petrus; et super hanc petram ædificabo eccle-*
" *siam meam.* Then he shewed him, that it was only to be
" understood of the confession of Peter's faith; upon the
" question afore asked of all the apostles. So it was no par-
" ticular grace to Peter more than to the rest: because
" Christ gave them all the Holy Ghost. Notwithstanding
" the said Gower remained appassionated in the opinion of
" the pope's supremacy. Through the which the ambassa-
" dor added, he was moved to say unto him, that he varied

" from the same speech, which he had at the first meeting " delivered unto him. Wherefore now finding him waver- " ing in his sayings, he made him to doubt of a dissembled " meaning. So as he could not deal, he said, any further " with him: until he resolved to speak more overtly; and " that with truth.

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" He did then very earnestly persuade the ambassador " to have some learned person to dispute with him in the " points of controversy in religion. The which the ambas- " sador shewed, he could not yield then unto; because it " appeared, he came not with a clear mind unto him, nor " resolved in the principal points; which concerned her " majesty's high authority, and his due obedience unto his " natural prince. And in this sort, he writes, they parted."

The ambassador shews further in his letter, " That he " had been informed, how afterwards, upon complaint of the " Jesuits, this Gower was sent to the bishop of Paris his " prison; where he had been kept so secretly in that man- " ner, as he [the ambassador] could not have him spoken " with: and lately had been removed unto the *conciergerie*. " But at length the ambassador, recovering the copy of his " examination, thought good to send it unto his honour, " [the queen's secretary,] to the intent that upon the sight " thereof he might direct him, whether he should by the " way of complaint to the king, or otherwise underhand, " procure his liberty: and so send him into England; or " else leave the said John Gower to himself: thus attend- " ing the secretary's pleasure: and that he had caused him 136
" to be inquired for at the prisons, but they would not be " known of any English man to be there. He had deferred " to write any thing of this, until he had understood thus " much of their manner of proceeding with him. The ra- " ther, because the said Gower and his disposition was al- " together unknown to him; referring the same to his ho- " nour's wise consideration. This was writ from Paris, July " the 11th, 1582."

The said ambassador, Brook, was addressed to a few months after, by a letter of Mr. Paget; the same, I sup-

Mr. Paget's letter to the secretary. Cam. Eliz. p. 295.

BOOK I.

pose, with Charles Paget: of whom our historian makes mention, for his busy letters to do service to the queen of Scots, and of his being engaged in Babington's treason; as his brother or relation, the Lord Paget, (who fled abroad,) was deeply devoted to her: and of whose aversion to the religion established something hath been said before. In his said letter to the ambassador he made profession of much loyalty to his queen and country, and, as it seems, an offer of shewing his fidelity, by some discoveries of the practices of the fugitives. But the ambassador was not very ready to give credit to him, as being not unacquainted with his principles. At the same time Paget sent another letter, which he entreated the ambassador might be conveyed to secretary Walsingham. Which, according to his request, was sent with his own. "Therein wishing he might "mean sincerely, and deal uprightly, as I think your ho- "nour [as he proceeded] should be glad he should do. "That which I pray God he may perform: being as will- "ing to do for him good offices towards your honour, as "he is ready to require the same; if otherwise he do not "give all satisfaction to her majesty: referring the con- "sideration of this to your judgment. Thus I humbly "take my leave." From Paris this was dated, October the 24th. But how false he was, and how deeply engaged for the Scots queen some years after, Babington's trial will discover, under the year 1586.

Anno 1582.

The recorder's account of seminary priests in London.

Many popish priests had of late flocked hither from the English seminaries abroad, to pervert the queen's subjects from her to the pope; and many masses were said in private houses by them: and disloyal principles instilled into the people's minds; insomuch, that as severe laws were the last year made against them, so now a more watchful eye was over them: and many of these priests and Jesuits were discovered, taken up, and some executed, as our histories shew. And in the city of London, at the sessions held in the month of May, some of the massmongers, and such as were present at the masses, were brought out of prison, and examined, in order to judgment. The account whereof,

who they were, and what was discovered, I take from a Diary of Fleetwood's, the recorder, sent up to the lord treasurer; according to his custom. The contents whereof were, "That he and his officers in the city had been every "day occupied with seminary priests, massmongers, libel- "lers, and such like. And that in the first week of Lent a "book was cast abroad, commending of Campion and his "fellows, [executed for treason,] and of their death. And "that he [the recorder] pursued the matter so near, that "he found the priest, the letters, the figures, and a number "of the books. And being in the search of one Osborn, a "seminary priest, and professed Franciscan, being taken, "was now examined." The description of the man, and the confession he made, and what else was now done with others taken at mass, I refer to what was related before, chap. viii. being all favourably dismissed at that time; and not dealt withal according to the rigour of the law against the sayers and hearers of mass; and that undoubtedly by private order of the queen, who was merciful, and declared against persecuting only for religion. This order secretary Walsingham sent to the recorder and the court, then sitting.

Anno 1582.

His diary of the sessions.

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At this time the said recorder sent to the lord treasurer a box of popish stamps, which he took in his search. Concerning which he thus writ to him: "I have sent unto "your honour a box of such stuff as these libellers use for "their print. Adding, that there were certain Irishmen, "that were utterers of the last lewd book, writ in vindica- "tion of Campion, and the other Jesuits, executed for "treason."

A box of popish stamps for printing taken.

But some there were in these times, professors of the Romish religion, but of different judgment, as to their loyalty and obedience to the queen, as being their sovereign; and utterly disapproving those methods used against the prince, and quiet of her realm, upon pretence of religion. One of these, of more remark, was sir Richard Shelly, entitled *lord prior of St. John's of Jerusalem:* of whom we have more to say afterwards. He was a zealous papist, and lived

Some catholics of loyal principles.

BOOK I.

abroad for the free exercise of his religion; who, when some of these more peaceable Roman catholics were imprisoned and troubled for hearing mass, had these words in a private letter to his nephew Shelly, of Michael Grove: "Great jealousy and suspicion, of late years especially, "given by the heads of some seminaries and unnatural "subjects, that are abroad, hath been cause, that the faith- "ful, and her majesty's true servants, have suffered divers "ways. Which for a common quietness we are bound to "take in patience; and to attribute this adversity rather to "another cause, than to her majesty, both of nature and of "judgment unfeignedly pitiful and compassionable." He meant the Jesuits, and the purpose of their mission hither. As he wrote to the lord Burghley, in a letter near this time, anno 1583, "That the misery that all Christendom then "suffered for, was by the sending of these Jesuits into Eng- "land, after such a sort as it was and had been used.

Anno 1582. Sir Richard Shelly one of these.

CHAP. XII.

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Anderson made lord chief justice of the common place: the manner thereof. An endeavour to get the place by bribery. Riots in Finsbury by some of the inns of chancery: indicted. The recorder of London informs the lord treasurer thereof. The slaughter at Paris Garden on the sabbath. The lord mayor's letter about it. A pretended conspiracy in Ireland. Mirfin, the discoverer thereof. False; proves a notorious forgery. Earl of Embden to the lord treasurer. Mr. William Wentworth, lord treasurer's son-in-law, dies. The queen, and some lords by letters, condole with him. The lord treasurer's daughter, the widow of Mr. Wentworth, dies: the queen's message thereupon to him by her secretary.

Anderson made lord chief justice of the common place: the manner of it.

SERGEANT ANDERSON was this year, in the month of May, advanced to be lord chief justice of the common place. The manner and ceremony of admitting him to that office I take from the intelligence the foresaid recorder

Fleetwood sent thereof to the lord treasurer; which was as follows: "On Saturday in the morning my lord chancellor "did a while stand at the chancery bar on the side of the "hall. And soon after that the justices of the common place "were set, his lordship came to the common place, and "there sat down, and all the sergeants standing at the bar. "My lord chancellor called sergeant Anderson by name: "declared unto him her majesty's good liking and opinion "of him, and of the place and dignity that her majesty had "called him unto. And then my lord chancellor made a "short discourse, what the duty and office of a good jus- "tice was. And in the end his lordship called him up "into the midst of the court, and then Mr. Anderson "kneeling, his commission was read. And that done, his "lordship took the patent into his hand; and then the "clerk of the crown, Powle, did read him his oath. And "after, he himself read the oath of supremacy; and so "kissed the book. And my lord chancellor took him by "the hand, and placed him upon the bench. And then "father Benloos, because he was *ancient*, did put a short "case. And then sergeant Fleetwood put the next. To the "first, my new lord chief justice did himself only argue. "But to the next that Fleetwood put, both he and the re- "sidue of the bench did argue. And I assure your good "lordship, [added the recorder,] he argued very learnedly; "and with great facility delivered his mind. And this one 139
"thing he noted in him, that he despatched more orders, "and answered more difficult cases in that one forenoon, "than were despatched in a whole week in his predecessor's "time."

Anno 1582.

The place endeavoured to be obtained by bribery.

But somebody, it seems, there was, belonging to the exchequer, that by large bribery would have gotten into this place himself, had not the just lord treasurer stopped it. For thus did the recorder privately hint the report thereof to the said lord.

The recorder to the lord treasurer, of the report.

"My lord, under *Benedicite*, there runneth a marvel- "lous speech over all London, that greater sums of money "were offered (to whom I know not) than I may well write

BOOK I.

Anno 1582.

" of, by one of the exchequer. And all was for this office " [of lord chief justice]. If it were true, the party did not " well: if it were not true, the first reporters were much to " blame, to scandalize such an officer of her majesty. By " which means he is grown into a greater discredit than " may be in a short time easily forgotten." Adding, (to the lord treasurer's honour,) " That it was almost in every " man's mouth, that his lordship, after that he had under- " standing of the offering of such a mass of money, was the " means of keeping him from that cushion." Concluding, " Truly, my lord, it was well done."

To add here a few more private and domestic matters. Notwithstanding the dreadful judgment of God, the plague that this winter lay upon the cities of London and Westminster, it restrained not the looser sort here from open and notorious wickedness. One particular passage, in Christmas holidays, or soon after, was this: A number of loose young men, of the inns of chancery, committed riots and great disturbances in Finsbury. The inhabitants made their complaints; and the blades were taken up, and brought before Fleetwood the recorder and others. And after examination, what was found of their misdemeanours was sent to the lord treasurer. But the crimes were by him found to be such, that that good and circumspect lord, reckoning the wickedness not fit so to pass, especially the dreadful hand of God at present so heavy upon the city, ordered the recorder to take several grave justices of the peace with him, and to reexamine this disorder: which he did with Seckford of the court of wards, Mr. Harris, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Young, justices. Who did it most exactly, and swore witnesses upon the same: and the chief of the two liberties there exclaiming upon these youths, the justices would needs have them indicted.

Riots in Finsbury by some of the inns of chancery.

Indicted.

And so they were, " for common disturbers of the peax, " for nightwalkers, for breakers of glass windows, lanthorns, " and such like; and principally for the great riot they had " committed the 2d of January. And one of them, named " Light, was especially indicted for singing in the church

" upon Childermas day, *Fallantida dilli*," &c. [an idle song then used.] The bishop of London was present at his arraignment; who confessed all that he was charged with. The residue not arraigned then, but they were indicted. This, and what follows, I transcribe from the recorder's account thereof to the said lord treasurer. " That the earl of 140
" Leicester had been sued unto by the principals of New
" Inn and Lion's Inn, for the setting at liberty of these
" young gentlemen. He beseeched his lordship to be
" good unto them, for his good lord of Leicester's sake.
" But looking through into their misdemeanours, he thought
" the inhabitants would cry out, if Kniveton and Light
" were not bound to their good behaviour. And that if the
" other were set at liberty, he perceived they did intend to
" lead a new life. That the bench at the gaol delivery of
" Newgate took order, that Light, who was convicted,
" should be bound to his good behaviour. He did not see,
" he added, how he could well be discharged from that
" bond."

Anno 1582.

And of these two sparks the recorder bestowed these words: " I do suppose that Li. and Kniveton are de-
" scended of the blood of Nero the tyrant. I never knew
" of two such tyrannical youths: the elder not being twenty
" years old." Adding his prayer for them: " I beseech
" God to make them his servants."

That which he further added concerning this disorder was, " That the lord chancellor, by Mr. Harris the justice,
" sent word unto them, that they should proceed at the
" sessions against them for the satisfying of the people.
" And that if the *principals* were looked unto, and espe-
" cially of New Inn, all would be well. And so concluding,
" beseeched his good lordship to be good unto the residue
" of them. For surely they are most penitent for their mis-
" behaviour. But for Light and Kniveton, he saw no grace
" in them. And so humbly took his leave of his good lord-
" ship."

In the Diary of the said recorder, of transactions in the city, customarily sent to the lord treasurer, he mentioned

BOOK I.

Anno 1582. The destruction in Paris Garden a divine judgment.

" the punishment of the violators of the sabbath by God's " providence at Paris Garden in Southwark: where were " sports on that day for entertainment of great confluences " of people to see them, mounted upon scaffolds, which fell " down." The day after this dreadful fall of them, sir Tho. Blank, mayor, sent notice of it to lord Burghley, the treasurer. Whose letter ran in this tenor: " May it " please your lordship to be advertised (which I think you " have already heard) of a great mishap at Paris Garden. " Where, by ruin of all the scaffold at once yesterday, [be- " ing the Lord's day,] a great number of people are, some " presently slain, and some maimed and grievously hurt." He addeth piously, " It gives great occasion to acknowledge " the hand of God for such abuse of his sabbath day; and " moveth me in conscience to beseech your lordship to give " order for redress of such contempt of God's service." Adding, " That he had to that end treated with some jus- " tices of peace of that county, [of Surrey,] who signified " themselves to have very good zeal; but alleged want of " commission. Which he and they humbly referred to the " consideration of his honourable wisdom. And so he left " to trouble his lordship. At London, the 14th of January, " 1582. Subscribing,

Lord mayor's letter thereof to the court.

" Your lordship's humble
" Tho. Blank."

141 A pretended conspiracy against the queen in Ireland.

A conspiracy in Ireland against the queen was now discovered by one Mirfin: entered into by himself and divers confederates, with the earl of Desmond and Westmorland, viz. sir George Hastings, [the earl of Huntington's brother,] Walter Hastings, William Agard, and others. But it was reckoned, and so proved, an accusation, false, foolish, improbable, and impossible, considering the circumstances; and discovered at length to be a notorious forgery. The paper containing the confession of the said Mirfin, or Murfin, was found among the MSS. of the lord treasurer, and therefore I shall set it down, though somewhat large; and is as follows:

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Information thereof by Mirfin.

" Murfin informeth of heinous treasons conceived against " her majesty's person and government, by sir George " Hastings, Walter Hastings, and William Agard; affirm- " ing them to be confederates with the earls of Desmond " and Westmorland, and many noblemen and gentlemen, " and others in England, to a very great number. I. This " conspiracy he saith to have been three years past." [About which time, indeed, the pope and the king of Spain had prepared a great fleet to invade and conquer Ireland; and assist the rebels there.] " II. He affirmeth the manner of " executing thereof to have been agreed, that Mirfin should " have been conveyed into Ireland, to make dollars and " Portuguese, to bear the charges of an army, and to make " poisoned balls of fire, to burn stones, and to kill with sa- " vour: which he saith he can do. III. That an army " should have been raised in Ireland, and conveyed over " into the north of England about Durham: and to take " castles; and to deliver the Scotch queen. And to stay at " Nottingham till sir George Hastings and his confederates " should come to them with another army. IV. That then " these armies should march to London. Where the city " should be in readiness to assist them; being raised by " William Webb, late sheriff of London, Hugh Offley, " Giles Garton, Richard Staniherst, and others. VI. That " from thence they should go to the court, and take the " queen and her council, and put them to death, and set " up the Scottish queen, and marry her to sir George Has- " tings, and crown him king. VII. That sir George Has- " tings used conjurations with Mirfin and others, to know " whether sir George should outlive his brother, and be " king; and to the same intent had sundry old prophecies. " VIII. That sir George Hastings, Walter Hastings, and " Agard, did swear to Mirfin, and did cause Mirfin mu- " tually to swear to them, faithfully to execute, and truly " to keep secret the premises. And for assurance of their " oaths did drink together wine mingled with their own " blood. IX. He exhibiteth certain papers, indented under " his own hand, containing his own oath to the effect above-

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Anno 1582.

"said: and one under the hand, as he saith, of sir George "Hastings, Walter Hastings, and Agard. All sealed with "strange seals like crosses; and subscribed, as he saith, "with red ink, made of wine and their own blood. X. He "exhibiteth also a paper, containing a prophecy, which, as "he saith, sir Geo. Hastings did shew him three years "since, anciently written in an old book; containing hor- "rible treason; the destruction of the queen, the rooting "out the race of HENRY; which is, Henry, Edward,
142 "Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth: the setting up of the house "of Poles, [from a lady of which family he was derived:] "his avauncing of the Scottish queen, marrying her to sir "George Hastings; crowning sir George; the defaming of "the queen's counsellors by special names of murderers, "usurers, extortioners, thieves, epicures, bawds, &c. and "such other slanderous matter. XI. He exhibiteth also "another paper sealed with a heart, containing a bond "to him of 10,000*l.* made by sir George Hastings. All "these writings are of Mirfin's own hand. XII. He ex- "hibiteth also other papers, lately written by himself, con- "taining the discovery of another treason about three "years ago; conspired to murder her majesty and her "council in her court, in most monstrous, horrible, and in- "credible manner. Wherein he chargeth for conspirators "a great number of the nobility, and some of her majesty's "council, and many knights, gentlemen, and others, both "in the court and elsewhere. XIII. Sheweth, that to have "found out the bottom of the said treasons he purposed "to come, near three years past, to London, to disclose the "said treasons. XIV. That sir George Hastings, and Wal- "ter Hastings, and Agard, fearing the same, did seek his "life in Leicestershire: for which cause he came hastily to "London. XV. That they pursued him, and sought his "life at London; and suborned false witnesses against "him. Whereby he was indicted and arraigned at London "for slanderous speeches against the queen. XVI. That "being in prison in the counter, he fell acquainted with "Richard Staniherst, and one Perpoint, under pretence of

" teaching them secrets in alteration of metals. Where
" they being of the Hastings' conspiracy, did practise with
" him to join again with them. For proof whereof he Anno 1582.
" sheweth a letter of plain conspiracy under their hands, as
" he saith. XVII. Being removed to the king's bench
" about March last was twelvemonth, he did in September
" following fall in acquaintance there with one Clement
" Draper, prisoner in the same place, by means of one
" Thomas Lodge, also prisoner. XVIII. That there came
" to him to the bench, Walter Hastings, and Agard, with
" tempting either to draw him again into the conspiracy, or
" to kill him. And he called them rebels; and escaped
" them. XIX. That Clement Draper, being one of this
" conspiracy, did make suit to have Mirfin to lie with him
" in Draper's chamber: which was in the end of September,
" 1581; and was the first time of his acquaintance with
" Draper, or his wife. XX. That he meaning to find Dra-
" per's conspiracy, did disclose the said treasons to Draper;
" and among others, how Webb, Offley, and others, be-
" ing of Draper's alliance, should in London join in the
" treason. XXI. That Draper solicited Mirfin, to teach
" him to alter metal into silver and gold: and that he told
" Draper he could so do: and promised Draper to teach
" him. XXII. That Draper, Webb, and Clitherow, and
" others of Draper's friends, practise with Mirfin, to go for-
" ward with the said treasons. XXIII. That it was de-
" vised among them, that Mirfin should go over sea, to
" make gold and silver, and to coin dollars and Portuguese.
" XXIV. That he used sundry shows and conjurations
" with and upon Draper; and took the parings of Draper's 143
" nails, and the hairs of his beard, and other follies, to
" make Draper trust in him; and so to see the bottom of
" Draper's treasons. XXV. That it was agreed, that Mir-
" fin should be conveyed over sea, as Draper's factor: and
" there execute[a] the treason of sir George Hastings and
" the rest. And that to this conveyance, Webb, Offley,
" Garton, and others of Draper's friends, were privy, and
" had promised him shipping and lodging. XXVI. That

[a] For his part of the treason, see art. xxiii.

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" to this intent Draper had delivered Mirfin 700*l.* in part " of payment of 2000*l.* XXVII. That to make Mirfin as- " sured of him, Draper had conveyed to Mirfin a deed of " gift of all his goods, an assignment of all his debts, and a " bond of 2000*l.* XXVIII. That Draper, Clitherow, and " Draper's wife, had signed with their hands, and sealed " one deed, and signed with their hands one other-deed; " declaring at large his said treasons, and the whole manner " thereof: and naming Webb and the rest to be conspira- " tors there. And for proof thereof he sheweth the said two " deeds, so subscribed and sealed by Draper, Draper's wife, " and Clitherow, as he saith. XXIX. To draw him the " more into the same treason, he sheweth also, that Draper " and his wife had given by their deed, under their hands " and seals, to Mirfin the body of Draper's wife, &c." With other articles of this Mirfin, so vile and loose, and improbable, that I omit the mention of them.

" There are also found in the custody of Mirfin sundry " blanks, or sheets of white paper, having written in the " lower part of those blanks the name of *Clement Draper*, " *Elizabeth Draper*, *Fra. Corkow*, Draper's servant, and " others: over which were to be written whatsoever Mirfin " would. There are found also the seals wherewith the said " papers of oaths of sir George Hastings, Walter Hastings, " and Agard were sealed. There are also found certain " small pieces of paper, wherein are oftentimes written, as " it were, assays of the names of *Clement Draper* and " others: and among the rest, of the lord treasurer, by the " name of *W. Burghley;* very like unto their own hands. " And many other papers of letters, hands and names of " other persons; containing matters of express treason." He was charged by Draper, that he shewed to him a grant, under the queen's hand, for letters patents to be made to him and Draper about registering bonds and assurances. Which grant or warrant, he said, was brought unto him by Moukl, my lord treasurer's servant: which cannot be without forging her majesty's sign manual, which is high treason.

After this, followeth a confutation of Mirfin's informations. And a great deal of it himself confessed. And all that concerning the Londoners [Webb, Clitherow, Draper, &c.] were but imaginations, and false, upon vain suspicions, drinking of wine and blood; and the subscribing paper with wine and blood he confessed to be false. The papers were all of his own handwriting; and he acknowledged he forged them; as the hands of sir George Hastings, &c. The red ink, which he called wine and blood, wherewith the papers were signed, was found in a glass in his chamber, and confessed by his servant that he bought it lately: in short, he was found a most notorious villain, a notable forger, and a most wicked rogue. This business came before the council, and he was examined by certain persons by their order. And they charged him with treason. And Draper's wife was found a virtuous and good woman. 144

What passages of remark I meet with concerning that great and wise statesman, the lord Burghley, I frequently enter, to preserve his memory to grateful posterity. Among which a letter may deserve a remembrance here, sent to him from a German prince, viz. the earl of Embden; to shew both the honour he had with foreign princes of the religion, but chiefly, what favour and regard his royal mistress had with them abroad. This German had sent his agent, and professed all readiness to serve her majesty, and still desired she might be assured thereof. He also communicated the great and happy endeavour of a reformation of religion in another part of Germany, namely, that of Colein, by Herman, the good elector and archbishop thereof: besides some more private matters contained in that count's letters. In his answer he wrote, "That he was but newly recovered of his chronical "distemper, the gout, which he called *his familiar disease*, "when those honourable letters were delivered him: and "that they came seasonable to him, and administered re-"freshment, by so illustrious a hero's remembrance of him, "to restore his diminished strength." He proceeded, "That "they had various reports of what had been done by the

The earl of Embden ready to serve the queen. His letter to the treasurer.

The lord treasurer's answer.

BOOK I.

Anno 1582.

" archbishop of Colein. That nothing had been attempted " many years past, more to increase the strength of the " gospel in Germany, than that notion of the archbishop, if " it succeeded well. And he hoped the Christian religion, " professed by that protestant elector of the empire, and " other princes, would very much prevail against the Ro- " man antichrist throughout all Germany. And whereas " he desired him [the lord treasurer] should recommend his " pains and service to the queen, he said, he would do what " his excellency required. But that there was no need to re- " commend that to her, since she was fully persuaded, that " his service was always ready, whensoever occasion requir- " ed." In the same letter he took notice of two more private matters. The one was concerning a pair of fine horses the count had presented him; and the other of a great sum of dollars, that Stafford, when he was the queen's ambassador in those parts, had borrowed of him; and not yet paid back.

Mr. Wentworth, the lord treasurer's son-in-law, dies.

To this worthy lord happened this year a loss, which afflicted him much; namely, the death of his son-in-law, William Wentworth, eldest son of the lord of that name, a person of great virtue: who had but the year before married his daughter Elizabeth. And the surprise of it aggravated his grief. For coming home from the city (where the plague now was) to Tybald's, his country seat, found him newly dead there. He was to have met with the queen at Hartford; but his son-in-law being dead, he sent to the secretary Walsingham to excuse him to the queen. Walsingham enclo-
145 seth his lordship's letter in one of his own, to the vice-chamberlain, sir Christopher Hatton, to the end he might acquaint the queen with the reason of the treasurer's absence.

Secretary Walsingham to that lord upon this occasion.

The secretary, by way of condole, addressed a letter to his lordship; where speaking of the queen, wrote, " That " she had as just cause to be grieved, for the public, as his " lordship for his part." He added, " that the taking away " a man of his virtue and hope, in this corrupted age, was

" an argument of God's displeasure towards us:" concluding with this prayer, " The Lord give us grace to make " our own profit thereof; and send your lordship patience " to bear this cross laid upon you in that Christian course " that becometh you." CHAP. XII. Anno 1582.

The queen also sent Mr. Mannours, the earl of Rutland's son, to the lord treasurer, under great sorrow, to comfort him from herself: and a letter also with him from the vice-chamberlain, importing as much. Letters also of condolence were sent him from divers others of the nobility on this sad providence; as the lord chamberlain, earl of Sussex, and the earl of Leicester. The queen condoles with him.

Hatton the vice-chamberlain's letter signified not only the queen's concern for him, but he likewise expressed therein his own great sorrow; and endeavoured by pious arguments to mitigate that lord's trouble. The letter deserveth to be inserted. Which was as follows: " My singular good lord, " her majesty standeth so much moved with your sorrowful " letters, as she findeth herself much more fit to accompany " you in your griefs, than to comfort you in this your irre- " coverable loss. Your lordship, so well and holily instruct- " ed in God's fear, and so well exercised with the mutable " accidents of this wretched world, will call reason to your " relief, with thankfulness, that God, the creator of us all, " hath called this his virtuous and zealous creature to the " participation of his heavenly inheritance. We should " lack of duty towards our Redeemer in resisting this his " will, and shew a kind of envy in lamenting this his glo- " rious exchange, out of a frail and sinful life, to an ever- " lasting mansion and heaven of joys. The vice-chamberlain's letter to him.

" My very good lord, cast off this woe, let it not touch " your heart, in which the wisdom of this our world and " state hath found him sent for many years, to God's glory, " the realm's safety, and your immortal renown. Her ma- " jesty sendeth your good, noble friend, my lord Mannours, " to you; who will more largely impart her pleasure unto " you. And so with my humble prayers to God for your

BOOK I. Anno 1582.

" long life and comfortable being, I most humbly take my
" leave, in haste, this 8th of November, 1582.
" Your good lordship's
" Most bounden poor friend,
" Chr. Hatton."

Lord Wentworth to the lord treasurer upon the said loss.

The grief on his father the lord Wentworth's side produced this letter to the lord treasurer; " Praying his lord-
" ship to bear with him, that he had not written to him be-
" fore. That the loss, common to them both, was such as
146 " would have staid a wiser man than he was. And that
" although many crosses had fallen upon him, yet none so
" great as this. But he thanked his God, that he had made
" the burden somewhat the lighter, that he had left his
" daughter with child. Whom if it pleased God to bless
" them, as his prayer was, they both should have some
" comfort after this sorrow. Praying his good lordship to
" continue that good-will and favour towards him that he
" would have done, if his son had lived, until he had de-
" served the contrary. And leaving his lordship, he had
" sent that bearer to declare unto him his opinion, as con-
" cerning the will, and other things. Whom he beseeched
" his lordship favourably to hear; and look, what his lord-
" ship should do in these matters, he should willingly agree
" to." This letter was dated from Mile End, the 10th of November.

Lord treasurer's daughter, relict of Mr. Wentworth, dies.

But what became of this great belly, we may soon conclude from the death of the widow, the relict of the said Mr. Wentworth: she died within five months after him, viz. in April, 1583, repeating a fresh grief to the lord treasurer, which caused his close retirement. As the queen could not want his advice, so she sent again a gracious message of condolement to him; and withal required his presence by her secretary, Walsingham, to divert him from his sorrow: to this import; " That as she was pleased for a time to per-
" mit him to wrestle with nature; not doubting, but that
" wisdom and religion had wrought in him, ere this, that re-

The queen's message to him.

" solution that appertained to a man of his place and call- CHAP.
" ing; so now she thought, that if the health of his body XII.
" might so permit, he should do better to occupy himself in Anno 1582.
" dealing in public causes, than by secluding himself from
" access, to give himself over a prey unto grief. And par-
" ticularly, that she would be glad of his advice in a matter
" of weight, concerning an offer lately made unto her by the
" Scots queen, sent to court from the earl of Shrewsbury,
" [who was her keeper."]

CHAP. XIII. 147

Blank, lord mayor of London, presented to the queen. The recorder's speech to her. Increase of buildings in the city: the inconvenience thereof. Mr. Rich in the Fleet: his crime: sues for his liberty: his protestation: his letter from Leigh, to the lord treasurer's secretary. John Stubbs, (whose right hand had been cut off,) his letters of good counsel. Fleetwood, recorder of London. Controversy in Christ's college, Cambridge, about a fellowship of king Edward's foundation. A dispensation for a fellowship in Peter-house, complained of. Books published this year. The Elementary. Εἰρηναρχία, sive Elizabetha: *appointed to be read in schools. The Holy Bible: printed in quarto, with a Catechism about Predestination. Golden Epistles.*

BUT to gather up a few more historical notices; which may inform us of particular persons.

Blank, elected lord mayor of the city of London, was on the 6th of May, being Sunday, presented before the queen, then being at Richmond. How it came to pass that the mayor was not presented before, (since the common time of presenting the new mayor at Westminster is about the festival of St. Simon and Jude,) I know not upon what occasion. The queen graciously accepted of him. And the lord chamberlain made him knight: and he kissed her majesty's Blank, the mayor, presented to the queen.

BOOK I. Anno 1582.

hand. The recorder then made her a speech; all tending then to the great comfort of the mayor and all his brethren, the aldermen. And that chiefly the queen shewing herself wonderfully well pleased in all things; saving, for that some young gentlemen, being more bold than well mannered, stood upon the carpet of the cloth of estate, and did almost bear upon the cushion: insomuch that her highness found fault with the lord chamberlain, and Mr. Vice-chamberlain, and with the gentlemen ushers, for suffering such disorders.

This is the relation the recorder sent to the lord treasurer of this affair: and withal adding, that she found fault with him, (which must be attributed to her modesty,) for giving more praises unto her highness, as particularly touching the advancement of religion, than, as she said, she deserved. "But," said the recorder, "my good lord, I said "nothing, but truly and justly, as it was indeed." And so they all departed.

148 And now we are fallen into the city of London, it may not be out of the way to make a particular remark of it. Which the said recorder noted in another letter this year to the said lord. London now was daily increasing by new buildings. By means whereof, as the inhabitants greatly multiplied, so they were, for the most part, of the more ordinary and poorer sort, which, among other inconveniencies, brought in this, that cheats, and thieves, and pickpockets increased much. Of this the recorder gave that lord some account, in relating what occurred in a sessions this summer.

New buildings in London. The increase of loose persons thereby. Fleetw. Record. Lett.

"That among other things here happening, there were "none worth writing of, save this one thing; that here are "forty brabbles and pickeries done about this town more in "any one day, than, when I came first to serve, was done "in a month. The reason thereof is these multitudes of "buildings; being stuffed with poor, needy, and of the "worst sort of people. Truly, my singular good lord, I "have not leisure to eat my meat, I am so called upon. I "am, at the least, the best part of an hundred nights in a "year abroad in searches," &c.

A supplicatory letter next comes to my hands, to be mentioned, wrote to the lords of the council by Richard Rich, related to the lord Rich. This gentleman had been a prisoner in the Fleet for three years. And his crime was, as it seems, for favouring Stubbes, (of whose terrible punishment we heard before,) and for keeping his book in his possession, after the proclamation to bring it in; being levelled against the queen's matching with monsieur: and so he became obnoxious to the law, and under the queen's displeasure. He humbly begged of the lord treasurer to obtain his liberty. "He spake of his reverend fear, that flowed from a most "loyal heart, which, both in liberty and restraint, he ever "had borne to his liege and most gracious sovereign: his "dutiful mind still kept to conform himself to her high-"ness's laws; and his settled purpose and endeavour, which "daily rested in him, to advance by all means the religion "of God, now established in her highness's dominions; "which he prayed might be continued down, and enlarged "for ever. Then he spake of the hard portion that was then "allotted him; and in what sort, and with whom he suffer-"ed: that it bred in him astonishment. He heard of the "sharp threatenings which his known enemies breathed "forth against him. That he sustained undeserved re-"proach: found few friends that would regard the inno-"cence of his soul. That he was well nigh clean discom-"forted, and ready to faint under the burden thereof. And "that it would please God to stir up his honour, in consi-"deration of his long imprisonment, impoverished estate, "charge of wife and children, and her majesty's conceived "displeasure towards him, to respect his great distress, and "to become his special patron, and by his honourable means "to procure his release." This was writ the 14th of April, 1582.

Anno 1582.

Rich, a prisoner in the Fleet; his supplication to the lords.

But now to know more particularly wherein this gentleman had offended, behold the matters charged upon him by Tho. Chambers, his own servant, in his letters to the lords, dated *primo Martii*, 1579. In the margin thereof is set by the lord Burghley's own hand, *What was found in* 149

Matters charged upon him.

BOOK I. *the examination of the several heads and articles of the accusation:* wherein the lord Rich himself was touched. Take all thus exemplified from the original:

Anno 1582.

His crimes.

"Right honourable, and my very good lords: the matters to be objected against Mr. Richard Rich, the elder, are,

My lord Rich took it from his nephew, P. Pygot, and burnt it immediately after the proclamation.

"First, That he had a book set forth by Mr. Stubbs, since the proclamation made against the same. And that the same was seen in my lord's house, is to be proved by Dr. Mullins, archdeacon of London; who saw the same, and advertised my lord, that his place was not fit for that book.

About Christmas. In a sermon in my lord's gallery. My lord Rich saith, he was not at the sermon.

"That he is a great favourer of one Dyke: who in his sermon inveighed against statute-protestants, injunction-men, and such as love to jump with the law. The witnesses of these words are a number present at the hearing of the same.

My lord denieth this utterly. But he saith, that he hath such a licence. And so, in some speech of late, he told the company thereof.

"That he advised my lord to go to Geneva, when the report of monsieur his coming was rife. And this is to be proved by a letter about the 12th of the queen under the queen's majesty's hand, before granted by her majesty to my lord, and one Mr. Sullyard. Which letter my lord caused me to search for, and shew unto him; which, he said, would not serve the turn; for that the date thereof was expired."

Mr. Rich set at liberty.

At last this gentleman was released out of prison, partly by means of the solicitations of his friend, Mr. Michael Hicks, to the lord treasurer, to whom he was secretary. And being now at Leigh, the lord Rich's house, he sent him a letter, acknowledging thankfully the favour he had received. "Thanking him again and again for his further-ance of his release; and the more for the speed which he procured, in the quick despatch thereof." Mr. Rich takes this occasion to mention a former acquaintance and friendship between them, (perhaps at the inns of court,) but discontinued by long and far distance of time and place: saying, "That he [Mr. Hicks] had gained the start of him in this race of their friendship, by the opportunity which his

His letter to Hicks, lord trea-

CHAP. XIII.

Anno 1582.

" suit had offered to his hand; and wherein with love and " faithfulness he had approved himself towards him. But " for himself, he was as one cast behind to buckle up his " feeble strength, and endeavour himself to overtake, or at " least to follow so fast as he might reach him, without hope, " for want of breath, to overgo him. That yet, God willing, his desire should strive, and his heart thirst for Mr. " Hicks's good. And that he should in better colours find, " if his country life might happily yield him any good fruit " or effect thereof."

surer's secretary.

And to shew the good temper of this gentleman, and his religious disposition, and his counsel to a courtier, I shall continue his letter: " In the mean time, as my best service, " and good that I can do you, I will, as it shall please God " to assist me, offer some sacrifice for you, that you may retain and increase your old love, and hold out to walk in " the integrity and uprightness of your heart in that place, " where you are called to serve. Where his gifts that the " Lord hath intrusted you withal may gloriously shine, and " happily be employed to the comfort and benefit of many: " and yet not without some use and lawful interest to your " self. That when it shall please God to single you out to 150 " another estate and condition of life, you may depart thence " with the spoil of those riches and virtues, which the place " and people where you are may yield you; and wholly " shake off from your feet that corruption and dross, which, " without grace, and great heed and watchfulness, might " easily creep upon you; and by degrees wax bolder to encounter with you: and at the last hazard to choke or " captivate that cheerful liberty and freedom of heart, which " to retain and cherish is (as I know you feel and taste) the " welcomest guest in our life, and the sweetest persuader, " and the strongest comforter in death," &c. And so in conclusion recommended him to the good providence of the Lord.

As we heard of Mr. Stubbs before, and of his book, so I find him now after his restraint retired to Catton, near Norwich; where he still held his correspondence with his former

Stubbs's letters of good counsel to the treasurer's secretary.

BOOK I. Anno 1582.

friends and society of ingenious men, and chiefly of such as had been of Lincoln's Inn; one of whom was the foremen-tioned Mr. Hicks, the lord treasurer's secretary. The contents of a letter to him shew him to have been a pious man, and endued with a quality of taking all opportunities of giving good counsel. For such was the purport of his said letter. Thus, upon occasion of the present infirmity of Mrs. Hicks's mother, a virtuous good woman, "He wished her "with a sound and strong mind to bear the infirmities of "her diseased body;" adding, "That it was not the bodily "affliction [whereof he had experience] could vex the free "mind of a full persuaded Christian. As on the contrary, "no soundness of body could hold out against a discontent-"ed and impatient spirit."

Another occasion he took of writing his good counsel to this his friend, was upon the reflection that he made upon their former looser conversation, when they were students of Lincoln's Inn. "I might," as he writeth, "find matter to de-"plore the folly and idleness of our mispent youth, together "with some warm exhortations to the redeeming of time, "passed in pastime; the *redeeming* of it, I say, by spending "the rest with more conscience, to our building up in faith, "and faithful conversation, whereby we may in some godly "vocation glorify our God, and benefit our brethren; and "withal live like Adam's children, as we are, upon our own "sweat. Let us pray for one another, that we may thus "live to the comforting and joy one of another."

And so concluded with a little strain of his wit: "Com-"mend me to my old good friends; and let me hear sometimes "how you and they do, and how this world goeth: whether "it standeth still, as the old *philosophers* say; or else, whe-"ther it turneth about, and the heaven standeth still, as the "*neosophisters* affirm. Farewell, and say so for me. The "Lord Jesus keep you ever his. Catton, by Norwich, the "30th of July, 1582.

"Your own loving and assured, John Stubb Sceva."

Fleetwood, recorder of

Fleetwood, recorder of London, (of whom before,) a very

learned and deserving man, and not less diligent in his office, being now quite weary of this place, by reason of the toil and fatigue of it, and withal discouraged too; earnestly applied himself to his good friend, the lord treasurer, to be released, and to be made one of the queen's sergeants. I will give his own case and desire in his own words. "My singular good lord, &c. I never rest. And when I serve her majesty the best, then I am, for the most part, the worst spoken of; and that many times in the court. I have no man to defend me. And as for my lord mayor, my chief head, I am driven every day, to back him and his doings. My good lord, for Christ's sake, be such a mean for me, as that with credit I may be removed by her majesty from this intolerable toil. Certainly I serve in a thankless soil. There is, as I learn, like to fall a room of the queen's sergeant. If your lordship please to help me to one of those rooms, assure your honour that I will do her majesty as painful service as six of them shall do: help me, my good lord, in my humble suit; and I will, God willing, set down for your lordship such a book of the law, as your lordship will like of. This Easter even, 1582, Bacon house."

Anno 1582.

London, desires a release.

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Now to pass to the state of learning. Something occurred this year in two colleges in Cambridge about fellowships, viz. Christ's college and Peter-house, that gave disturbance.

Thomas Osborn had been for some years fellow of Christ's college, elected to that commonly called king Edward's fellowship, as founded by him in that college. Whereby he reckoned himself exempted from some statutes of the college concerning the qualifications of such as were to be admitted fellows: as, that there be not more than one of the same county fellows at the same time; and to be bound to take orders, or profess some science within such a time. Osborn had been fellow three years or more, by virtue of a dispensation from the queen, to establish him the firmer against college statutes. But now the master and fellows were minded to out him of his fellowship, as unqualified, and to elect another person in his room: urging, that the said fellowship was tied to the sta-

Contest about king Edward's fellowship in Christ's college, Cambridge.

BOOK I. tutes and ordinances of that said college, and that by order of the foundation, which shew the same. This grew into a great debate between Osborn and the college, on plea that his fellowship was exempted from the ordinary college statutes. And he appealed to the lord Burghley, lord high chancellor of that university. By whom a visitation of the college was instituted; to inquire into the true estate of this controversy by the statutes, and report it accordingly unto him to decide. He appointed the ordinary visitors of that college; who were the vice-chancellor, Dr. Howland, and two of the senior doctors, viz. Pern and Bell. And they determined the cause on Osborn's side. There was also before this, another visitation of the college about this matter, appointed by the high chancellor, his vice-chancellor, visitor, and two other doctors, his assistants; who also gave the interpretation of the statute in favour of Osborn.

Anno 1582.

But notwithstanding this determination of the case, the master and fellows were resolved to proceed to the election of another fellow. And their chancellor commanded them to forbear, and to bring the case up before himself, to judge of the arguments on both sides. The minutes of which letter follow.

152 " After my hearty commendations. I have received your " letter, and I find by you, the master, and certain of the " fellows of the college, touching your proceedings, tending " to the removing of Mr. Osborn, one of your fellows, and " to the placing of another: thereto moved, as you write, as " well by my letters, as that the time was expired, which the " said Osborn had claimed to enjoy his fellowship by her " majesty's prerogative. On the other part, I have also re- " ceived letters from Dr. Howland, my vice-chancellor, and " Dr. Pern, and Dr. Bell, two of your senior doctors, by " which they informed me, that notwithstanding, that by the " acts of master Dr. Pern, being vice-chancellor, and two se- " nior doctors, and now in this vice-chancellor's time, with " two like senior doctors, your visitors, the interpretations of " your statutes, for the *country* and *profession* of the fel- " lowship that Mr. Osborn hath of king Edward's founda-

Their chancellor calls the cause up before himself.

" tion, was otherwise expounded, than you would have the " same. And also where they, at the time of this your pro- " ceeding to choose another fellow, enjoined you to stay the " proceeding therein. Besides, as they inform me, my let- " ters were kept from them so long, and that on purpose, as " that you might have full advantage against Mr. Osborn " for not being minister. Anno 1582.

" For these informations, of these whom I have more " cause to credit than yours, I cannot allow of this your " manner of proceedings therein. And yet nevertheless, for " that I will not condemn you before you be heard, I re- " quire you, the master, with two of your fellows, to be with " me the day of next month. At which time I mean " to call unto mine assistance some persons of judgment and " learning, to hear the matter of question between you. " And in the mean time I straitly command and enjoin you, " the master, in as strait manner as I may, being your chan- " cellor, and so your visitor, and as you will answer to the " contrary at your utmost peril, to continue the said Osborn " in his place, with such privileges and profits as belong to " the same."

The case referred to the archbishop and three others.

This contest between Osborn and the college, notwithstanding it was brought thus far, yet continued two years longer, before it came to a final decision. Their high chancellor thinking it scarcely reconcileable with justice, to violate the fundamental statutes of the college, referred, at last, the consideration of the whole case, the examination of witnesses, and the judgment and conclusion, to the archbishop of Canterbury, Goodman, dean of Westminster, and two chief learned civilians, Dr. Aubrey and Dr. Ri. Cosin. And now shall follow what the judgment was of the visitors of the college, that is, the vice-chancellor, and the two doctors, his assistants; and then the final decree made by the archbishop, and the other three, as I take them from the originals.

The question stated.

The question brought before the visitors was, *Utrum, qui ad illud sodalitium electus et admissus, tencatur ad aliquam sacri ordinis vel professionis rationem, in statutis illius col-*

BOOK I. Anno 1582. 153

legii præscriptam, servandum; sive, &c. "Or whether "such a fellow might lawfully, being elected and admitted "as beforesaid, enjoy the rights and emoluments of the fel- "lowship; although he be not entered into sacred orders, "and study any profession." Which question they thus resolved; and declared, "That it was lawful for the mas- "ter and fellows to choose a fellow into that place, *nulla* "*sacri ordinis vel professionis ratione habita.* And being "admitted and elected into the fellowship, he ought not to "be compelled by the statutes of the college to take holy "orders; but freely may study what profession he please; "and enjoy all rights and profits of that fellowship."

The final decree made by the archbishop and the other three, in the month of October, 1584, appeared by an instrument signed by their hands, declaring their judgment in this controversy; viz.

First, That whosoever enjoyed king Edward's fellowship was bound, according to the true force of the foundation of the same college, to all the statutes, laws, ordinances, and constitutions and customs thereof, and to the observance of them, as well as any other fellow. The contrary to which, they said, seemed hard to them, as well because it tended to declare the foundation of the said fellowship, rather than any part of the statutes. As also, because it was contrary to the words of the statute. Wherein that caution is had, that within the year of admission every fellow be ordained priest. And that never at one and the same time there be two chosen to be fellows of the same county. In which respect they think, that they [the visitors] had exceeded the bounds of that authority that was committed to them.

Secondly, Although Tho. Osborn, a Northamptonshire man, from which shire another of the fellows came, against the genuine sense of the statutes; and the said Osborn first elected, and by the royal dispensation he was dispensed with for three years from his admission fellow, not to take priest's orders; and thereby brake and violated the meaning of the statute: yet because it was not equal that he should be punished for the error of them who thought they lawfully

elected him; and that it should be thought as a fraud upon him, in that he followed the sentence of them on whom the interpretation of the statute was incumbent: and so took their sentence, interpretation, and matter judged by them as true: and because there was no reason why the adverse party should go so hastily to a new election, before the former interpretation had been rightly revoked and declared null or unjust; nor equal that this should be to his prejudice; therefore they decreed that the said Osborn should be admitted into his fellowship. Yet so, that he should within two months at least be ordained priest; otherwise his place to be actually void in the said college. And John Powel, who was chosen into Osborn's place, was to come fellow into the next vacation of a fellowship; that seeming agreeable to equity and justice. And that in the mean time the said Powel to be maintained in fellow's commons, by the master and fellows, at their common charge and expense. This was signed by the archbishop of Canterbury, and the three others; and withal is added the lord Burghley their chancellor's own hand; confirming and establishing what they had declared as their judgment and determination.

Anno 1582.

A mandamus for one to be fellow of Peter-house complained of.

This same year another trouble arose to Peter-house in the same university, upon a letter obtained from the queen to that college, to receive one sir Rushbrook to be fellow: such letters coming often, to the discouragement of the students there, the preferring of unfit persons, and laying the college under burdens unnecessary. This occasioned the master and fellows to address a letter to their patron, lord Burghley, and chancellor of that university; signifying what great inconveniences they should draw upon their college, if letters should be so frequently obtained for fellowships. "That it would cumber them with more fellows "than their poor revenues could maintain. And so burden "the college: and by this means also of a sudden over-"thrown, by unfit and unmeet persons to be preferred by "those letters: and the ancient liberty impugned, when "statutes were so ordinarily dispensed with; oath and con-

1 5 4

Their letter to court.

BOOK I.

"science neglected; unworthy men placed; the worthy "discouraged; the church and commonwealth hindered."

Anno 1582. For within three years, at the queen's commandment, were chosen three fellows there, by letters procured from their friends.

And one but the last Lent was admitted fellow, that would not for a considerable time yet come into profits, for want of avoidance of a place. And besides, they urged, that they had divers bible-clerks, very toward scholars, as well for deserts sufficient, as by statute of foundation qualified every way, in many degrees to be preferred before sir Rushbrook, and that, to speak the truth of him, he was not answerable in many respects to the commendation given of him to her majesty.

Another procures a dispensation for a fellowship in Peterhouse, contrary to divers statutes.

And a year or two before, I find one Richard Betts got a dispensation from the queen to the same college, to be admitted fellow, though he was master of arts; which was contrary to the statutes: who were to be chosen while bachelors, or not at all. For by an old statute, none that is master of art may be admitted to the society. And by another old statute he could not be fellow, because he was born in the south parts of England. The queen dispensed with both statutes.

Books.

Books must come under this head of *learning*. Some that were set forth this year were these as follow.

The Elementary.

The *Elementary*. As the last year Mulcaster, a learned and accurate schoolmaster in these times, had set forth a book called *Positions;* therein beginning to lay down a more exact method of educating and bringing up of youth: so he went on with his method in publishing this year his *Elementary*, the first part: which treated of the right writing of our English tongue. And as the former was dedicated to the queen with high elogiums of her learning, so this he dedicated to her great counsellor, the earl of Leicester, with high strains of praise given him, as a great patron of learning, and of both the universities: "Praying "God to preserve his honour, as a counsellor of most trust "to a prince of most wisdom, to beautify nobility, to

"avaunce knowledge, and to assist his country both in true "religion and politic rule." In this his *elementary* institution, his purpose was "to handle all those things which "young children were to learn of right, and might learn of "ease, if their parents would be careful a little more than "ordinary. These were five in number, all infinite in use, "principles in place; viz. reading, writing, drawing, sing- "ing, and playing. And that in the right course of best "education to learning and knowledge, all these, and only "these, be elementary principles, and most necessary to be "dealt withal." And then he proceeded to shew how they were warranted by general authority of all the gravest writers and all the best commonweals. In another chapter he gave his opinion of the best writers concerning the choice of wits fit for learning. And the subject of another is, how his *Elementary* makes the child capable of most commendable qualities: with many other matters of education ingeniously and learnedly discoursed. And in the end of the book is added, a *peroration* to the gentle reader: wherein many things are handled concerning learning in general, concerning the nature of the English and foreign tongues, &c.

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There was also published this year another book in elegant Latin, heroic verse, by Christopher Ockland, schoolmaster also, some time of the free-school in Southwark, afterwards of Cheltenham school; entitled, Εἰρηναρχία, *sive Elizabetha. De pacatissimo Angliæ statu, imperante Elizabethâ, compendiosa narratio. Huc accedit illustrissimorum virorum, qui aut jam mortui, fuerunt aut hodie sunt Elizabethæ reginæ a consiliis, perbrevis catalogus.*

Elizabetha, by Ockland.

It is printed in octavo; and consisteth of two books: the former is entitled, *Anglorum Prælia;* beginning at the year 1327, and ending at the year 1558, the year of queen Elizabeth's access to the throne. Where beginneth the second book, entitled *Elizabetha;* describing her life and happy reign unto the year 1582. The dedication of it was to Mildred, the learned lady, and consort to the lord Burghley, in a handsome poem. The title of the dedication ran, *Ad*

BOOK I. Anno 1582.

prænobilem, et in primis eruditam fœminam, utriusque literaturæ et Græcæ et Latinæ peritissimam, dominam Mildredam, dynastæ Burghlæi, magni Angliæ thesaurarii, conjugem laudatissimam.

In this book the author gave characters of all that queen's great ministers. I shall exemplify one of them in the Appendix; viz. the lord treasurer Burghley, and the rather, he being a man of great figure and worth. I cannot but hint one of the first historical passages of the book: describing that queen's first entrance on the government of the kingdom: taking care that religion should first be reformed, and then the state; in these verses:

N°. XXV.

Relligio ante alias res; dein respublica curæ,
Omnibus extemplo patefit divina [a]*voluntas,*
Ante latens, &c.

[a] i. e. Biblia Sacra.

And in the margin are these names set, as chief promoters then of this pious purpose; viz. *Assertores hujus propositionis: Edm. Gryndal, ep. Cant.; D. Sandys, ep. Ebor.; Rob. Horn, ep. Wint.; Jo. Scory, ep. Heref.; R. Cox, ep. Ely; J. Jewel, Jo. Elmer, D. Whithed, E. Gest.*

This tract was of such esteem, that it was printed and reprinted in half a year's time: and the book possessed by sir Christopher Hatton, the queen's vice-chamberlain, (and who afterwards was lord chancellor of England,) hath his name written by himself, both at the beginning and end thereof; as I have seen it, shewing his value thereof. Of whom the writer gives this character in the same book.

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Splendidus HATTON.
Ille satellitii regalis ductor, ovanti
Pectore, Mæcenas studiosis, maximus altor
Et fautor veræ virtutis, munificusque.

Appointed to be read in schools.

I have one thing more to add concerning this poem; that it was so acceptable and approved, that the lords of the queen's privy-council sent their letters to the commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, ordering the public receiving and teaching of these books in all grammar and free-schools within the realm. The contents of what the lords writ was,

" That the subject-matter of the said book was worthy to " be read of all men, and especially in common schools, " where divers heathen poets were ordinarily read and " taught; from the which the youth of the realm did ra- " ther receive infection in manners, than attainment in vir- " tue. In place of which poets, they thought this book fit " to be read and taught in the grammar schools." Then the order followed in these words: " Therefore we re- " quire you upon sight hereof, as by our special order, to " write your letters unto the bishops throughout this realm; " requiring them to give commandment, that in all the " grammar and free schools within their several dioceses, " the said book may be in place of some of the heathen " poets, [such probably they meant as were lascivious and " immodest,] received and publicly read and taught by the " schoolmasters," &c. This was dated from Greenwich, from the court, the 21st of April, 1582, and signed with all these names: *Edw. Linc. Ambr. Warwick*, *Rob. Leicester*, *James Croft*, *Fra. Knollys*, *Chr. Hatton*, *Fra. Walsingham*.

And as this was directed to the ecclesiastical commissioners, so they signified the same to the bishops, May the 7th following, under their hands, viz. *Joh. London*, *Da. Lewis*, *Bar. Clerk*, *W. Lewin*, *Owen Hopton*, *W. Fleetwood*, *Pet. Osborn*, *Tho. Fanshaw*.

A Treatise of Reformation.

Also another good treatise appeared in print, entitled, *A treatise of reformation of religion*. Divided into seven sermons, preached in Oxford, by Herbert Westphaling, D. D. who was a canon of Christ Church, and after bishop of Hereford. To which were added two sermons *of the Supper of the Lord:* the first preached at Oxford, the other at Paul's Cross. These seven sermons are about reformation of our church from popery; from that text, St. Matth. xxi. *And Jesus went into the temple, and cast out those that bought and sold*, &c. The general questions handled in these sermons follow in the page after; viz. I. Whether religion ought to be reformed where God is not rightly

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Anno 1582.

served. II. To whom it pertaineth to reform that which is amiss in religion. III. By what rule the reformation is to be made. The reason of his publishing this treatise, the author gives in his epistle to the reader, dated from Christ's Church. "That being moved by some to publish what he "spake of that text of scripture, he thought good to have "it in some readiness, and to lay it by him for a time.
157 "And considering how busy the adversary was, and many "among us remained unreformed in religion; he could "not but condescend to the motion, which long before was "made unto him: for the more desirous the enemy shewed "himself to sow tares, the more carefully ought the hus- "bandman to see, that there be sowed good corn: and the "more need our weak brethren have of help, the more "ways should we use to do them good." The sum of the discourse is, that the reformation of religion must be made by the scriptures only.

The Bible printed in 4to. with a catechism.

This year was also printed at London, the Old and New Testament in quarto, black letter. Where it is remarkable, at the end of the New Testament is added a catechism, that was framed by some person unknown, (whether Cartwright, Travers, or some others,) entitled, *Certain questions and answers touching the doctrine of predestination, and the use of God's word and sacraments.* Wherein the doctrine of *absolute election* and *reprobation* is asserted. And this catechism joined to the Bible without any public licence and authority (as it seems) remained in after-editions of the holy scripture for divers years. For so, as I have it from Prin, that these questions and answers were always printed at the end of the Old Testament, and bound up and sold, *cum privilegio*, with the authorized translation of the Bible, till the year 1615. Since which no Bibles of this sort, he says, were printed. "Therefore," addeth he, "use it as a preg- "nant testimony, a punctual declaration of the doctrine of "our church in those particular points of controversy." But if it were so, it would surely have been put into the former editions of the Bible in folio: and would have had

Anti-Armi-nianism, p. 54.

some countenance from the bishops and clergy in convocation, or from the commission ecclesiastical. But because this catechism is now somewhat strange and unknown, I have given it a place in the Appendix. Anno 1582. N°. XXVI.

This year also was printed an English translation of a book called, *The history of the discovery and conquest of the East Indies; enterprised by the Portingals in their dangerous navigation in the time of king Don John, the second of that name.* Set forth in the Portingal language; by Hernan Lopes de Castaneda, [who lived in these Indies many years; his father having been judge there, appointed by the king.] And now translated into English by Nicolas Litchfield, gent. Imprinted at London, 1582. The first book; there being two more. The epistle dedicatory is to sir Francis Drake. This Portugal author was, when he wrote this book, of the college of Coimbro; and, as it seems, a Jesuit.

To the rest I add a book, called *Golden Epistles*, as well out of the remainder of Guevarra's works, as other ancient Latin, French, and Italian. Set forth by Geffrey Fenton; and dedicated to Anne, countess of Oxenford, anno 1582. In the same volume are added, *familiar epistles* of sir Anthony de Guavarra, preacher, chronicler, and counsellor to the emperor Charles V. Translated out of the Spanish tongue by Edward Hellows, groom of the leash. Imprinted and corrected anno 1584. Dedicated to sir Henry Lee, knt. master of the leash. Golden Epistles.

BOOK I.

CHAP. XIV.

Anno 1583. 158

The queen's declaration upon sending away the Spanish ambassador. Motion for peace between the queen and king of Spain. An Italian propounded for a mediator. The queen against it: and why. She protects those of the Netherlands: relieves Geneva. Complaints of Mary queen of Scots: with answers to them. The queen's expostulatory letter to king James. The excess of retainers checked. The queen's kind letter to the lord treasurer, under some discontent.

Dangerous conspiracies against the queen and kingdom.

THE state of the kingdom, and the queen's own life and safety, were now in imminent hazard, by means of secret conspiracies entered into, and carried on at home, by many of her popishly affected subjects, and by the king of Spain, and his English pensioners abroad: the detaining the queen of Scots being the great pretence: Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador here, zealously carried on the design, deeply concerned herein. So that upon some discovery hereof, he was called before the queen's council to be examined of his doings; and such matters evidently proved against him, that the queen charged him to be gone out of her dominions. And so to Paris he privately conveyed himself; and then, with many English fugitives there, went on more securely with his business. But this being such an unusual way of treating a prince's ambassador, without staying for his prince's recalling him home, the queen thought fit to have a declaration drawn up at large, vindicating herself to the king of Spain, and all other princes, in sending away that ambassador in that manner: for she knew the proud king Philip would resent it.

The Spanish ambassador concerned in it.

The queen's declaration upon sending him away.

This notable declaration I find not in any of our historians; and giving such light in our history, in respect of the plot abovesaid, I think worthy to be preserved: which I found among the papers of the lord Burghley, lord treasurer, and believe it to be of his own drawing up. See it exemplified in the Appendix. The title was, *Declaratio eorum quæ circa Mendozæ catholici regis legati missionem*

[Number XXVI.]

acciderunt; una cum responso ad ejusdem objecta contra suam majestatem. It was endorsed on the back-side thus: *A declaration of sundry unkindnesses offered her majesty by the king of Spain. Jan.* 15, 1583.

Consultation of peace between the queen and Spain.

There were some overtures now in hand of entering into communication concerning terms of peace between the queen and Philip king of Spain; and some fit mediator was consulted of for that purpose. Some propounded an Italian prince; who seemed to be the prince of Parma. But him the queen would not allow of, as no proper person in this affair, both in respect of the contrariety of religion, and of opening the state of the more secret concerns of the realm to such a foreigner as an Italian. There is a paper of state (which I have before me) containing, *A discourse against admitting an Italian to be a mediator of peace* between the said queen and king. It is all drawn up in the name of the queen, as though it were for instruction to her ambassador or agent. And it ran to this tenor:

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Deliberation about compounding matters with that prince.

" That to deal with a foreign prince for the compound-
" ing of matters with Spain, and making an Italian instru-
" ment, considering what hath passed heretofore, with also
" our present estate, is one of the most dishonourable
" courses that may be taken, for these causes underwritten:

The queen against an Italian, to be a mediator of peace between them.

" First, an Italian, being not subject to the crown of this
" realm, is no ways bound, neither by love nor fear, to keep
" secret matters committed to his charge to deal in. And
" they being as they are, in a manner all vainglorious, and
" chiefly such as are to take such matters in hand, will
" make known, by divers means, to their kindred, and to
" their special friends in their country, the important af-
" fairs committed to their charge; procuring the glory
" thereof, first underhand, to themselves, whether they
" prosper therein or no. But in case they prosper, and
" bring these matters to pass, then shortly after will books
" and pamphlets come forth of the ways and means that
" were used. But such an instrument or instruments, as
" were in those affairs, implied greatly to the dishonour of
" such as took that course.

BOOK I.

Anno 1583.

" And by making a foreigner a second instrument, being " of religion different from us, it is doubtful of the sincere " dealing of such a prince, that rather willeth peradventure " our ruin, than our honour and prosperity, how good show " soever he maketh in taking the same matter in hand; and " for the keeping secret of the said affair, committed to the " same second mean or instrument, it is impossible: for " there is no prince, that will deal in any foreign matter of " importance, and chiefly of this nature, but that he will " communicate the same with his council, to consider of the " ways and means, how, and with what honour he may " take such an affair in hand: which when he hath con- " cluded, then he must deal for the bringing the same " to pass by a third instrument: which must be an ambas- " sador, specially instructed and sent into Spain for the " purpose aforesaid: who being there arrived, he shall not " so soon have dealt with the king in those affairs, but that " the ways and means that have been used for the com- " pounding of those matters will enter into the ears of all " ambassadors there resident; in such sort as the news " thereof will be spread both far and near, greatly to our " shame and dishonour: for thereby will be discovered our " weakness every ways. Whereof it is likely to come to " pass, that the most princes and states of Christendom, as " well our friends as our foes, that have seen how bravely " and resolutely we have entered and taken these wars in " hand; and thereby have entered into an opinion of the " strong situation of our country, as also of our riches and
160 " strength both by sea and land, to annoy such as will be- " come our enemies, will bring them into a contrary opi- " nion, either of lack of power, sufficiency, and judgment, " every ways to proceed and maintain those wars which we " have so bravely taken in hand: or else, that we are afraid " without cause, or not at unity among ourselves.

" Which opinion, if it should be conceived among our " friends, will bring us to a great disabling and abasing in " their account; and may cause them of friends, as they " were before, to become our disdainful enemies; when

" they shall perceive no certainty nor assured strength in " us, to defend their weak estates, nor our own honour. " And peradventure also the same conceit may cause, with Anno 1583. " the king of Spain and his associates, a contrary event; " that instead of peace, which we do expect by a course be- " fore taken in hand, may be an occasion to make such " princes to associate, unite, and combine themselves, to " make upon us such a war, to tear us as hath not been " heretofore intended.

" But whatsoever shall come to pass by this foresaid man- " ner of proceeding, I come to conclude, that no honour " nor surety can any ways grow or redound unto us, or " those that we protect, [perhaps those of the Low Coun- " tries,] but most assured danger to our friends and our " estate: for admit, that all matters, as well for such as we " protect, as for ourselves, were compounded in a manner " to our desire; yet neither can they, nor we, stand in " longer surety than until that the said king of Spain and " his associates shall not be able to annoy us: for it is not " to be believed, that a prince of so great resolution as he " is, and that doth take matters so at the heart, as his na- " ture is to do, will any longer forbear the taking of any " advantage either of them or us, than until time shall pre- " sent, unto him or them, opportunity to our danger or mis- " chief."

This wise and wary consultation shews the ground of the queen's inclination to assist and protect the Netherlands, well knowing what an enemy king Philip was to her.

She supplies Geneva with money.

And to this also must be attributed the care of her own concerns, as well as the assistance she gave this year (both before and after) to the city of Geneva, with season- able supplies in their present danger. That city was now in great distress by the duke of Savoy; who out of pre- tended zeal against those professors of the gospel, (termed, by the Roman church, *heretics*,) but chiefly to enlarge his own dominions, was come with his arms against them. Whereupon the city was driven to crave aid and contribu-

BOOK I. Anno 1583.

tion from the queen and her subjects that professed the same reformed religion. And for the better forwarding their business, as they had sent their letters the last year to the lord treasurer Burghley, their friend, to intercede for them to the queen, so now they address another to him, considering their imminent danger. It was writ in French from the syndics and council of Geneva. And imported;

Their letter to the lord treasurer.

"That by the lord Maillet, their beloved counsellor, "(who was the last year in England about their affairs,) "they understood the affection that lord [viz. lord trea-
161 "surer] had for them, and how he had been the principal "instrument with the queen of her benefaction and libera-"lity towards them. That they would never omit to ac-"knowledge their obligation towards him, and would pre-"serve and perpetuate the memorial thereof towards them. "Which should always be a just occasion for them to thank "God, who had raised up such a *seigneur de merite*, [lord "of merit,] as he, to favour their estate on such a needful "occasion. And that hence they gathered hope that God "would continue to them an assurance of him, according "to the beginning which he had shewn them, and would "not suffer such to persecute them for the cause of the re-"ligion which they made profession of, nor to triumph "over them; and would take his own cause into his own "hand, and would make his strength and power appear in "their weakness.

"But that it had pleased God at that present time to exer-"cise them with divers threatenings of their enemies: and "had now brought their ill-wills to a head, which for a long "time they had conceived against them: that they had "brought garrisons near their town, and entertained sol-"diers near about them; and that they had hindered them "from bringing corn for their provision. That there was "a report of the passing of 12,000 Spaniards through Sa-"voy and Burgundy: which they feared were coming "against them. Whereby they of Geneva could enjoy but "little rest, but that they set against these human con-

" siderations, that the power of God (by the which they " subsisted) would guard and preserve them for his glory.

" And as for human means, whereof it pleaseth God to " serve himself for the deliverance of his, they assured " themselves, that he and other lords, that had shewed " themselves affectionate towards them, would continue " more and more to favour them, according to such occa- " sions as should present." But the whole letter must be read in the Appendix: where I have exemplified it from the original. It was dated in December; and subscribed, *Les syndiques et conseil de Geneve, vos bien voluntaires et affectionez amis.*

Anno 1583.

N°. XXVII.

It doth not plainly appear what relief or money was sent them of Geneva the last year, or before. But I find on the back-side of this letter, by the lord treasurer's own hand, these sums mentioned, sent, as it seems, at this time.

Monies sent to Geneva.

4000 nobles.	300 nobles, 100*l.*
4000 nobles.	300 nobles, 100*l.*
	200 nobles, 66*l.* 13*s.*

And as we have already mentioned some of the letters and messages of the syndics and council of Geneva to this kingdom, and namely, to the lord treasurer, in their necessity ready to be swallowed up by popish zeal, and the worldly ambition together of the duke of Savoy; viz. in the years of 1582 and 1583: so other letters I meet with addressed hither afterwards for favour and assistance in the years 1586, 1589, and 1590, with their seal; which was large; being the half spread eagle, the head crowned, looking towards the left: impaling a key erected. The shield lying upon a roundlet. Round which is written, *Post tenebras lux.*

Divers messages to England from thence.

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Mary queen of Scots (a prisoner in England) had made divers complaints of her hard usage by the queen: which were drawn up. And it lay now on her majesty to vindicate herself; and to retort them back upon that queen: which was Randolph, queen Elizabeth's ambassador's part to do. Which because it will illustrate this part of our history, I shall set down both the complaints and answers, as I find

Scots queen's complaint against queen Elizabeth. And her ambassador's answers.

BOOK I.

Anno 1583. Cotton Library, Julius, F. 6.

them in one of the Cotton MSS. with this title, *Extracts of the queen of Scots griefs, with the answers made to the same, Nov. 2, 1582, and Apr. 6, 1583.*

Object. Her majesty's ministers have practised troubles in her realm, and stirred up her subjects to rebellion. Proved by the deposition of witnesses; confronted with one nameless: whom she charged to have been a principal actor therein.

Respons. Randolph, who seems to be the *nameless man* whom she meaneth, being charged by Johnson (infamous and a condemned man) to have delivered unto him, the said Johnson, certain money for the lord of Pataro, did clear himself sufficiently of that imputation: and in respect of the good offices done by him, was after required by herself to be contented therein.

The intended alteration of government. The sudden death at Deep of the Scotch nobleman that misliked of that place. Her breeding of divisions among her nobility. Her persecuting of Murray. Her setting Huntley on work to overthrow the state of religion. Her practices with David against the state. The murder of her husband, and other disorders were the cause of her own..... troubles.

Object. Her rebels supported and relieved by her majesty.

Object. Frogmorton, by her majesty's direction, persuaded her to subscribe the *demission* [of the crown to her son.]

Respons. Throgmorton had no such direction. Yet could not his advice be prejudicial unto her; considering, that in law an act done by such as were in durance is of no validity. And besides her subjects being..... from her, she was in danger if she had not consented to the *demission.*

Object. A diamond received by her, as a token from her majesty; with a promise that her majesty would assist her against her rebels. Upon which assurance she adventured after her defeat to cast herself into the arms of her majesty's protection.

Respons. That friendly promise was made before her

husband's death; when she carried herself well. Promises and the bond of friendship are subject to different interpretation, and grounded upon virtue. By her miscarriage of herself afterward, this ground failed. And therefore her majesty was consequently no more tied to such promise. CHAP. XIV. Anno 1583.

Object. But in the way she was suddenly stayed and committed. If her majesty charge her with the matter of her intended match with the duke of Norfolk, she answered, that the same was allowed and subscribed by the principal counsellors of this realm.

Respons. The treaty of that marriage tended secretly to her majesty's overthrow. Whose counsellors were abused with false services and pretences. The rebellion in the north, &c. do sufficiently prove the same. 163

Object. She mought not be suffered to send to her son while she was at liberty.

Respons. The king at that time denied the access of any minister of her majesty into his realm. And delayed four months the answering of her letters written to him about the intended seinge.

Object. She hath made many overtures, and large offers, for the establishing of some amity between the two crowns. The purpose thereof then did the last winter. But she hath since been to send them before. [The sense imperfect.]

Offereth to stand to her justification. Her right to this crown is the cause of the practices of her enemies against her. Chargeth my lord of Huntingdon with practising in Scotland. Her majesty sending suddenly to him without her privity. Her majesty sendeth suddenly to her son without her privity.

Respons. She had, without her majesty's privity, contrary to her promise made to Beal, given her assent to the association between her and her son. And it was found by experience that she had always practised the disquieting of the realm.

Object. Chargeth Mr. Bowes with practising in Scotland. An army sent to the borders, to impeach the execution of

BOOK I. Anno 1583.

Morton. Required, that none of her majesty's ministers intermeddle any longer in the affairs of Scotland without free liberty, or the assistance of some of the French ministers.

Respons. Her majesty hath found in her a disposition to trouble both England and Scotland.

Object. Complaineth of the hard usage that she receiveth.

Respons. Her practices against the state, and abusing of her majesty's former favours extended towards her, do deserve worse usage.

Object. Whereas she hath been charged by my lord of Shrewsbury, to have dealt with her son, for releasing unto her of her title to the crown, without her majesty's privity, contrary to her promise made unto Beal; she answereth, that she made unto Beal certain overtures tied unto conditions: which conditions being not performed, she was again at liberty.

Object. Denieth, that ever she was content to follow her majesty's advice; being uncertain what the same would be: or that her ministers should be at the direction of her majesty.

Object. Her enemies here hold intelligence with the rebels in Scotland for the overthrow of her son.

Respons. Her son's own letters and speeches, delivered to the French king's minister, and her ministers, do witness the contrary. Her majesty hath settled his estate, and protected him from apparent ruin and overthrow: which he was likely to have run into, by following the violent course whereunto he was led.

Divers of these complaints, so sharply objected by the Scots queen, may be read in her own letter (the contents briefly here abstracted) written to queen Elizabeth: which
164 is extant in her history by Camden. And the answers are some brief heads in vindication of the queen to each objection, used by Randolph, her ambassador.

Camd. Eliz. p. 276, sub anno 1582.

In the midst of these her troubles and afflictions, a consolatory letter at good length was sent her from an eminent person, unnamed, who had formerly been her ambassador

A consolatory letter sent to the Scots queen.

in England, (the bishop of Ross, no doubt,) her busy agent, now at Paris. At whose desire and instruction it was drawn up and endited in an elegant Latin style, by one Rob. Turner, an English zealous fugitive there, and sometime scholar to Campion the Jesuit. Beginning, *Cum permulti*, (*serenissima regina*,) *me narrante, cognovissent, quibus miseriis implicita*, &c. The purport of which letter in English was, "That when he had related to many, in what miseries she "was sunk, and with what frauds she was ensnared, and "compassed about with such various calamities, it very inwardly affected them. But that when they understood, "that all this befell her upon the account of the catholic "religion; how constant she was in keeping it, how magnanimous always in defending it; they did not then so "much lament her misfortunes, as laying aside all their "grief for her, congratulated her piety, constancy, and "greatness of mind. And who could call her miserable, "added he, whom Christ called *happy?* For if they, who "for religion suffered imprisonment for Christ, underwent "danger of their lives, for righteousness entered into storms "of persecution, were to be called *blessed;* on what account "might she be called, or thought to be miserable? That "the evenness of her mind, wherewith she bore all her sufferings, sprang from nothing but that virtue itself had "fallen down from heaven into her mind, and occupied all "her thoughts. And that she measured the matter, not with "*human* sense, but with a *divine* mind. That it seemed to "be above human nature, or at least above the virtue of "this age; that her mind was fortified with patience, joyful in the sharpest afflictions, free in the straitest custody, "happy in the greatest miseries, &c. Which things, as he "proceeded, gave him cause to believe, that in a short time "those miseries would be seasoned to her with sweetness; "while she, perhaps, neither hoped nor thought any such "thing; and her imprisonment and dangers recompensed "with the highest felicity; since God delivereth his people "out of danger, when they are judged to be past all hope." By this, the writer seems to hint at, and to be privy to, that

BOOK I.

plot that was setting on foot by Babbington, for this queen's escape, or before that by Throgmorton, Paget, and others.

Anno 1583.

Telling her farther, " That as God delivered David from " the grievous vexation of Saul, and the apostle Paul from " the cruel fury of Nero, that lion; so he could restore her " to the commonwealth, and the commonwealth to her; and " the church to both. He proposed to her thoughts some " of the Scots kings, Malcolme, and the Bruces; some " whereof were kept in custody in England. And God re- " stored them to their liberties: and heaped up upon them " afterwards more ample honours than they had before. He " bade her be of good heart by their examples, and hope for
165 " greater things. And that Almighty God, moved by the " prayers of many for her, would free her from her dan- " gers, and would adorn her with far greater honours, " would increase the sweetness of her liberty, enlarge the " borders of her kingdom." [This indeed would have proved true, if the plots that were now carrying on could have succeeded, to have dethroned queen Elizabeth, and advanced her into her place.] Adding, " That God would never " fail to be a father to her, if she would go on to be a daugh- " ter to him."

He sent her also, with this letter, an history of the kings of Scotland, which he had compiled in English, when he was a resident in England; and now at his leisure had improved it by the history of their country. The reading of which might serve her in her afflictions. And likewise to make use of for the benefit of her son: to excite him to follow his ancestors in their virtues. I shall repeat no more of this letter to this captive queen, but leave it in the Appendix to be perused.

[Number XXVII.]

The queen's expostulatory letter to king James.

And now we are engaged in Scottish matters, it may not be out of the way to relate a disgust that queen Elizabeth took to king James, the Scots queen's son; who had, it seems, demeaned himself about this time in that ingrateful manner, which she reckoned he ought not to have done towards her, who had done many good offices in his kingdom for him. He had sided with those of his nation that

were papists, and ill-willers to her majesty. This gave occasion to the queen to write to him this letter following:

Anno 1583. Cott. libr. Julius, F. 6.

"Among your many studies, my dear brother and cousin, "I would Isocrates his noble lesson were not forgot, that "wishes the emperor, his sovereign, to make his words of "more account than other men their oaths; as meetest signs "to shew the truest badge of a prince's arms. It moveth "me much to moan you, when I behold, how diversely "sundry wicked paths, and like also evil illusions wrapt "under the cloak of your best safety, endanger your state "and best good. How may it be, that you can suppose an "honourable answer may be made me, when all your do-"ings gainsay your former vows? You deal not with one, "whose experience can take dross for good payment, nor "one that easily will be beguiled. No, no, I mind to set "to school your chiefest counsellor, and am sorry to see "you bent to wrong others: yea, those which if they had "not even then taken opportunity to let a ruin that was "newly begun, the plot would have perilled the more, than "a thousand of such men's lives be worth, that persuade "you to avouch such deeds, to deserve a Sawle's pardon. "Why do you forget what you writ to myself with your "own hand, shewing how dangerous a course the duke "[viz. Lenox] was entered in? though you excused your-"self to think no harm therein. And yet they that with "your safety preserved you from it, you must seem to give "them reproach of guilty folk.

"I hope you more esteem your honour, than to give it "such a stain, since you have protested so often to have "taken these lords for your most affectionate subjects, and "to have done all for your best. To conclude, I beseech "you, pass no further in this cause, till you receive an ex- 166
"press messenger, a trusty servant of mine; by whom I "mean to deal like an affectionate sister with you; as of "whom, you shall see plainly, you may receive more honour "and contentment, with your surety to your rest and state, "than all this dissembling will or can bring you to. As

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"knoweth the Lord, to whose most safely keeping I do "commit you, with my many commendations to your per- "son. The 7. August, 1583."

The excess of retainers checked by a severe proclamation.

By a proclamation the queen now set forth, it appeareth, how the gentry in these days were addicted to make great shows of servants and *retainers*, with costly badges, and liveries, to attend on them in their houses, or journeys, or appearances at court, or elsewhere: and this oftentimes beyond their quality, and to their great expenses. Insomuch as it was called in the said proclamation, *a pernicious sore* in the commonwealth. Nor was this the first time it received a check, and was forbid by act of parliament and her proclamation: stinting these retainers under certain rules and limits, as far backwards as the year 1572. But the whole state of this evil will be understood by the proclamation. And this I the rather mention, because our historians are silent of it. The cause of the setting it forth is shewed in the preamble, viz. "The inconveniences and enormities "that had universally grown in the realm by unlawful re- "taining of multitudes of unorderly servants by liveries, "and otherwise, contrary to the ancient statutes of the "realm." I leave this proclamation to be read in the Appendix.

Camd. Eliz. p. 189.

Number XXVIII.

I meet with another letter of queen Elizabeth, wrote to the lord Burghley, her treasurer; shewing her high esteem of him, and his abilities for her service. That which gave the occasion seems to be, that he had petitioned her majesty, that he might lay down his office, and leave the court, and retire to a private life. Whether this proceeded from some discontent, or upon some displeasure he conceived the queen had taken against him, or, more probably, some hard words that some of the council had used towards him, (perhaps it was the earl of Leicester,) and other misreports given out concerning him, which he resented. But the queen could not part with such an useful counsellor, and such a faithful treasurer; and knew his merits and wisdom too well to yield to his petition. And with her own hand wrote him

a short comfortable letter, between jest and earnest, styling him *sir Spirit:* the reason whereof I leave to others to conjecture.

Anno 1583.

The queen's letter to her treasurer.

" *Sir Spirit.* I doubt I do nickname you. For those " of your kind (they say) have no sense. But I have of " late seen an *ecce signum*, that if an ass kick you, you feel " it so soon. I will recant you from being *Spirit*, if ever " I perceive that you disdain not such a feeling. Serve " God, fear the king, and be a good fellow to the rest. Let " never care appear in you for such a rumour: but let " them well know, that you rather desire the righting of " such wrong, by making known their error, than you to " be so silly a soul, as to foreslow that you ought to do, or " not freely deliver what you think meetest, and pass of no " man so much, as not to regard her trust, who putteth it " in you.

" God bless you, and long may you last, *Omnino*, E. R."

On this letter (wherein the queen expressed so much kind- 167
ness and value for him) the lord treasurer endorsed, *Received the 8th of May*, 1583.

CHAP. XV.

Apprehensions from papists. The archbishop of York's letter to the bishop of Chester; exciting to diligence. The bishop and the earl of Darby, acting in the ecclesiastical commission. Bishop of St. David's visits his diocese: the corrupt state thereof. The bishop of Norwich weary of his diocese: and why. Desires a remove. Two of this bishop's servants taken at mass. A divinity lecture settled at Litchfield. The dean's account of it. The bishop of Lincoln removed to Winton. The bishop of Meath moves for schools in Ireland. Matthew made dean of Durham.

Affairs of the church.

NOW we shall apply ourselves to take notice of matters more nearly relating to religion, and to the labours of the bishops in behalf of the reformed church established, with respect both to papists and innovators and schismatics.

BOOK I.

Anno 1583.

The kingdom was at this time in great apprehensions from the papists, and their seminary priests, skulking about every where; especially in the north parts. On which occasion, Sandys, the good archbishop of York, laying to heart the great impiety of the age, and what tares the enemy had sown in the Lord's field, composed a monitory letter (as it seems) to the bishops of his province, to exert and stir themselves up with more vigilancy in their stations. In his letter to Dr. Chaderton, bishop of Chester, (which is still extant in one of our university libraries,) he thus delivered his mind: "That being stirred up by a pious cha-
"rity, and brotherly good-will, he thought it his duty to
"exhort him, that as the same burden lay upon them, and
"the same account was to be given of the discharge of their
"office, so they should weigh unanimously what kind of
"persons they ought to be; to shake off security and drow-
"siness, redeem the time, make themselves ready to battle,
"to take the sword and armour of the Spirit, to defeat the
"common enemy, and to defend the faith even to blood and
"death."

The archbishop of York to the bishops of his province, to watch the common enemy.

Librar. Gonv. and Caius coll.

Then he proceeded to shew him, "How God had set
"them over nations and people, to extirpate and root out,
168 "to destroy and throw down, and to build up and plant,
Jer. i. 10. "[in allusion to God's commission to his prophet Jeremiah.]
"That therefore it was their parts, by the sharp sickle of
"God's word, to cut away the fibres of superstition and
"the roots of idolatry; and by the propagation of the gos-
"pel, to plant good fruit in the minds of men, and to build
"up the walls of Jerusalem, and the holy temple, as much
"as lay in them; and with all earnestness to shake down
"the cruelty and tyranny of Antichrist; and by diligent
"preaching, to establish the kingdom and empire of the
"Son of God. And that God did not only require their
"labour in feeding the flock, but also expected that sin
"might not go free of punishment; that lust, wickedness,
"and dissolute manners should be checked and restrained,
"by executing severe law and punishment. And so they
"might consult better for the safety of their sinking coun-

" try; and more successfully disappoint their rage, who de- CHAP. IX.
" sired to see it afflicted and distressed. And that neither
" wealth nor power, nor friendship nor profit, might so Anno 1583.
" sway them, as to obstruct them from doing the Lord's
" work strenuously. And that the stubborn and contentious
" enemies were to be checked with a rod of iron; at least to
" be restrained from infecting the sound with their leprosy.
" That the little foxes were to be caught that destroyed the
" vines; and that especially, that nets should be laid for the
" papal stragglers, those brands of sedition, and pests of the
" church." Adding, " how this was the worst sort of men,
" and the calamity of our land; who, by too much licence,
" were made worse; and now becoming fierce by impunity,
" waxed bolder, to the very great danger of all good men."

And for the better execution of this, he exhorted the bishops, " That according to the authority committed to
" them, they should call to their assistance those, whom
" they knew endued with piety, and that were sound in the
" faith; and to require their diligent labour under those so
" uncertain and dubious concerns of the church and com-
" monwealth: and considering how many enemies they
" had, and in what difficulties they were, to omit nothing
" that might conduce to the common safety." These are some brief contents of the foresaid archbishop's excellent letter to this bishop of his province, all in Latin. The which is worthy preserving. And therefore I have exemplified it in the Appendix. N°. XXIX.

For in Cheshire and Lancashire, that bishop's diocese, popish priests and seminaries chiefly took up their residence, being harboured with popish gentlemen, and others of that religion, that lived there; and there making proselytes. But many of them were discovered and taken, and committed to the castle at Chester; till within a year or two past; when, by order of the council, these recusants, that for their obstinacy were detained in that castle, were conveyed to Manchester, to a place there provided, and named the New Fleet: the said council giving the commissioners ecclesiastical their reasons for this removal of them: viz. They con-

New Fleet, a prison in Manchester for popish recusants.

BOOK I. Anno 1583. 169

sidered, that the place was more fit and convenient for that purpose than the castle of Chester. For that the inhabitants of Manchester were found to be generally well affected to religion; and that the castle stood too near unto the sea-coast. And as many of that sort as were taken up were thenceforth committed to that new prison in Manchester.

And one was appointed that might be faithful to the queen, to be keeper of that prison, and to oversee and take care of those that were or should be committed there; and for the maintenance and diet of those among them that were poor. This person was Robert Worsely, esq. And for the necessary supply of this charge, the council appointed a collection of 8*d.* per week from every parish in the diocese, by authority of some statute for the relief of prisoners in the county gaols. Though this produced great murmurings and opposition, as we shall shew by and by.

A collection for these prisoners.

This year Mr. Worsely sent up to the council an account of his charges for the diet of the prisoners; which amounted to 650*l.* Sixteen recusants were there committed; whereof six were priests, and the rest persons of such poor estate, as they were not able to answer the charges of their said diet. This was certified by Worsely to the lords. And thereupon they sent their letters to the council in the north, to examine his accounts, and to see him satisfied out of the fines laid, by authority of the ecclesiastical commission, upon recusants; and likewise from the collections, appointed by the statute of the 14th of the queen, towards the relief of prisoners; which of itself would not suffice to reimburse the said Worsely. And therefore to receive his full payment from the fines at the hands of the said commissioners.

Worsely's disbursements for their diet.

For this parochial collection (which was thought meet by the council now more especially to be made) met with great opposition. And so some of the justices in those parts informed the privy-council; as being a benevolence rather for other poor prisoners, and for the setting of vagabonds on work, than for supplying such recusants. There was also a petition to this purpose, drawn up and subscribed by many in those parts, the better to countenance the business. And

among the subscribers were divers who were foreigners, and lived not there, and counterfeit names, and of gentlemen's servants: that the number of names might make the complaint the more plausible. And among the rest they had prevailed with the lord Strange, the earl of Darby's son, to subscribe. Anno 1583.

Upon this the council writ their letters to the earl of Darby and the bishop of Chester, (who were the chief of the council in the north, and who had advised the lords to this method of raising money for the abovesaid use,) directing them still to go on therein; as thinking it very convenient to have the same collection continued: yet desired to have their answer and opinion therein; and till then to make some stop. The council's said letter I have reposited in the Appendix, where the matter may be understood more perfectly. The council to the earl of Darby and bishop of Chester about the collections. N°. XXX.

The earl and bishop soon gave their answer accordingly to the council. Whereupon, by another letter, they signified, " That they thought it very requisite and convenient their " lordships should proceed in the said collection according to " their former determination: seeing by their lordships, and " most of the justices of peace, and gentlemen well affected " to the service, it was thought to be very beneficial for the 170
" country, as their supplication and letters to their lord-
" ships, they [the council] said, they had seen. And that
" as for such gentlemen as had laboured to the contrary,
" seeing they had not only abused their lordships, [the earl
" of Darby, bishop of Chester, and others of that council,]
" but also them, [the queen's privy-council,] pretending that
" the country was therewith much aggrieved, they thought Some disaffected in those parts sent for up.
" fit that some of them should be sent for thither, [to the
" court,] to attend upon them, to render an account of their
" dealings in that behalf. And they prayed their lordships,
" as so required and authorized by them, [the council,] to
" send for some of the principalists of them, (as they should
" think meet,) that did impugn the said contribution; and
" especially Richard Bold: and to take bonds of them, unto
" her majesty's use, in good sums, for their appearance be-
" fore the council by such a day; and of such of them that

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" subscribed on both sides, or promised in words to join " with them [the earl and the bishop] in the action, and af- " terwards left it.

" The council also were desirous to be truly and particu- " larly informed, whose names were subscribed in a coun- " terfeit hand, and by whom, and what they were, that to " abase them [the council] with abundance of names, had " caused the names of their servants to be set to the said " petition; and especially what they were, that had allured " any that belonged to his lordship, [the earl,] and his son, " the lord Strange, to subscribe to the said supplication: " alleging, although untruly, that their lordships [the earl " and bishop] favoured their actions. And to send them up " also, that were charged with some lewd misdemeanour." This letter was dated from St. James's, the 2d of December, 1583.

Fines arising from the recusants.

Information was also given to the council by those petitioners against the parochial collection, that the fines cessed upon the recusants in that diocese of Chester would amount to 3000*l.* as though the earl of Darby, and some others of the council there in the north, had put a good part thereof into their pockets. But it appeared, by the letters of that earl and council, and a certificate returned into the exchequer, that the total sum of all the fines imposed came but to 757*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* whereof 40*l.* 14*s.* had been only received. And for the levying of the remainder, further order should be taken by the council there. And the person that thus had misinformed the council concerning the fines, the council in those north parts meant to send for him; and take such further order with him, according to the council's letter to them, as should be to their satisfaction.

A kind letter of the council to the earl.

But the earl of Darby, who bare a very sincere and honest heart to the queen and government, was somewhat discouraged at those rumours and reports that were carried up of him, as well as of the bishop. But it could not but speak comfort to them both, that the council thought fit, at this juncture, by a kind letter, to thank him for his labour in this cause, and that he should acquiesce in their exceeding

good thoughts of him. And signified to him, " That her " majesty was so far from conceiving any ill opinion of him " for his doings, that her highness, having been by one of " the council, from time to time, made acquainted with the 171 " same, did so accept of his lordship's service in that coun- " try, that next unto God's goodness, she thought his lord- " ship to have been the principal cause of the staying his " country from falling into popery, by the good assistance " of the bishop, and great pains in the execution of the " commission directed unto him. And in which good course " her majesty (as they wrote) prayed his lordship to conti- " nue, and to assure himself, that he should want no coun- " tenance nor backing that might be desired from thence, " for the furtherance of that service.

" And that herein," as the council added, " his lordship " might account of them, as of his good friends: who would " not fail at all times to do that which should be most con- " venient for the advantage and maintenance of his lord- " ship's honour and good name: whereof they had as great " a care as of their own." This letter, dated December the 2d, 1583, was signed by Bromely, lord chancellor; Burghley, lord treasurer; earls of Lincoln, Bedford, Leicester; Crofts, Knolles, Hatton, knights; and Walsingham, secretary. Under the next year we shall understand more of this bishop, and of those transactions with the papists in those parts.

But now we proceed to take some notice of another bishop, viz. Marmaduke, bishop of St. David's, (confirmed December 6th, 1582,) who this year visited his diocese, the year after his preferment to it; which he found in a very woful condition, both as to the clergy and people, and the revenues and benefits of the bishopric. A particular account whereof, after he had finished his visitation, he gave in his letter to secretary Walsingham: which was as follows.

Bishop of St. David's visiteth his diocese.

" *Salutem et pacem in Christo Jesu.*

Epist. episcop. penes me.

" Having, right honourable, perused my diocese, as well " in *clero* as *populo*, I find great wants, both in the one and " the other. In the *clergy*, very few sufficient men. Their " benefices poor; and yet many of them hardly obtained, as

BOOK I.

" with money, or granting for lease; and they not having " the third penny.

Anno 1583.

" In the *people*, small popery, but greatly infected (by " want of preaching) with atheism; and wonderfully given " over to vicious life, &c."

But the rest of his letter I omit, having given an account of it elsewhere. It was dated from Brecon, the 16th of September, 1583; and subscribed, *Humbly at your honour's command, M. Meneven.*

Life of Archbishop Grindal, p. 270.

This letter will serve to give light into the corrupt state of that part of the kingdom; and particularly in what a case the former bishop left his diocese.

The bishop of Norwich uneasy; desires a remove.

We heard something before of the disturbances made in the diocese of Norwich by the affecters of innovation; and particularly at St. Edmund's Bury; and how the bishop's officers, in their visitation, were opposed, and the discouragement they met with, and the countenance that some justices of the peace there gave to these disobediences; the puritans spreading their principles also in other parts in Suffolk. Whereupon the bishop, finding how little he could correct and remedy these disorders, became uneasy in his diocese: so that he earnestly desired a remove; despairing
172 of enjoying any peace or quiet there; rather than to abide there to so little purpose of working any reformation, but sure of continual vexation and trouble. Whereupon he addressed to the lord treasurer, to stand his friend to the queen, either for his remove to another diocese, or to retire to a private life; Dr. Dale having before shewed him some comfort in respect thereof, from the endeavour the said lord had used with the queen in that behalf; which occasioned him to back a former address with another. His letter, dated from Ludham, the place of his present retirement, will make his case much plainer: which ran to this tenor.

" That he understood by Mr. Dr. Dale, master of re-
" quests, how myche he was bound unto his lordship for
" furtherance of his remove from that troublesome and un-
" quiet place where he was, unto some place of more quiet.
" And that as he was most bound unto his lordship for his

" good favour therein, so he humbly besought the continu-
" ance thereof." And then using these words. " No comfort,
" God knows, have I here, but continual crossing and over-
" thwarting, to my great grief and unquietness: neither
" look I for any better. And that if it pleased not her ma-
" jesty so graciously to deal with him, as to bestow upon
" him some more peaceable and better place, where he
" might serve God in his calling, in quietness of mind, he
" would then be a most humble suitor unto his good lord-
" ship, to be a means for him to be discharged of all toge-
" ther. That he might lead a private life; where, during
" his life, he might pray for her majesty's continual preser-
" vation; and for his good lordship long in honour to con-
" tinue: and as one having been long and dangerously sick,
" and one now newly recovered, he prayed God long to
" preserve his lordship in health." Dated from Ludham, the 29th of August, 1583. Subscribing,

" Your good lordship's humbly at commandment,
" Edmund Norwich."

I find this bishop obtained his request, being translated the next year to Worcester.

But a matter, not many months after, happened in this bishop's family, that was in danger to expose him to censure, and which his enemies were likely to make use of to his prejudice: namely, that two of them were taken at mass. Which as soon after the bishop understood, forthwith he made another application to the said lord treasurer; to prevent an enemy's information, and so to take an advantage against him on that account; which they would be apt enough to do. Therefore he thought it best to give the first intelligence thereof to the court, before it might be misrepresented by his ill-willers. These said two persons of the bishop's family, one his butler, and the other, his calling was the practice of the law, did frequent the public service and sermons in the bishop's house, as the rest did. But when these were, at a sessions, brought before the justices to be examined, they would not suffer the bishop to be present,

Two of this bishop's family taken at mass.

BOOK I.

Anno 1583.

though he were in commission as well as they. Now what reports they might make, the bishop was jealous of. And therefore despatched a faithful servant of his own, plainly and truly to relate the thing, with his own letter from Norwich, to the said lord treasurer. Of which letter this was the purport; which will more fully relate the case.

His letter to the treasurer about it.

"That there had been of late certain persons detected for "repairing to mass there in Norwich. Among which com- "pany two of his retinue were discovered: the one being "his butler, the other a lawyer, a man of small reckoning, "and before this detection, such as did frequent divine ser- "vice, both in his [the bishop's] house and at church. "That in them he had been notably deceived, by reason of "their conformity: and therefore least of all feared any "such sequel as was fallen out. That this accident, as it "did not a little disquiet him, in that it had been his chance "to retain some evil affected persons; so, considering the "strange dealing of some justices there, (who had laboured "in the sifting out of this matter,) he was moved to think, "that they sought to pervert the actions of those men to his "reproach; and so consequently thereby to confirm the "untrue reports given out of his supportation of papists. "For, as he observed, after such time as one of the said "parties was sent for, being desirous himself to have been "admitted to hear his examination, in that he was their as- "sociate in the commission of peace; and that he would "very willingly have bestowed his travail with them in the "service of her majesty: that he was, notwithstanding, ex- "cluded.

"He humbly therefore prayed his lordship to suspend "his censure of him, in respect of his mishap; and to give "the bearer audience and credit, in that he should say for "his [the bishop's] innocence and defence, for any presump- "tions that were or might be urged against him; meaning "not herein to trouble his lordship with any long apology, "the bearer being instructed to answer all objections. Only "he hoped, that his lordship, knowing partly his adversa- "ries in those parts, would accept their informations accord-

" ingly; who with vigilant eyes watched all opportunities to " discredit him: being ready to wrest every event to the " worse sense. And thus being bold to write to his honour " upon all urgent occasions, persuading himself of his best " interpretation of this chance, he so left his lordship to " God's protection, with the remembrance of his humble " duty. Dated from Norwich, the 14th of January, 1583. " Subscribed,

" Your lordship's humbly at commandment,

" Edmund Norwich."

Anno 1583.

A divinity lecture in Litchfield cathedral.

And now let us look over to the cathedral church of Litchfield; and there we shall find a divinity lecture, wanting to be read in that church, notwithstanding the learned men belonging to it. Archbishop Whitgift had been appointed their visitor the last year, (being then bishop of Worcester,) upon occasion of great differences arisen between the bishop of the diocese and the dean and chapter, as may be seen more largely in that archbishop's Life. And among other things he found wanting there, one was a divinity lecture: which he informed the lord treasurer of. This moved the council to send their letters to the said dean (Dr. George Boleyn) and chapter, for that purpose, in the month of January, the last year. Which letter is inserted in the Life of the said archbishop. But it was so represented by one of that church, no good friend to the dean, as if he had slackened so good a purpose. The reason of some delay was, in truth, because the dean was then at his residence in Canterbury. But when he returned to Litchfield, he and the chapter soon came to a cheerful resolution and conclusion of that necessary affair. Yet the delay caused a letter from the lord treasurer to him: at which he was somewhat nettled; as appeared in his answer, viz. " That his " lordship wrote on a false suggestion. And he marvelled " that his lordship [the bishop of Worcester] should write " unto his honour any thing that should concern their " estate, and chiefly himself, [the dean,] upon any one " man's information, before his lordship [the bishop, their

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Book ii. chap. 3.

The dean's letter to the lord treasurer in excuse of himself.

BOOK I. Anno 1583.

" visitor] had spoke with him; whom he knew to be no " dissembler, but one that would speak the truth, were it " good or bad, well or ill: but were matters otherwise than " they should be, they might easily have been reformed by " good advice, and diligent performing the same; which " well I wot, (added the dean,) his lordship would have " given me, because he had ever been his very good friend " and tutor in Cambridge, and was still his good lord. And " if all things were well, (as he proceeded in his and the " chapter's vindication,) then it were good with good coun- " sel to keep them well, while they had them well."

And upon this, he, the dean, went to the bishop, their visitor, to tell him the truth of this matter, that he should not hereafter be deceived. The which at his return, in the chapter general, (which was June the 24th,) fell out according to his [the dean's] saying. For at the chapter it was concluded, that there should be a stipend of 40*l.* a-year; whereunto every prebendary and dignitary must give a tenth. And look what there wanted by a tenth, the chapter should supply it of their commons. And because there were many of the prebends very small; so that if this should be continually exacted of them, (as the lecture must be continual,) divers of the prebendaries which were to succeed should not, in two or three years' space, enjoy any part of the prebend, by reason of their duties to her majesty, the bishop, and the chapter, at their first entrance: it was agreed, that every prebendary coming hereafter into a prebend of 10*l.* or under, should pay nothing to the reader for his first year. But that which should be due by any such prebendary, to pay for that first year, should be supplied by the commons of the *residentiaries*. All these particulars of the settlement of that lecture the dean thought fit to acquaint the aforesaid statesman with, and the rest of the queen's council; to rectify a false suggestion of Beacon, one of their church, given in: and then subjoining these words in his own vindication:

175 " According to my duty, I have informed your honours " of nothing but the truth; and endeavoured, as much as

" in me lay, to accomplish the motion made by your ho- " nours' letters for the establishment of a lecture in the " church; the which I have ever thought necessary: and " was therefore a suitor for your honours' letters; because I " could do nothing of myself." This letter was dated at Litchfield, the 28th day of August, 1583; and subscribed, " Your honours' humble orator, George Boleyn." And by postscript is added, " The lecture shall be read twice " every week, viz. every Wednesday and Friday."

Anno 1583.

Bishop of Lincoln translated to Winton.

In the latter end of this year, the queen cast her eye upon Cowper, the bishop of Lincoln, a man of excellent abilities and known worth, to remove him from thence to the see of Winton, void by the death of Watson, the last bishop. Of which purpose of the queen, when archbishop Whitgift acquainted him with, he thankfully acknowledged in a letter to the lord treasurer, who had been instrumental therein; piously expressing his low conceit of himself for such a preferment, and imploring the assistance of God's Spirit in the discharge of his duty in the service of the church; and to direct him with his grace. But take the letter from his own pen.

His letter to the treasurer thereupon.

" My duty considered, right honourable, I understand, " by my lord of Canterbury, that her majesty hath shewed " her gracious liking to have me placed in the see of Win- " chester. As the place is of dignity and value of living, " much better than I am in, so the Lord God, that seeth " mine heart, knoweth, that it is five times more comfort " unto me, that it hath pleased God to have so favourable " opinion of me. And I most humbly and heartily beseech " him so to comfort me, and strengthen me with his Spirit, " that I may do that service in the church that may most " redound to his glory.

" I am also to yield unto your honour most hearty thanks " for your lordship's great favour and furtherance in the " cause. But the recompense that I must yield to your " lordship must be only to study to satisfy your expectation " in that room: whereunto I beseech Almighty God to di-

BOOK I. Anno 1583.

" rect me with his grace. Unto whose tuition and blessing " I commit your lordship at this time. This 3d of March, " 1583.

" Your honour's in Christ to command,

" Thom. Lincoln."

This bishop slandered to be covetous.

It was not long after he came to the bishopric, that a report was carried about, that he was covetous. And this charge of *covetousness*, upon one that enjoyed so wealthy a bishopric, was like to render him odious among the people of that diocese, that expected, as was customary, so much hospitality. Which accusation was studiously spread by one sir Richard Norton, an officer of that bishop; and who threatened also to carry this information to court. The cause was, it seems, because the bishop had refused to ad-
176 vance his salary, and the benefit of his place. But this was a crime very unjustly laid against the bishop; and which he was of all things least guilty of. And therefore, to preserve a reputation in the diocese, and to vindicate himself from such slander, so unworthily laid upon him, (and that by one under him,) he thought it his best way, (in order that the court might be truly acquainted with his circumstances,) to apply himself to the lord treasurer; and to lay before him at large his necessary expenses and payments, as bishop of Winchester, and what at most his own income amounted to; especially now, at his first entry upon that see. His letter will unfold all this; and withal give some knowledge of the defalcations of the revenues of the other prelates.

His letter in vindication of himself.

He wrote, " That his credit had ever been more dear " unto him, than either living or other worldly benefits; " especially to them whom he knew to be honourable and " wise. Wherefore he desired his lordship's favourable in- " terpretation, if at this time he shewed himself somewhat " more jealous than needed in that respect," &c. For the whole letter, transcribed from the original, I refer the reader to the Appendix; for some further remembrance of that excellent and learned bishop. And to the letter he added an

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exact schedule of the whole value of the bishopric, and the charges payable out of it. That laying it before that statesman, he might the more perfectly understand his circumstances, and prevent any misrepresentations of him, and clear himself of that unjust calumny of being covetous. Which schedule follows in the transcript of the letter.

Anno 1583.

The bishop of Meath moves for an university.

The bishop of Meath, in Ireland, sent this year a letter of importance to the court. In which kingdom, one cause of the tedious and chargeable wars there was owing to the ignorance of the inhabitants, bred up in blind superstition, and having no opportunity of instruction in the truth. For an university and schools they were destitute of; where the younger sort, especially gentlemen, might come to good learning, civility, and right knowledge of religion. This the said bishop of Meath took the opportunity, when he was in England, in a sermon or two before the queen, earnestly to inculcate; moving her majesty to erect an university in that kingdom; setting forth so effectually the excellent use thereof to extinguish those sad wars, and tending so much to their loyalty and subjection to their prince, that it moved much the queen and all the nobility present; and particularly the lord treasurer: who saw well, and was sensible of the grievous charge of that war, and the tumults there.

And upon this, all the court were in earnest consultation of the method and way to bring this about. But all cooled within a little time, and came to no effect. But that good bishop being returned to his diocese, and some years passed, and nothing done, gives a gentle reproach to the court for this neglect in a letter to the lord treasurer, and moves now for a lesser matter, but of the same nature, and for the same end; namely, that the queen would grant him liberty and assistance to build a free grammar school in a certain convenient place in that kingdom, in a town wherein he was born, (according to an act passed in that parliament for erecting free schools in that kingdom,) and that it should be called, *Her majesty's school.* And that he, the bishop, would 177 himself take care for the building and finishing of it. And doubted not, but that there would be many well disposed

Moves the queen for a free school.

BOOK I.

gentlemen and others that would assist and contribute. This excellent letter of the bishop of Meath, written from Dublin in the month of October, deserveth to be preserved. See it exemplified in the Appendix.

Anno 1583.

No. XXXI.

The time of the bishop's motion for founding the university above mentioned was at least seven years ago: which may be conjectured from a discourse the lord treasurer held with that bishop about it when he was in England; who then advised, that Mr. Elmer was the fittest man to be provost and overseer of it: the same that was afterward bishop of London in the year 1576. And let me add, on this occasion, that some years before that, the want of schools and an university was felt in that kingdom of Ireland; and propounded to the English court to establish. For I meet with a tract in manuscript framed about the year 1570, by one Rowland Whyte, *For the reformation of Ireland.* Dedicated to Will. Cecill, secretary. Wherein, among other things, he propounded the foundation of twelve free schools, and one university: "Both to be maintained in her ma-"jesty's name continually: that the godly order of virtu-"ous discipline in the schools might fashion the Irish race "towards good and perfect subjection; in such sort, that "by the open light thereof, in time they might forget what "their auncestors' old dispositions had been to the contrary. "And that as the institution of the free schools was for the "entering of young children in good principles and rules in "the English tongue; so for their more perfect learning and "knowledge and judgment, it would be a profitable foun-"dation, to ordain an university in some place of the realm "where her highness should think most expedient. By the "appointment whereof most men would be allured to set "their children to school, considering the perfection of "learning within the realm so ordained: causing also men "of years to become studious, of whose profit the common "people should participate. And by them, being favourers "and furtherers of the truth, would be defaced the wicked "wants of old orders, lawless lives, salvage ways, and "enormities; the very natural men of the country, through

Schools and an university for Ireland recommended anno 1570.

" their wisdoms (thus won in such an university) reprov- Anno 1583.
" ing the vicious affections thereof, and provoking by their
" examples and skilful persuasions, the contrary. And so
" would prove a good help to subdue sin. And the rather
" prevailable, because of the inward repugnance that by
" this means shall be wrought between the well taught
" and virtuously disposed, and the wilfully ignorant, fro-
" wardly given, of one religion; yea peradventure of one
" kindred or family. So that thus contention and discord
" might bring commodity, and do good. Where now the
" raw realm leaneth one way for the most part, without in-
" struction, true teaching, or dissuasion from wilful de-
" meanour; rather than to those that with humility be
" willing to learn. The credit of their own countrymen
" shall profit much for the establishment of their faith, fear,
" and obedience toward God and their prince, with love to
" their neighbours, as Christian men be bound to do."

All this I have added, to shew how this was propounded 178
by some eminent hand many years before this advice of the bishop of Meath, as the best method to civilize that rude country, by imbruing the minds of the Irish with good learning, to be obtained by means of an university and schools among them.

Tobie Matthew made dean of Durham.

This year Tobie Matthew, dean of Christ Church, Oxon, and who had other preferments, a worthy man and an eloquent preacher, was preferred to the deanery of Durham, chiefly by the interest of the lord treasurer Burghley, his great patron. To which place he was nominated a year before, by the recommendation of the said lord to the queen. But it had a pretty long delay before it was finished. As appears by his letter to that lord, dated in May, 1582, thus bespeaking him to forward his business with the queen: " That by his good word, which it pleased his
" lordship to afford him unto her highness towards the
" deanery of Durham, to his great furtherance, and greater
" credit, he was encouraged to move her highness again
" for her resolution and his despatch. And that he was
" nothing so importune with his honour, as many good men

He solicits the lord treasurer for his despatch.

BOOK I. Anno 1583.

" of that church and country were earnest with him, to do " what in him lay for expedition." And the reason he gave thereof follows; viz. the miserable condition of the deanery. " For that he was credibly informed, that many things " there went to wrack. The houses decayed; the game " spoiled; the woods wasted; the grounds unlet; yet not " uneaten," &c.

Nor had the queen passed the grant in August following: when I find another letter of Dr. Matthew to the same lord, " That he would be his good lord, as he had hitherto " been, in the despatch of the deanery: and that especially " at that instant, the state and condition thereof being such, " as unless the dean that next should be might be inducted, " and keep his residence there by the space of one and " twenty days together, before Michaelmas next, the whole " crop, as well of hay as corn, as all other fruits, belonging " to the tithes and glebe land, (which was valued two parts " of three in that living,) must by a local statute of that " church accrue to the prebendaries resident there this year " past: so as the next dean should for the year to come " have no manner of provision wherewith to keep house; " and so be the less able to do good in preaching or govern- " ment: where, they said, many regarded hospitality very " much; who being lost at the first, would hardly be won " a good while after."

The ill state of that deanery, now void.

A local statute.

He proceeded further, " To remember his lordship withal " in what decay and dilapidations the dean's mansion houses " were fallen; what spoil and waste, as well of woods as of " other commodities belonging to their dignity, had been, " and would be, during the vacation; and in how great " need the divided church did stand of some indifferent go- " vernor: how incommodious the season of the year would " hereafter be to remove so far from these parts, &c. Con- " sideration whereof he most humbly referred unto his " lordship's great wisdom and favourable furtherance. That " as he was already much bounden to her majesty's good " inclination towards him, so for her gracious expedition of
179 " his suit he might be more indebted to his honour. For

"the continuance and increase whereof he should daily "pray to Almighty God." This was dated the 25th August, 1582. Anno 1583.

Dr. Matthew inducted.

Well, notwithstanding all this supplication, it was not before August this year, 1583, he was inducted. And in September following he sent a letter of gratitude to his patron and friend, the foresaid lord Burghley, thanking him for his grave counsel he gave him upon his going down to Durham, and in another letter sent him since his coming there. On occasion of which counsel, the dean in his reply said, "That he trusted the grace of God would enable him "to follow it, to the discharge of his calling; as it had "persuaded him to like thereof, to the contentation of his "mind. And promised to be reformed by his authority, "and directed by his wisdom; even as by the Socrates or "Solomon of this age." And then upon occasion of that lord's moving him for a lease of Pittington, which it seems was double leased out before, the dean informed him of it, and that there had been sixty leases, nay, and seventy more, made in the times of his two former predecessors, viz. Whittingham and Wylson. But I refer the reader to the dean's whole letter, reposited in the Appendix. No. XXXII.

This learned dean was afterwards successively bishop of Durham, and archbishop of York. He was born in Bristol, but of Welsh extraction. Died March the 29th, 1628; aged 82; as appeareth by the inscription on his monument in York cathedral.

CHAP XVI. 180

The queen grants a commission ecclesiastical. The letters patents. Cawdry deprived. Withers of Danbury writes to the lord treasurer in behalf of the puritans. Their case recommended to the council, in a letter from the gentlemen of Suffolk: the lords' instructions to the judges of assize thereupon. Proceedings against the dispersers of Brown's books at Bury St. Edmund's: and against papists. The judges' account of the assizes held there.

BOOK I.

Anno 1583.

Popish books set forth: Theses Anglorum Rhemensium. *Dr. Allen's Defence of the English Catholics. Parric's letter from Lions and Paris. One Touker, late in the inquisition at Rome, comes home: makes discoverics. The bishop of Ross. Dr. Lewis in Rome. Dr. Oxenbridge at Wisbich; his submission and subscription to the supremacy.*

An ecclesiastical commission.

THE queen set forth a *commission ecclesiastical* this year, according to an act of parliament in the first year of her reign: finding it in these times so very necessary to preserve obedience to the laws framed for the reformation of religion, and keeping the queen's subjects in true obedience, and conformity to what was established upon very wise and mature deliberation; for the security and quiet of religion, and due and firm loyalty and fidelity to the prince. And that we may see the nature and power of such a commission, I shall here set it down, as it was confirmed by the queen's letters patent, dated December 9, 26 *regin.* authorizing the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, and divers others, or any three or more of them, to inquire, among other things, of the statute of the first of her reign, concerning the Book of Common Prayer; with this clause also contained in the same letters patents; "And we give "and grant to them full power and authority, to reform, "redress, order, correct, and amend, in all places of this "realm, all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, contempts, and "enormities, spiritual or ecclesiastical, whatsoever, which, "by spiritual or ecclesiastical power and authority or juris-"diction, can or may lawfully be reformed, ordered, re-"dressed, corrected, restrained, or amended by the censures "ecclesiastical, deprivation, or otherwise, &c.

The matter of it.

"And upon proof whereof had, and the offences afore-"said, or any of them, sufficiently proved against any per-"son or persons, by confession, lawful witness, or by any "due manner, &c. that then you, or three of you, shall "have full power and authority to order and award such
181 "punishment to every such offender, by fine, imprisonment, "censure of the church, or otherwise, or by all or any the

" said ways; and to take such order for the redress of the " same by your wisdom and discretion, as shall be thought " meet and convenient; as by the same letters patent more " at large appeared. Anno 1583.

" And further, as they found in that statute of the first " of the reign of the said queen; by which it is enacted, " That the offender against the act concerning the *Uniformity of Common Prayer*, and being thereof lawfully convicted according to the laws of the realm, by virtue of " twelve men, or by his own confession, or by the notorious " evidence of the fact, should forfeit, for the first offence, " the value of his spiritual living for one whole year, and " should suffer six months imprisonment. For the second " offence, to be committed after such conviction, he should " be deprived *ipso facto* of all his spiritual livings. And for " the third offence, to be committed after two convictions, " as is aforesaid, he should be deprived of all his ecclesiastical living, and be imprisoned during his life."

What the queen's power ecclesiastical is.

This I take from a book printed in the black letter, in two columns, Latin and English, entitled, *De jure regis ecclesiastico.* Wherein is shewn briefly what this ecclesiastical jurisdiction and power granted to the queen was by the foresaid statute, viz. By which it was enacted, " That " such jurisdiction ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or " ecclesiastical power hath heretofore been, or may lawfully " be exercised for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state " and persons, and for reformation and correction of the " same, and of all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, " abuses, offences, &c. within this realm, should for ever be " united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm. " And that her highness, her heirs and successors, should " have full power and authority by virtue of that act, by " letters patent under the great seal of England, to assign, " nominate, and authorize such persons, being natural born " subjects, as her highness, her heirs and successors, should " think meet to exercise and execute, under her highness, " her heirs and successors, all and all manner of jurisdictions, privileges, and preeminences in any wise, touching

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" or concerning any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction " within these realms of England and Ireland; and to visit, " reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all such errors, " heresies, schisms, abuses, &c. which by any manner spi- " ritual or ecclesiastical power, authority, or jurisdiction, " can or may lawfully be reformed, ordered, redressed, cor- " rected, &c. to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase " of virtue, and the conservation of peace and unity of this " realm." This I set down thus at large, to shew that special power by which the queen acted in those ecclesiastical commissions she so often sent forth. See more of this commission, and the archbishop's acting in it, in his Life.

Cawdry deprived by the commissioners.

By the above-mentioned commission, Robert Cawdry was deprived of his benefice of Luffenham, before those high commissioners there named; as well for that he had preached against the Book of Common Prayer; as also for that he had refused to celebrate divine service according to the said book: and shewed particularly wherein. Which sentence of *deprivation* was given by the bishop of London, *cum assensu A. B. C. D. collegarum.* This case of Caw-

182 drie's was solemnly and oftentimes debated at bar, by the counsel of either part, and at the bench of the judges. See this controversy more at large, taken from authentic papers, in the Life of Bishop Aylmer.

Life of Bishop Aylmer, ch. viii.

Withers a puritan his address to the lord treasurer.

This commission, proceeding from the queen's care of religion, leadeth us to take some view of such as were disaffected either to our church's liturgy or government. A large address was made about this time to the lord treasurer Burghley, in behalf of these, by one Withers, rector of Danbury in Essex. The cause thereof was, his great concern for the differences that were among the queen's subjects about matters of religion; the loss of peace and love, and the sufferings of such as complied not in all the articles required.

Upon these reasons he was by some persons persuaded (especially when subscription to the Common Prayer was required) to make the said address: and was the more inclined so to do, having knowledge of this lord's great con-

cern and care for religion, and the experience he himself had of his kindness towards him.

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His judgment of the controversies in the church.

Withers was a man of account, and had been abroad among the learned reformers in Helvetia, and was himself conformable to the orders of the church. And therefore I the rather give some brief account of his said letter. Therein he shewed, "How he had long wished, with all "his heart, that in these outward things contentions were "laid apart; and that men would conform themselves to "her majesty's laws and pleasure. But that herein there "had been faults on both sides: for that as in the one "there had been an over earnest standing in trifles; so on "the other, too severe and sharp punishment of the same. "That he thought reverently of the Book [of Common "Prayer,] and the authors thereof; and yet notwithstanding he thought with Augustin, that it was a reverence "due only and alone to the canonical books of scripture, to "think that the authors of them, in their writing of them, "erred in nothing; and to none other books of men, of "what learning or holiness soever.

"But two sorts of things there were particularly that "might hinder many from subscribing to the Common "Prayer Book, and which he wished might be amended; "viz. First, Such as could not be defended; and secondly, "Such as with a favourable interpretation might stand, yet "gave the adversary shrewd advantage.

"The which things, with some others, (as *private baptism* by any present, and *communicating* the sick with "the minister only,) in the beginning of her majesty's reign, "when some of the bishops were charged with by the "learned of foreign churches, they in this wise excused "themselves, as I myself (added Withers) saw in their "letters of answer, which by Mr. Bullinger and Gualter "were shewed me at Zurick, in the year 1567; namely, "that they, nor none of them were of the parliament house "at passing of the book, and that they had therefore no "voice in making of the law. But that after it was passed,

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" they being chosen to be bishops, must either content " themselves to take their place, as things were, or else " leave them to papists, or to them which were not much " better, that is, to Lutherans. But that in the mean time " they both professed not to urge their brethren to those " things, and also when opportunity should serve, to seek
183 " reformation of them." Divers other scruples and objections are in that letter enumerated against the Common Prayer. But I choose rather to leave them to be read at large in the letter: see the Appendix. This Withers was formerly a minister in St. Edmund's Bury, and one that refused wearing the habits; but upon suspension, complied, in a letter writ by him to archbishop Parker, in the year 1565.

Number XXXIII.

Life of Archbishop Parker, book iii. ch. 1.

Puritan ministers in Suffolk prosecuted.

Divers of these scrupulous ministers, that had livings in the county of Suffolk, were prosecuted for divers neglects or variations in the performance of the public service: as, not wearing the surplice in their ministration, omitting the sign of the cross in baptism, and the ring in marriage; altering some words in the solemnization of matrimony; and the non-observing of ceremonies. For these things they were informed against, and some of them indicted and arraigned.

Address hereupon of some gentlemen to the council.

Upon this, some of the gentlemen and justices of the peace in those parts made a supplication and complaint to the queen's privy-council; aggravating the matter, and praying a redress of certain ignominious injuries offered to them, and to certain godly ministers, by divers and sundry in the same county, not favouring the true reformation of religion, as they informed. And thus they declared their grievance:

" We see, right honourable, by too long and lamentable " experience, that the state of the church (especially in our " parts) groweth every day more sick than other; and " they, whom it most concerneth, have been so careless in " providing the means, as the hope of her recovery waxeth " almost desperate. Which enforceth us, as in all former " times, so now especially, to resort unto your good lord- " ships, whose hearts God hath seasoned with a tender care

" of his glory, and the beauty of his place, whose walls and " bulwarks you tell; and whom, we know, it would pity to " see them in the dust.

" These towers of Sion, the painful pastors and ministers " of the word, by what malice we know not, they are mar- " shalled with the worst malefactors: presented, indicted, " arraigned, and condemned for matters, as we presume, of " very slender moment. Some for leaving the holydays un- " bidden; some for singing the psalm *Nunc dimittis* in " the morning; some for turning the questions in baptism " concerning faith from the infants to the godfathers, " which is but *you* for *thou;* some for leaving out the cross " in baptism; some for leaving out the ring in marriage. " Whereupon the law, neither the lawmaker, in our judg- " ments, had ever regard, but meant indeed to bridle the " enemy. Yet now, (a most pitiful thing to see,) the back " of this law turned to the adversary, and the edge, with all " the sharpness, laid upon the sound and true hearted sub- " ject.

" We grant order to be the rule of the Spirit of God. " We desire one uniformity in all the duties of the church; " the same being agreeable to the *proportion of faith.* But Ceremo- " if these weak ceremonies (and their like) be so indifferent, nies. " as their use or not use may be left to the discretion of " the ministers, we think it, in duty, (and under your fa- " vourable correction we speak it,) very hard to have them 184 " go under so hard handling, to the utter discredit of the " whole ministry and profession of truth. And, which is " more, we, that be magistrates, and under her majesty, " have, as we think, equivalency of voice, and know that " law and justice is one, and may not be avoided, do for- " bear to speak what we know, lest, by our severing in opi- " nion, law should be rent, and justice cut in twain; and " so the minds of the people, which are so easily distracted, " carried hither and thither, to the moving of further in- " convenience: and so, by our silence, ministry and magis- " tracy brought into open contempt.

" If therefore it may be lawful to speak but truth for

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The law.

Family of love, anabaptists, &c.

Puritanism.

" ourselves, this is our course: we serve her majesty and " the country; not according to our fantasies, as the world " falsely bears us in hand, but according to the law and " statutes of England. We reverence both the law and " the lawmaker. Law speaketh, and we keep silence. Law " commandeth, and we obey. Without law, we know " that no man can possess his own in peace. By law we " proceed against all offenders: we touch none that law " spareth, we spare none that law toucheth. *Hinc illæ la-* " *chrymæ*. We allow not of the papists their treacherous " subtilties and hypocrisies. We allow not of the *family of* " *love*, an egg of the same nest. We allow not of the " anabaptists, nor of their community. We allow not of " Browne, the overthrower of church and commonwealth. " We abhor all these. No, [we] punish all these.

" But now, humbly upon our knees, we pray your good " lordships to give us leave to advertise you, how the ad- " versary very cunningly hath christened us with an odious " name, neither rightly applied, nor surely rightly under- " stood: to the end, no doubt, that we being occupied in " the defence of our innocence, they might have the greater " freedom to go about their hateful treacheries. It is the " name of *puritanism*. We detest both the name and he- " resy. It is a term compounded of all other heresies " aforesaid. The papist is *pure* and immaculate: he hath " store of goodness for himself, and plenty for others. The " *family* cannot sin: they be so *pure*, that God is *hominі-* " *fied* in them, and they *deified* in God. But we, thanks be " to God, do cry in the bitterness of our souls, *Peccavimus* " *cum patribus nostris*. We groan under the burden of our " sins. We confess that there be none worse before God. " And yet before the world we labour to keep ourselves " and our profession unblameable. This is our *puritanism*. " It pleaseth them to use this name to ministers, to ma- " gistrates, and to others; especially to such as have an " eye to their juggling. And the name being odious many " times with the ignorant sort, it maketh the person odious. " A shrewd device; and herewith somewhat dangerous:

" for we know, that every simple man in these parts, Anno 1583.
" (thanks be to God and her majesty,) by hearing the word
" of God read and preached, do condemn and contemn the
" gross errors and trumpery of Rome. But the subtilties
" of Rome are not so soon espied. *Jesuits* and *seminaries* Jesuits.
" are not odious names with papists. And if in time such
" might be lodged here by the pope's harbingers, and good 185
" subjects cunningly wounded with lewd titles and names
" falsely applied, God save his church, our queen and
" realm.

" We very humbly desire, right honourable, not to be-
" come offensive unto you, either in length, or in so plain
" delivery of this matter: for were the cause but ours only,
" we should bear and forbear; but when it stretcheth even
" to the periling of church or commonwealth, or both, (for
" they cannot but as twins live and die together,) and un-
" less we would forget all duty to God and man, and suffer
" an invasion of all order, we cannot but unfold before
" your honourable judgments the particulars of that so
" great discomfort. If your good lordships shall please to
" call us to the trial and proof of these matters, it is the
" thing we most desire. If otherwise you shall think good
" to dispose another course, as we are most bound, so most
" ready, to submit all to your graver wisdom.

" Our God, for his Christ's sake, bless all your studies and
" labours, employed for the preservation of her majesty's
" godly and peaceable government of this land, and the free
" passage of the gospel, the root of all the rest. That not
" we alone, but the age to come, may speak of your praises
" in all the streets and corners of our city. So most hum-
" bly recommending ourselves and our best service to your
" continual commandments, do take our leave."

This earnest address seems to have had some success with the lords; especially as to the rigorous dealing with some of the ministers, for some omissions or variations in the use of the book; chiefly by information of inquests of some not well affected to religion; as appeareth by some instructions to the judges in the assizes of this circuit about them: for

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there was, adjoining to the former supplication, another paper directed to the judges, thus endorsed: *A letter of the council to the judges of assize:* which ran in these words:

Letters from the council to the judges of assize about the puritans.

"After our very hearty commendations. Whereas we "are informed, that heretofore, at the assizes in your cir- "cuit, divers good preachers, and other godly disposed, "have been indicted, (by colour of law,) for things not so "much against the matter and very meaning of the law, as "in some show swerving from the letter thereof. Namely, "for not using the surplice; resorting to sermons in other "parishes for want at home; leaving out some collects on "the days of preaching; for using private prayers in their "houses, and such like. All which, we suppose, cometh to "pass by the practice of some informers, not so well dis- "posed in religion; as also of men returned upon great "inquests, many times such as be still in ignorance, and "cannot brook the gospel; and being in love with the li- "cence of former times, cannot so well endure the present "plain teachers; who, by laying open their faults, would "draw them to a more precise and gospel-like life.

"These are therefore to desire you, and heartily to pray "you, that in every sitting of your circuit you sift and ex- "amine the affection of such informers touching religion;
186 "and thereafter give ear unto them. As also to have a "special regard, that the inquest at large may be religious, "wise, and honest. And if, notwithstanding your diligence "in this behalf, such juries nevertheless creep in, as by like "information molest good men; that yet your speech, and "whole proceedings against them, at the bar, or elsewhere "called before you, may be according to their quality: not "matching them at bar, or in the judgment, with rogues, "felons, or papists; but rather giving appearance, in the "face of the country, what difference you hold between "papists, dissenting from us in substance of faith to God "and loyalty to our prince, and these other men; which, "making some conscience in these ceremonies, do yet dili- "gently and soundly preach true religion and obedience "to her majesty; maintaining the common peace in them-

" selves and in their auditors. So shall the country learn " thereby, at the assizes, better to reverence the gospel, and " love the ministers and professors thereof. Thus pro- Anno 1583. " mising ourselves thus much at your hands, we bid you " heartily farewell."

As in Suffolk, so chiefly about Bury St. Edmund's, were no small numbers of such as were affected with gross errors and heresies; and that brake off all communion with the church. Some of the chief of these were Robert Browne, (of whom somewhat before,) and Harrison, teachers: who writ and dispersed books of very ill principles. And Coping and Fawker, great dispersers of them. And one Tho. Gibson, in a church of the said town, had caused to be written an infamous inscription about the queen's arms, styling her *Jezebel*, as was shewn before.

Browne and other sectarists in Bury.

These persons last named, at an assizes held at Bury this year, were called into question, and severely punished; sir Christopher Wray going that circuit. They were charged for denying the queen's supremacy. The trial of these, and their judgment, was declared in an account given thereof by the same judge to the lord treasurer: " That Elias " Fawker, (so writ in the judge's letter,) John Coppinge, " and Tho. Gibson, were convicted for dispersing Browne's " books and Harrison's books. The first two executed in " the time of the assizes; the former on Thursday, the " other on Friday. The book acknowledged her majesty " *civilly*. But so was their terms, and no further. And " though Dr. Stil [the archbishop's chaplain] and others " travailed and conferred with them, yet they were at that " very time of their death unmoveably of the same mind."

Called at an assizes there, and punished.

These Brownists, (for so was the sect called,) and the cause of their punishment, are thus given us in one of our historians: " Elias Thacker was hanged at St. Edm. Bury " in Suffolk, June the 4th; and John Copping on the 6th " of the same; for spreading certain books seditiously " penned by Rob. Browne, against the Book of Common " Prayer, established by the laws of this realm." Their books, as many as could be found, were burnt before them.

Brownists, their charge and crime. Stow, anno 4to. p. 1174.

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But here he that reads this must be cautious how he understandeth the cause of their execution extending to death: for it appears by the judges' letter, that it was for their denial of the queen's supremacy in all causes; which they allowed only in *civil*. And this chiefly the judges thought fit to take hold of in the book.

Papists convicted at the assizes at Bury.

And as there were brought into judgment at this assize divers of the puritan sect, so also there were convicted here several of the popish faction. From whence was apprehended great danger at this time. Whereof the said lord chief justice Wray informed the said lord treasurer, in the beginning of his said letter, viz. "That he would please to "be advertised of their proceedings in that assizes at Bury, "and of the state of that country. That there were con- "victed divers gentlemen for recusancy and papistry; who "were sent in by the bishop [i. e. of the diocese]. As Mr. "Hare, Mr. Sullyard, and Marten, and others, to the num- "ber of seven: who all continued in their obstinacy. That "there were some others, to the number of three, brought "in by the sheriff: all which did reform themselves; and "so were discharged. All the rest appeared not, but *Non* "*est inventus*, returned upon every of them.

"That these gentlemen that were convicted, as the bi- "shop said, were committed to him by my lords of the "council: and so were his prisoners; desiring after convic- "tion to have them again. But that because after their "conviction this time twelvemonth he suffered them ever "sithence, for the most part, to be at large, we [viz. the "judges] have taken bonds of them, either to pay the "money at the end of three months, or else to render their "bodies to the gaol, according to the statute." Adding, "Their bonds we take by discretion: for the law is, they "should pay it within three months, or else be impri- "soned." And then leaving this matter between the bishop and them [the judges] to the privy-council, they thus concluded; "That if their lordships' pleasure were, that they "should continue the bishop's prisoners, and in bonds to "him there, it was reason they should be discharged of the

"bonds they [the judges] had taken. But if their lord-
"ships thought better of their bonds, then they were to be
"discharged of the bishop's bonds." Anno 1583.

The popish cause in the mean time was earnestly carried on by the English Roman catholics abroad; which did confirm the more the said faction at home. This the learned did by their books.

The English seminary college at Rhemes had laboured, some few years ago, to promote their cause, by making and publishing an English translation of the New Testament; thereby to expose our English translation, and to make the scripture speak favourably of their church and religion: of which we shall relate other particulars afterwards. Now this year they set forth certain disputations, called *theses*, of three of their learned men; viz. Gifford, Raynolds, and Foster. They were printed in three large sheets of paper; each dedicated to some great man, with an epistle. These disputations I found among the lord Burghley's papers: which were thus endorsed by his own hand, *Theses Theologicæ Anglorum Rhemensium.*

The semi-nary at Rhemes set forth books.

Theses Anglorum Rhemensium.

The first is made by Will. Gifford to Lewis, the cardinal of Lorain, archbishop and duke of Rhemes. The theses are, *De cultu externo, contra hæreticos.* Beginning with *De sacramentis in genere:* and then treating of the seven sacraments in particular. And after, *De oratione et aliis officiis, quibus extra sacramenta colitur Deus.* 188

The second disputant was Will. Raynold, of the same college of Rhemes. His theses were, *De ecclesia, ejusque monarchia, et hierarchia.* Dedicated in an epistle to John Baptist, bishop of Ariminum, and apostolical nuncio to the most Christian king. He hath a thesis, after that of the church, *De conciliis.*

The third disputant of the same college was Seth Foster: who dedicated his theses to Philip Boncompagnoun, cardinal, and protector of the English colleges. His thesis bore this title: *Assertiones de vera hominis justificatione; contra hæreticos hujus temporis.*

About this year another book was written in favour of

A book of Dr. Allen

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the English catholics; the author Dr. Allen, afterwards cardinal Allen: entitled, *A defence of the English catholics:* and was in answer to a book called, *The execution of justice in England;* against those seminaries, Campion and other popish traitors, lately executed. Of this book of Allen's take this remark: that it was sent to Dr. Parry (of whom before) out of France; or he met with it there: and he lent it unto Edmund Nevyl, to confirm him, as it had done Parry himself, to kill the queen. How it confirmed Parry, his confession shewed. "That it redoubled his former conceits: that every word in it was a warrant to a prepared mind. It taught, that kings might be excommunicated, deprived, and violently handled. It proved, that all civil wars or foreign, undertaken for religion, were honourable."

Anno 1583. in behalf of the English catholics.

Fowlis's Pop. Treas. p. 340.

Parrie's letters from France, &c.

And now we are fallen upon Parry, as we have exposed some of his hypocritical letters before, and his pretences of loyalty, when nothing but vile falseness was at the bottom; so now I shall present one or two more of his letters from Lions and Paris. Where we shall see his pretended great officiousness to serve the queen abroad, and to be a spy upon her enemies, and informer of occurrences on her behalf. But his previous concern was, that the lord treasurer should believe him a *true man:* thus he wrote from Venice the latter end of the former year.

His intelligence from Lions. Recommends one for Venice.

From Lions in France he addressed a letter, dated the 18th of June, to the said lord treasurer. Therein he recommended a fit person for the English court's private intelligencer in Venice, when he was gone: whom he had before commended to Mr. Secretary; being a very sufficient man to be entertained there for her majesty's service. That he was beloved, well acquainted, and esteemed among the Venetian gentlemen. And that he was greatly affected to our state, and very ready to serve, if his lordship and Mr. Secretary should think good to use him: and that he was resident, as he thought, for some of the greatest princes in Germany. And he added, that he could assure his lordship, that he was a very honest, sufficient man.

His further intelligence in this letter was, " Concerning " Mr. Arundel, [a busy man,] that he was departed thence " for England. And concerning Mr. Umpton, [the queen's " ambassador in France,] that he spake very great honour " of his lordship, and confessed himself most deeply bound " to the same; and vowed all readiness in him to serve his " lordship. That he was a very proper and thankful gen- " tleman, full of devotion to his prince and country:" adding these words, (shewing his pretended loyalty;) " I would " to Christ England bred no other." Concerning Ireland thus he informed; " That the Irish practice was never more " hotly solicited: but all were deaf that should hear, and " began to despair of any good to be seen in their time in " England." And so concludes with a prayer, (that came not from his heart:) " Which [i. e. England] God will, I " trust, as he hath long, preserve."

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Ireland.

Again, some months after, I find him at Paris. Whence in October he writ again a letter to the treasurer, to no great import, but of the coming of sir Edward Stafford thither, to be the queen's resident; and in his retinue Mr. Will. Cecil, (the said lord treasurer's grandson,) whom he found there in his travels. Of whom he gave a good character, knowing how acceptable it must be to that lord, his grandfather, viz. " That his good-nature and towardness began to make a " very good show already. That he [Parry] would do his " best to make it appear how much he was bound to his " lordship." And concerning one Mr. Bird, whom his lordship had appointed to be his governor, and to attend him in his journey, he added, " That his lordship, in his opinion, " had made a very good choice of him; whose government " and care of Mr. Cecil could not be amended. That he " was very well lodged, in good air and neighbourhood." And that Mr. Pallavicini [an eminent Italian merchant in London, now there, as it seems, in some of the queen's business] had especial care of him; and so had my lord ambassador and his lady.

And from Paris.

Will. Cecil at Paris.

I forbear to say any thing more of this man, till next

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year, when he was come home, and his treason discovered.

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One Touker in the inquisition comes home.

There was next, returning home from Rome, one Francis Touker, or Tucker, a merchant that had been in the inquisition there; and who afterwards was very instrumental to the lord treasurer, in giving information of such ill-affected persons whom he had known at Rome or Italy; being recommended to that lord by sir Richard Shelly: telling him, in one of his letters, that he was now coming home: and advised that lord to talk at length with him, and to take particular information by him; whom he took to be a very honest man. And again, in a letter, (whereof this Touker was the bearer,) he shewed that lord how fit a person he was to give information and intelligence; "Who going and coming "as a merchant; and now so warranted in Rome and Na- "ples, and being languaged and expert, and bearing so true "a heart to his country, as he [Shelly] had conceived by "his resorting to him; should be able to discover to him "the humour that then ran abroad towards our country: "which he assured his lordship had been lofty and threaten- "ing; and at that present time more than ever, without re- "spect, [meaning, perhaps, of the person of the queen her- "self."] As he also mentioned to that lord, for the same purpose, another Englishman, named Pyne, lately also de-

Fit to give intelligence.

190 livered out of the inquisition; to discourse with him, when he came into England: it being so necessary to know as much as might be of the English, and their practices there at Rome.

Makes discoveries of the English at Rome.

Of the former the said lord made use, and employed him when he came into England; and he became an useful person in giving information concerning divers dangerous papists then in England, that came from abroad: concealing himself, as though he were a friend to the fugitives, for the more advantage of his conversation with them. He had been in the Marshalsea by that lord's private order, (where were committed divers of that sort,) to view those prisoners, and to talk with them: some whereof were his acquaintance

at Rome: whence he might get some more knowledge of their affairs. I have before me a letter of this Tucker, or Touker, to that lord, informing him what he had done, and what discoveries he had made, viz.

Informs concerning some in the Marshalsea.

That he had been three times at the Marshalsea; and found there one Tither, with whom he was acquainted in Rome. And that upon his request, Tither promised to send to Rome, to the rector of the English seminary there, to get one Chr. Tater delivered out of the galleys, to which he had been condemned by the inquisition, with another Englishman. This Tater's wife had made her interest with Touker, to obtain this favour of Tither. She also laboured, by the means of him and others in the Marshalsea, to get a letter from the queen of Scots to the pope, for the more effectual obtaining her husband's deliverance. And also to get a letter from Feckenham (sometime abbot of Westminster) to the cardinal there. The same Tither, having a correspondence in Rome, proffered to convey Touker's letters to Fitz Herbord, some great Englishman there. Also, he bade him beware of one Woodward; who had served Dr. Wendon in Rome: who now, it seems, discovered too much of the English doings there.

The pope creates a bishop of Ross.

He added also, in his said letter to the treasurer, this intelligence; That there came in April last from Rome to Naples an Irishman, whom the pope created bishop of Ross in Ireland, and gave him authority to make priests. By which authority he gave orders to as many as came, and got much money. And that the archbishop of Naples forbade him; but the pope's nuncio maintained his doings. And when he went from Naples he carried with him great store of *pardons* and *agnus Dei's*, to the pope's friends in Ireland. I forbear repeating other informations in this letter; leaving the whole to be read in the Appendix.

Number XXXIV.

An enemy to England.

Concerning this bishop of Ross, sir Richard Shelly, in his correspondence with the lord treasurer, informed, that he was one of Stewklie's great counsellors; and addeth, That the realm, and his lordship especially, had a perilous and a spiteful enemy of him.

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Anno 1583.

Such another was Dr. Lewis in Rome. Whose character the said Shelley gave that lord, and advising him of his being now come home from thence; who was another of Stewklie's counsellors. And that he was here in good repute: which he wondered at. He advised that lord to beware of him; and he especially, of all men living. And that he was the deepest and doublest dissembler that ever he knew since he was born; who had now (as he added) lived in the world threescore and four years.

Dr. Lewis comes from Rome.

191 Among the Roman catholics here at home, divers were taken up, and imprisoned in Wisbich castle; for refusal to take the oath of *supremacy*. Among these was one Oxenbridge, LL.D. But this year he submitted; owning the queen for supreme on earth. Which he did under his hand in these words following, written May the 14th, 1583, from Wisbich castle: "I, Andrew Oxenbridge, doctor of laws, "do frankly and from my heart acknowledge and avow her "most gracious lady Elizabeth, now queen of England, to "be most rightful and lawful queen thereof *de jure:* as "whereof she is most justly possessed from the first day of "her reign till now. And to her majesty alone, as to my "most just and sole sovereign magistrate, I owe all my loy-"alty, service, and whole duty of subjection, next under "God. And even so will I repute her majesty during life; "against the bull, if any, be it of Pius V, Gregory, or any "other pope, heretofore or hereafter.

Dr. Oxenbridge in Wisbich castle, submits.

Acknowledgeth the queen's supremacy.

"Furthermore, if any man, pretending catholic Roman "religion, be of mind, that the pope, for one cause or other, "may depose her, or dispense with her subjects' oath and "loyalty; I hold it a traitorous article, such as I do not be-"lieve; but contrarily, am ready, and vow to spend my life "and goods, for the peace and quiet of queen Elizabeth, "and this present state, against whatsoever invader, dis-"turber, or underminer, by what authority and bull or di-"rection soever he shall do it, of prince or priest, potentate "or prelate, namely, of the pope himself: by what juris-"diction, power, or name, be it soever he command.

"And as touching matter of religion, to avoid all show of

" obstinate holding any thing by me once received; I pro- CHAP. XVI.
" mise, that if in conference with any learned man, (which
" being sent by authority, I will willingly admit,) he can Anno 1583.
" convince me, by the only scriptures of the old and new
" Testament, to hold any error, I will yield me to better
" reason, and thank God.

" All this I protest simply and plainly, according to the
" plain sense of the words; abhorring all hidden sophistica-
" tion, and dissembled reservation of private sense, or secret
" interpretation, which may never so little impeach, qualify,
" or modify the expression most common and readiest tak-
" ing off the very words, as they lie and offer themselves,
" without forced understanding.

" *Per me Andream Oxenbrege.*"

CHAP. XVII. 192

A project for prevention of falling away in religion. The validity of popes' bulls in England, for pluralities, &c. Controversy between the stationers of London and the university. One of King's college expelled the university: and why. Books printed this year. Bishop Jewel's sermons. De Justificatione, by J. Fox. Sermons of Faith, Hope, and Charity, by Bern. Ochine. Defence of the English translation, by Dr. Fulk. The English Rhemists' Testament. Cartwright sets upon the confutation of it. The Practice of Prelates. Jesus Psalter. Defensative against the Poison of Prophecies, by L. Howard. Execution of Justice, for Maintenance of public Peace. A Declaration of the favourable Dealing with certain Traitors. A Report of the Discovery of Newfoundland. L. Latymer comes from France. Suspected, and taken up. Dean Wotton's legations. L. Wentworth dies. Coiners.

THE eyes of the queen and her friends were now open, and saw well the treacherous designs of the English papists, to overthrow her and her government, and to place the Scots queen in the English throne; assistance being also ex- Resolution of the council against papists.

BOOK I. Anno 1583.

pected from Spain, and other popish princes: and how busy the *seminaries* were every where, drawing away the queen's subjects to popery. And therefore it was the great purpose of the council to put the laws of the land more vigorously in execution, and to proceed to the best and most effectual methods to stop these evil men, and to keep the queen's subjects faithful to her, and the religion established. And methods were thought of for this purpose.

A project propounded against falling away to popery.

I find this year, among some papers of state, a paper entitled, *A project for a remedy how to prevent the present falling away in religion;* namely, to that of Rome. This paper seems to have been offered to the lord treasurer Burghley; for the date is set on it by his own hand; viz. Nov. 1583; near after Campion's time. The writing on this paper followeth.

" For the stay of the present falling away, two things are " to be provided. The one, that such as are already be- " come recusants, may, with all severity, abide and sustain " such punishment as the law doth lay on them. That such
193 " as be ringleaders and instructors in the catholic religion " may be kept so straitly, as no access may be had to them. " And some order taken, that they may be in Christian sort " conferred with by some learned divines. The other, how " such as are not already infected may be preserved. Which " is to be performed by these ways following.

I. " To provide, that there may be placed in all pastoral " charges men of that zeal, that rather seek the good than " the goods of the church.

II. " That such ministers whose life is offensive may be " removed out of the church.

III. " That the people may be diligently catechised.

IV. " That non-residents may be forced, either to conti- " nue upon their charges, or to contribute a moiety of their " livings to such as shall supply their places.

V. " That such books as are sent out, impugning our " religion, may be presently answered.

" For the better performance of these points, the reme- " dies following are to be put in execution.

I. " For the first, for that such as be patrons, and have " the bestowing of pastoral livings, have more regard to " their own particular profit, than to the benefit of the " church; and therefore, when the bishop misliketh of their " choice, and refuseth to admit their clerk, they bring a " *Quare impedit* against the bishop: for the help thereof " order is to be taken by her majesty, that the proceedings " therein may be stayed in all judicial courts.

" It shall be also requisite, that every bishop shall certify " the several cures throughout his diocese; with what *per-* " *sons* they are now furnished; how many learned, and how " many unlearned; who be the patrons; and what value " the livings be of.

" It is further to be provided, that the two archbishops " shall have the names of such learned and sufficient minis- " ters as are unplaced; remaining as well in the universi- " ties as out of the universities. To the end, that when any " cures fall void, the bishop, in whose diocese the same shall " be, may advertise the archbishop. And so appoint some " one of the parties abovesaid to supply the place.

II. " For the second, it shall be necessary, that a general " visitation may be had, and a denunciation may be made, " that if any can charge any minister with offensive life, or " that he is remiss in his function, he shall be admitted to " inform against him; whether he may be either reformed " or removed.

III. " For the due execution of the third, it shall be re- " quisite in every diocese, that certain of the best affected " preachers may be appointed to see the same duly put in " practice. It shall be also necessary, that a *catechism* also " may be made; that may contain answers to such objec- " tions as are made by the adversaries; to serve the learned " sort.

IV. " For the execution of the fourth: First, the bishops " in their dioceses, where the said non-residents do remain, " are to deal with them by persuasion to yield thereunto. " Whereunto if they cannot be induced, then are they to " be referred over to the lords of the privy-council.

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V. " For the fifth, certain are to be appointed in the two " universities, to take upon them that charge. Who for " their better encouragement are to receive some reward, " upon some contribution to be levied for that purpose.

" And whereas there is a kind of *schism* grown in the " church for matters held indifferent, which doth minister " unto the adversary some advantage, to the defacing of " our religion, it shall be very necessary, that some way be " taken, how this schism may be helped.

" For the better execution thereof it is to be considered, " that such as are noted to be over-precise do not stand too " much upon those things that are indifferent, as they do " upon other great abuses in the church: as followeth.

" That ignorant and unpreaching ministers should be " made. That *non-residences* should be tolerated. That " *excommunication*, which is the severest censure of the " church, should be abused, as it is. That the *visitation* of " the bishops tend to the particular profit of themselves and " their chancellors; and none to the redress of the church. " That divers popish canons continue still in use, to the of- " fence of the godly. For the redress whereof, no care hath " been had.

" And therefore, if these and the like abuses might be " removed, such as stand upon some precise points, being " by the bishops in brotherly and charitable sort dealt " withal, might be reduced to conformity: and the schism " and offence that now reigneth might be removed. Where- " by they would all concur together in the advancement of " religion, and withstanding the common enemy."

The validity of popes' bulls.

Pluralities and *non-residences* formerly granted by *bulls* from the pope, occasioned about this year a notable argument at law, by two learned lawyers, sergeant Fleetwood and sergeant Walmesly; the latter arguing for the validity of a bull from Rome. The case was, " Whether a bull, brief, " or any faculty granted unto any subject of this realm from " the see of Rome, in the time of queen Mary, or else, &c. ,, for the enjoying of many benefices, or being non-resident, ,, or such like, be pleadable in any her highness's courts, or

Abstract of certain acts of parliament.

" allowable within any of her dominions." This cause was argued at the bar of common pleas between the two sergeants; and passed by the judgment of the whole court, proved the contrary. CHAP. XVII. Anno 1583.

If we look now towards the universities, and the state of learning; that of Cambridge resented now an injury done them by the stationers' company of London: who, upon pretence of their privilege of printing, would not allow a printing press at Cambridge; though it were a privilege granted formerly to the university, and long enjoyed by them. The stationers of London had now seized the printing press of Thomas, their printer. Whereupon the vice-chancellor, Dr. Bell, and the rest of their heads, apply to their high-chancellor, the lord Burghley, to stop these proceedings of this company: shewing the injuries they had sustained already, by hindering the printing of Mr. Whitaker's book, [that, I suppose, writ against Campion's Ten Reasons,] and others, ready for the press; to the prejudice of learning. The stationers' pretence was in respect of schismatical books in danger to be published hence. And indeed there was such an one printed the next year; which archbishop Whitgift took notice of in one of his letters. But to satisfy their chancellor in that point, they assured him, " That Thomas, their printer, was a godly and honest " man; and promised that their press should not be abused, " in publishing things prohibited, or inconvenient for the " church or state of the realm. And this they promised the " rather, because they had granted liberty to him to use his " press, upon condition he should stand bound to such arti- " cles as he, their chancellor, and the rest of the heads, " should tie him to. And as the chancellor had made a " motion to them to come to a conference with the stationers " about this their privilege, they shewed themselves willing " thereunto, if they would send thither some certain man " from them with sufficient authority for that purpose." But the whole letter of the vice-chancellor and heads to their chancellor, concerning one of their privileges, requires to be

Controversies at Cambridge about a printing press there.

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preserved. Vid. Appendix. In conclusion, they prayed his lordship, that their press might no longer be stopped.

Anno 1583. Numb. XXXV. The stationers' complaint to the lord Burghley against the university.

It may not be amiss to give some further account of this university printing press, from a letter or two of the lord Burghley, their chancellor, in order to the settling this their privilege, (which I received from a learned member of that university,) against the company of stationers of London, who had applied themselves to the said chancellor: shewing him, besides the university's encroachment upon their privileges, certain objections against their intender printer, Thomas, and likewise the danger of publishing ill and dangerous books thence. Which occasioned the said chancellor to send this grave advice to Dr. Bell, the vice-chancellor, and the rest of the heads, viz.

His letter to the university hereupon. T. Baker, S. Th. B.

" After his hearty commendations unto them; that where-
" as they had been desirous of late to put in use a privilege
" granted unto them, among other things, by king Henry
" VIII. for erecting of printing within that university, he
" found the same to be much impugned by certain of the
" company of stationers there in London, having special
" privileges from her majesty. Who besides seemed to cast
" some doubts, as well of the prejudice that might grow to
" them, as to the party that should enterprise to erect a
" print with them, as also of misusing of the same there; in
" publishing things prohibited, or otherwise inconvenient;
" like as there had been some like abuse by some evil-dis-
" posed persons of their company there. Though for reme-
" dy thereof he thought it good, and so were they very well
" contented therewith, that some conference might be had
" by some to be chosen, as well of themselves [of the uni-
" versity] as of the stationers there, or such others, to whom
" both should think good to commit it, for some provisions
" to be had; and by way of articles to be accorded. That
" therefore they should do well to make choice of some meet
" persons to be instructed and authorized for that purpose.
196 " Whereupon the party licensed to be their printer might
" with the more security proceed to the erecting of his print.

" And so he bade them heartily farewell. From his house " in the Strand, the 11th of June, 1583."

This letter set the vice-chancellor and heads on work, to deliberate, and proceed according to their chancellor's directions. It was about eight months after all matters seemed to be accommodated, when the vice-chancellor and heads sent their letters again to their chancellor, and Thomas, their printer, the bearer; of whom they gave a good character. And the chancellor soon replied in another letter; shewing them that he had consulted with the master of the rolls of the validity of their charter. And therefore giving his consent, that Thomas, with some conditions to be observed on his part, should be their printer. For thus his letter ran.

Anno 1583.

Lord Burghley's letter, consenting to a printing press at Cambridge.

" That he had received their letters, dated the 12th of " March, by the bearer, Mr. Thomas, written in his favour, " being one of the university, and desirous to put in use the " art of printing there, under the privilege granted by char- " ter. Wherein, besides his own opinion, he thought good " also to use the advice of the master of the rolls; who had " considered likewise of their charter; whereof he [the chan- " cellor] had sent him the copy: and that finding it in his " opinion concurring with his, [the chancellor's,] a grant of " good validity, he did assent to that which they should " think fit, for the appointing Mr. Thomas to print by vir- " tue thereof: having regard, that he be seen to be furnish- " ed with all things fit and requisite for that purpose: and " that his letters and paper were answerable with any the " foreign prints, and the prices likewise agreeable.

" Of which things, or any others to be thought of and " considered in this matter, he added, that if they should " conceive some instrument by way of articles or decree, he " would be ready to give his assent and furtherance, as " should be requisite. And so he bade them heartily fare- " well. From his house in the Strand, the 18th of March, " 1583."

And then by way of postscript this follows: " I think it " good, that the parties that shall be licensed, or authorized

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" to print, may have their authority with condition, or " otherwise bound, to stand to the order of the chancellor, " and the heads, in case of any cause of misliking of the use " of the said authority."

One expelled for violating a privilege of the university.

Another privilege of this university was violated; and that by a member of it; for which he was expelled this year by Dr. Bell, vice-chancellor: namely, one Robert Liless, fellow of King's college; long time a contentious, troublesome party-man in that college, against Dr. Roger Goad, the provost. His crime was, for prosecuting an infamy against one Mounteford, unjustly and maliciously, *coram extrancis judicibus*. Thereby violating the privileges of the university.

The character of him, and his behaviour.

This Liless, many years after, (viz. anno 1594,) took the opportunity of getting a letter from the lord Burghley to the bishop of Lincoln, visitor of that college, for his restitution: complaining to that lord, that university's chancellor, how he was expelled the college by Dr. Goad, the provost, unjustly. The report of this coming to the said provost, he delayed not to address his letter to the said chancellor: certifying him, that he was not expelled the college by any act of the college; but by the sentence of his lordship's vice-chancellor, with the consent of the heads, about eleven years past, upon his notorious violation of the university's privileges, banished the university; and that not without his lordship's privity: and so could no longer be a member of their college. Then he signified somewhat of his knowledge of this man, and his troublesome course of life formerly in the college. " How he dealt, from time to time since his " banishment, in troubling the quiet of the college, and con- " tinually soliciting the younger sort to discontentment and " faction. And that in a late distraction of that company, " he entered into a plot concerning some one that should " succeed in his [the provost's] room."

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It seems there was a faction still in the college against the provost, Dr. Goad; and a secret endeavour on foot, to turn him out, and get another in his place; and Liless busy in this conspiracy. And this person that was to succeed was

thought, by himself and his party, to have such authority and strength by his friends, that he could not be withstood. But the provost still maintained his place. Anno 1583.

With regard to *learning*, some account may be given of divers books that were this year set forth. As,

Books set forth this year.

An Exposition upon the second Epistle to the Thessalonians: by the reverend father, John Jewel, bishop of Sarum. Printed and published this year by J. Garbrand. Which book was printed again among that bishop's works in folio. Also this year the same person set forth certain sermons, preached before the queen, and at Paul's Cross. Whereunto was added a short treatise of the sacrament; gathered out of other his sermons made upon that subject, in his cathedral church of Salisbury. And printed by Chr. Barker, the queen's printer, in octavo. Dedicated by Garbrand to the lord Burghley and the earl of Leicester, chancellors of the two universities.

Sermons and discourses of bishop Jewel.

The first of those sermons was preached upon Joshua vi. *Now Jericho was straitly shut up*, &c. It was preached upon the 17th day of November. Wherein were these remarkable words, (and we of this kingdom have a concern herein to this day.) " Upon this day, upon this day, I say, " the 17th of this month, God sent his handmaid, and " delivered us. Let us be kind and thankful unto God for " so great blessing. I say not, Let us make it the first day " of the year; yet this I say, Let us have it in remembrance, " and let us sing with the prophet, *When the Lord brought* Psal. cxxvi. " *again the captivity of Sion, we were like them that dream.* " *Then was our mouth filled with laughter, and our tongue* " *with joy*, &c. *The Lord hath done great things for us.* Let " no man be offended herewith. It is only a *remembrance* of " the mercy of God. It behoveth us to remember it. It is " good to bethink ourselves of it. For if we have eyes to " see, and neglect not our own salvation, we have now much 198 " greater cause to rejoice than David had. Because the " things which are this day restored unto us by the good- " ness of our God, are far greater and worthy [namely, the

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"blessing of the gospel] than those which that people re-
"ceived in their deliverance of Babylon."

Anno 1583.

They are six sermons: and beside at the end that treatise of the sacrament, is another, being the *protestant way* [in difference from the popish way] *of visiting the sick*.

Account of this bishop's sermons.

Garbrand tells us, in his epistle before those sermons, that bishop Jewel did seldom or never deliver any exposition upon any piece of scripture, before any congregation in the meanest parish of the country, but upon diligent study, whereof he drew the notes first: "And that in this his care, "God's providence wrought mercifully for his church. That "so the fruits of his good travails might be delivered in "common unto all; That if any should be so curious "to ask why he [the publisher] chose these among so many "excellent sermons, let him, answered he, advisedly consi-"der the state of God's church among us in these days, "and bestow the pains to read these that were offered to "his Christian judgment, [being so seasonable for the "times,] and then make to himself a charitable answer. "That in these sermons he moved his petition sundry times, "before the conscience either of her highness, or of the "lords, or others under, in true zeal for the advancement of "God's glory; and like a wise builder of the house of God, "&c. And in this rehearsal of these sermons together, they "would no doubt work wholesome effect. They were such "as shewed how desirous he was of the peace and prospe-"rity of Jerusalem, and that the kingdom of God might "never again be taken from us. And shewing what things "they were by which this happiness might be brought to "pass; viz. that next to the high means of princely autho-"rity, the chiefest was, that all particular churches were "furnished with sufficiently learned and godly ministers. "And therefore that tender and due care were had to in-"crease the number of them."

These sermons were afterwards printed in the said bishop Jewel's works in folio; where there are divers other of his sermons, besides these mentioned in the octavo.

John Fox, the famous and laborious martyrologist, set forth this year a book of *justification*, writ in Latin, against Osorius, a Portugal bishop; entitled, *De Christo gratis justificante; contra Osorianam justitiam cæterosque ejusdem inhærentis justitiæ patronos*, &c. *Contra universam denique turbam Tridentinam et Jesuiticam; amica et modesta defensio Joan. Foxii, Londini.* The preface of the author is, *Ad afflictas et perturbatas in Christo conscientias epistola.* The fourth and last book consisted of a sermon of Dr. Fulke's, entitled, *Erudita concio eximii doctoris D. Guil. Fulsii, de duobus Abrahæ filiis, ex D. Pauli ad Galat. IV.* Which was translated out of English into Latin, by the said J. Fox, as suitable to his subject.

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A book concerning justification, by John Fox.

Certain godly and very profitable sermons of faith, hope, and charity, set forth in Latin, by Bernardine Ochine, a learned foreigner; and turned into English by Will. Whiston, this year was printed. The epistle dedicatory was made to Edm. Grindal, lord archbishop of Canterbury. 199

About this year, Tho. Cartwright, the chief head of the *disciplinarian* sect, being a man of learning, begun to turn his thoughts to a learned work, viz. to answer the New Testament, translated into English by the English seminary college at Rhemes. Wherein they used much art in the translation, to cover popish errors, and to make reflections upon our English translation.

An answer to the Rhemist Testament by Cartwright.

It made one great part of the happiness of this nation, that the holy Bible was permitted the common people to read, and inform themselves thence in matters of religion, and to set themselves right in the knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, (whose profession they had solemnly taken upon them,) by consulting the holy gospel. And in order to that, it was permitted to be translated into the vulgar tongue, first in the reign of Henry VIII. which king made a good step towards the reformation. But those of the Romish religion took great disgust at it: knowing well, how the errors and superstitions practised in their church would be hereby exposed, and brought more to light. They shewed how offended they were at the English translation some

Papists offended at the English translation.

BOOK I. Anno 1583.

years before, when Dr. Standish and Dr. Heskins wrote treatises; pretending to shew great inconveniences, of having the holy scripture in the vulgar tongue. And about the year 1581 or 1582, Gregory Martin, a reader of divinity in the seminary at Rhemes, the more to undervalue our English translation of the scripture, set forth a treatise to accuse all the English translation of the Bible, not only of small imperfections and oversights through ignorance and negligence, but no less than of foul dealing, in partial and false translation, wilful and heretical corruptions.

Defence of it by Dr. Fulk.

Will. Fulk, D. D. master of Pembroke hall in Cambridge, answered this calumny this year, in a book in octavo, printed by Binniman, in the small character; and dedicated it to the queen. Wherein he tells her, "That among the inesti- "mable benefits, wherewith God had blessed her honourable "and prosperous government, it was not to be numbered "among the least, that under her protection her people en- "joyed the comfortable reading of the holy scripture in their "mother tongue, and native language, to the everlasting be- "nefit of many thousand souls." He entitled his book, *A defence of the sincere and true translation of the holy scripture into the English tongue; against the manifest cavils, frivolous quarrels, and impudent falsehoods of Gregory Martin, one of the readers of popish divinity in the traitorous seminary of Rhemes.*

Against Greg. Martin.

The said Martin makes his preface to contain an account of five sundry abuses or corruptions of the holy scriptures, common to all heretics, and agreeing especially to these of our times. And they were, first, "Denying certain books, "or part of books. Secondly, Doubting of the authority of "certain books, and calling them in question. Thirdly, "Voluntary expositions, according to every one's fancy, or "heresy. Fourthly, Changing some words or sentences of "the very original text. Fifthly, False and heretical trans- "lations."

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Faults charged upon the Rhemists' Testament.

But Dr. Fulk, in his said epistle to the queen, retorteth upon Gregory Martin's *charge* the faults of their Rhemists' English Testament. "In which, first, they left the pure

" fountain of the original verity, to follow the crooked " stream of their barbarous vulgar Latin translation; which " (beside other manifest corruptions) was found defective in " more than an hundred places. Secondly, their own trans- " lation was pestered with many annotations, both false and " undutiful. By which, under colour of authority of holy " scriptures, they sought to infect the minds of credulous " readers with heretical and superstitious opinions; and to " alienate their hearts from yielding due obedience to the " queen and her laws concerning true religion established. " And that the text of their translation was obscured, with- " out any necessity, or just cause, with a multitude of " strange unusual terms: to the ignorant, no less difficult " to understand, than the Latin or Greek itself. And that " they had not truly nor precisely translated their own vul- " gar Latin." And in short, when Martin had noted how in our translation some words were turned, as, instead of *church*, *congregation;* instead of *traditions*, *ordinances;* and for *priests*, *elders;* and so we of this church were Calvinists; Dr. Fulk (among other matters replied) answered, " It should " suffice to protest once for all, that we acknowledged none " other name of our profession, but *Christians* and *catho-* " *lics*."

Cartwright encouraged in his work.

But to return to Cartwright, who was now setting himself to consider that Rhemish translation of the New Testament; the great end of which work was to make the errors of their church plausible, and to confute the doctrine and practices of this reformed church: it was shewed before, that these Rhemists translated from the Latin, and not the Greek original; upon pretence that that had been in many places altered, by reason of those many heresies and heretics that were anciently in those parts of Greece, where it was used. And with their translation they placed large annotations to the text all along for their purpose. So that both the translation and the annotations was Cartwright's task to examine.

But how he was moved to undertake this work by secretary Walsingham, and divers other learned men in the uni-

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versity, and likewise in Suffolk and London, chiefly of the *disciplinarian* sort, may be read more at large in the Life of Archbishop Whitgift. And why, after three or four years pains in the composing, it was thought convenient to hinder the publishing thereof; as containing many things in it reflecting upon the practice and usages of the church established. Yet after thirty years it came forth privately without licence, and not before: and seems to have been printed abroad.

Anno 1583. Book iii. ch. 16.

The Rhemists' design.

For as the Rhemists took this occasion to serve themselves in favour of their own doctrine and principles, against what was objected to them by protestants; so this learned man did also not only confute the Rhemists, but, as occasion served, insert what was agreeable to the principles of the puritans. But to see briefly the purpose of the Rhemists, and their reasons for this their English translation; 201 and withal to observe the sharp manner of the style of the author of the Confutation; take it shortly in their own words:

In the press.

" Which translation they did not publish upon erroneous " opinion of necessity, that the holy scriptures should al- " ways be in the mother tongue; or that they ought, and " were ordained by God, to be read indifferently of all, or " could be easily understood of every one that read or heard " them in a known language; or that they were not often, " through men's malice or infirmity, pernicious or much " hurtful to many; or that they generally or absolutely " deemed it more conveniently in itself, and more agreeably " to God's word, and honour, or edification of the faithful, " to have them turned into vulgar tongues, than to be " kept and studied only in the ecclesiastical, learned lan- " guages: not for these, nor for any such like causes, did " they translate this sacred book: but upon special time, " state, and condition of our country. Unto which, divers " things were either necessary or profitable, and medicinable " now; which otherwise, in the peace of the church, were " neither much requisite, nor perchance wholly tolerable.... " In this matter to mark only the wisdom and moderation

" of holy church, and the governors thereof on one side, " and the indiscreet zeal of the popular, and their factious " leaders on the other, was an high point of prudence." Anno 1583.

To which in answer thus Cartwright, in pretty smart manner, as he doth throughout the whole book. " The " true religion being like the heavens, which never change; " the popish religion resembleth the earth; which, as the " potter's clay, is ready to receive any form, according as " the wind and weather, times and seasons of the year, " winter or summer, spring or fall will set upon it. Hereof " it is that they which sometime did so deadly hate the in- " struction of their youth in the grounds and principles of " religion, that they could not hear the word of *catechism* " with patient ears; now, in fear of a general falling from " them, through opinion either of their blockish ignorance " or sluggish negligence, were constrained both to write " and teach their catechisms. That out of the same fear it " arose, that they which hitherto could not endure the holy " scriptures to be read of the people in their mother tongue; " now, lest they should utterly fall from the hope of their " gain, through a vehement suspicion of juggling, and play- " ing under the board with the people; and constrained to " confess a print of that which they sometime burned, and " pretend allowance of that which in times past they con- " demned. Howbeit the evidence of the truth having the " church-robbers upon the rack, see notwithstanding, how " hardly they were gotten to confess the truth; and how " they lisp it, rather than speak it out," &c. I set down this to give some specimen of the books. Cartwright's answer.

The Practice of Prelates came forth also about this year. It was written by the schismatics, calling themselves therein, *the maintainers of the discipline of God:* therein highly charging the articles set forth by the bishops for the regulation of the clergy. It bore this title, *The unlawful practices of prelates against godly ministers, the maintainers of the discipline of God.* It was writ about parliament time: hoping for favour thence: as appeareth by these words near the beginning: " Now, even now it seemeth, the discipline Practice of Prelates. 202

BOOK I.

Anno 1583.

Book iii. chap. 3.

" of Christ afresh seeketh and beseecheth the favours of " men. The time of the worthy assembly in parliament " craveth it. The place, the eye of the realm, challengeth " it." See more of this book in the Life of Archbishop Whitgift.

Jesus Psalter.

In this year also came forth a book of another strain, called *Jesus Psalter:* being a Latin book of popish devotions, now translated into English. Wherein the devotion chiefly is the repetition of *Jesus, Jesus*, numberless times. In the preface we are given to understand that there be three kinds of psalters. The first is David's Psalter: which containeth thrice fifty psalms. The second our Lady's Psalter: which containeth thrice fifty *Aves*. And the third is Jesus Psalter: containing fifteen petitions: which being ten times repeated, do make in all thrice fifty. Where *Jesus, Jesus, Jesus mercy*, is ten times, word for word, to be repeated in the beginnings of them, and if you fail in the count, thy devotion is not perfect. Whereupon Dr. George Abbot, (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury,) in his lectures at Oxford, made this observation; " What is it to put " superstition in numbers, if this be not? And where are " the people kept in bondage, and blindness of darkness, " and gross error, if it be not in these toys?"

Dr. Abbot's Lectures, p. 386.

A Defence against the Poison of Prophecies. By lord H. Howard.

This year also came abroad a book entitled, *A defence against the poison of supposed prophecies.* The author, lord Henry Howard. Who was brother to the late duke of Norfolk: and in these times went in danger of his life: the queen having a jealousy of him, either for his religion, or his favour towards the queen of Scots: for whom his brother lost his life. It was printed by John Charlewood, servant to the right honourable Philip earl of Arundel: who was eldest son to the said duke. It was a glorious show of that lord's readings; and designed to reconcile a better opinion of the queen towards him, who was inwardly a papist: as shewing throughout his book how vain prophecies of things to come were: which the zealous papists at that time made great talk of, and gathered mighty hopes to themselves from. But take the whole title of the

book, as it stood in the second edition, printed anno 1620. CHAP. XVII.
" *A defensative against the poison of supposed prophecies*.... Anno 1583.
" not hitherto confuted by the pen of any man. Which
" being grounded either upon the warrant or authority of
" old painted books, exposition of dreams, oracles, revela-
" tions, invocation of damned spirits, judicials of astrology,
" or any other kind of pretended knowledge whatsoever *de*
"*futuris contingentibus*, have been causes of great disorder
" in the commonwealth, among the simple and unlearned
" people. Very necessary to be published, considering the
" great offence which grew by most palpable and gross
" errors in astrology." This lord Howard, the noble author, was afterward earl of Northampton, and lord privy seal to king James I.

In these studies, that lord, the author, said he had employed himself, by observing in all the books of the ancients and philosophers, as he was reading them, such passages as related to these prophecies, and foretelling things to come; and the rather, because some of his ancestors, depending too much upon them, had drawn mischief upon themselves. And again, in another place of his book, he hath these words concerning himself; " That he had himself
" collected these notes in a book, out of the full course of
" all his readings, from the fifteenth year of his age until
" that day; upon a mortal malice [taken up by him] against
" prophecies, in respect of some progenitors and ancestors
" of his; who smarted for presuming overmuch upon their
" hopes [grounded thereon]. Adding, that his book should
" never have been recommended to the print, if mere neces-
" sity, and care to satisfy the world herein, had not pre-
" vailed at the length against his bashful and retyrate
" humour. And for his own particular he always con-
" ceived them to be the froth of folly, the scum of pride,
" the shipwreck of honour, and the poison of nobility."

His reason of these studies. 203

Chap. 26.

And then having his mind upon one particular book of prophecy; which, it seems, he was charged with having seen; and privy to, that had perhaps some ill boding to the queen: " It was once my hap," added he, " to be examined

BOOK I. Anno 1583. Examined about a painted treatise prophetical.

" upon the sight of a certain painted treatise of this kind; " garnished with sundry beasts and birds; and fitter for a " childish game than sober judgment. It is certain that " I never was admitted to this Sybillin oracle: but whether " it be probable, that either I did ever see the same, make " account thereof, or would afford expense or waste of time, " to fancies of this kind, let them conceive, that either are " acquainted with myself, or will vouchsafe to read and " question the reasons of this book."

I cannot but continue this lord's relation concerning these prophesying and foretelling picture books, secretly made and shewn in those times; and the deceit of them. Thus then he went on. " That for so much as he could " gather by report of some dear friends of his, who saw the " gewgaw in the keeping of another, who esteemed it too " much, it should appear either to have been over-flourished " in a painter's shop, with matters correspondent to their " humours which delighted in news; or else to have been " drawn upon the foresight of one Verdungus: who, during " the reign of king Henry VIII. seeking to content and " please the moods of certain princes, which were then in " dark and deep unkindness with the king, gave out in " writing, that the realm should be given up *in prædam di-* " *versis animantibus*, [that is, to divers creatures for a " prey.] The certainty [as to time and manner] he durst " not limit, nor set down, for fear of being taken with a " gross and shameless lie: neither durst he publish or re- " veal the points and reasons whereupon the judgment " stood, because the man himself, being posted forward " with a humour of revenge, sought rather by this means to " make his voice a trumpet of encouragement [to the princes " that king's enemies, to invade or assault him] than a mes- " senger of tribulation. For proof whereof the end was to " be noted. And chiefly, that the king was laid to rest
204 " with his fathers in convenient time; when Verdungus, " having made a shameful wreck, both of conscience and " credit, was scorned and derided for his vain presumption " without ground, and malice without moderation."

The lord Howard thought fit to dedicate his said book to sir Francis Walsingham, principal secretary: who he acknowledged had been his great friend, and brought him out of his troubles he fell into on this account: and to whom he had shewn these his collections of prophecies. In his dedication he used these words: "That he was "forced to confess the bond of his particular affection, nay "zeal, unto himself to be so much increased by his steadfast "friendship in the days of proof. And that not his hand "only should be ever ready to subscribe, and set on his "seal, but his heart withal, while it had any spark of life, "to acknowledge the great merit of his [the secretary's] "undeserved favours: he that once vouchsafed, with a fa- "vourable hand, to waft him out of the surges of uncer- "tain chance..... who could judge better of his [the au- "thor's] conceit, than he that had been best acquainted "with his intent..... That to him, as well as others of his "calling, he had engaged his assured promise, if God "spared life, to give testimony to the world, what his con- "ceit had ever been of prophecies: which wise men valued "as the scum of pride and dregs of ignorance." In short, this was his end in writing his book, "That his care and "study had been, only to do that which might be conso- "nant to the will and pleasure of Almighty God, agreeable "to the circumstances of the present time, and his own "discharge, and pleasing in her sight, [viz. the queen's,] "whose peerless virtues, planted in a royal stock, had "exempted from comparison."

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This lord's book dedicated to secretary Walsingham.

And in fine, I cannot omit the character he gives sir Francis Walsingham in his dedication: "That the sweet- "ness of his disposition, the frankness of his mind, the "credit of his place, the level of his long experience, and "the depth of his judgment, were means sufficient and "strong enough to draw the minds of persons well dis- "posed, both to love and honour him."

It was found needful now (to stop malicious false reports of persecution for religion) to declare the true cause of the punishment of several popish priests, and others, with

BOOK I.

death, as traitors. A state-book therefore was now set forth, called, "*The execution of justice, for maintenance of* "*public and Christian peace:* against certain stirrers of se- "dition, and adherents to the traitors and enemies of the "realm; without any persecution of them, as is falsely re- "ported and published by the fautors and fosterers of their "treasons, 17th December 1583." The running title is, *Execution for treason, and not for religion.*

Anno 1583. Execution of Justice.

Of these dangerous Romanists thus speaks the author in the entrance to his book, "That though natural born sub- "jects of the realm of England and Ireland, and who had "for some good time professed outwardly their obedience to "their sovereign lady queen Elizabeth, had nevertheless "afterwards been stirred up and seduced by wicked spi- "rits, first in England sundry years past, and secondly, of "latter times, in Ireland, to enter into open rebellion, taking
205 "arms, and coming into the field, against her majesty and "her lieutenants, with their forces and banners displayed, "inducing, by notable untruths, many simple people to fol- "low and assist them in their traitorous actions. And "though it was very well known, that both their intentions "and manifest actions were bent to have deposed the "queen's majesty from her crown, and to have traitorously "set in her place some other whom they liked; whereby, if "they had not been speedily resisted, they would have com- "mitted great bloodsheds and slaughters of her majesty's "faithful subjects, and ruined their native country.... But "these rebels that remained fled into foreign countries, "and there falsely informed many kings, princes, and states, "that the cause of their fleeing from their country was for "religion, and maintenance of the pope's authority."

Declaration of favourable dealing with certain traitors.

This book was backed with another of the same import, which bare this title; *A declaration of the favourable dealing of her majesty's commissioners,* "appointed for the "examination of certain traitors: and of tortures unjustly "reported to be done upon them for matters of religion." The purport of this tract will appear by what the writer tells his reader. "That though her majesty's most mild

" and gracious government were sufficient to defend itself
" against most slanderous reports of heathenish and unna-
" tural tyranny, and cruel tortures, pretended to have been Anno 1583.
" executed upon certain traitors, who lately suffered [viz.
" Campion and Alex. Briant] for their treason, and others;
" as well spread abroad by runagates, Jesuits, and seminary
" men, in their seditious books, letters, and libels in foreign
" countries and princes' courts, as also insinuated into the
" hearts of some of our own countrymen, and her majesty's
" subjects. Yet for better satisfaction of all, he [the writer]
" had conferred with a very honest gentleman, whom he
" knew to have good and sufficient means to deliver the
" truth against such forgers of lies and shameless slanders
" in that behalf. Which he, and others that knew and
" had affirmed the same, would at all times justify. And
" for further assurance and satisfaction herein had set down
" to the view of all men some special notes thereof."

In this book it is asserted, and offered to be justified,
" That never those seminaries, or any other pretended
" catholics, which at any time in her majesty's reign had
" been put to the rack, were, upon the rack, or in any other
" torture, demanded any question of their supposed con-
" science: as what they believed in any point of doctrine or
" faith, as the mass, transubstantiation, or such like; but
" only with what persons at home or abroad, and touching
" what plots, practices, and conferences they had dealt,
" about attempts against her majesty's estate or person; or
" to alter the laws of the realm for matters of religion, by
" treason or by force: and how they were persuaded them-
" selves, and did persuade others, touching the pope's bull,
" and pretence of authority to depose kings and princes;
" and namely, for the deprivation of her majesty, and to
" discharge subjects from their allegiance: expressing the
" kingly powers and estates, and the subject's allegiance
" *civilly*, without mentioning or meaning therein any right 206
" the queen, as in the right of the crown, hath over persons
" *ecclesiastical*, being her subjects. In all which cases,

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" Campion and the rest never answered plainly, but so-
" phistically, deceitfully and traitorously restraining their
" confession of allegiance only to the permissive form of the
" pope's toleration."

Campion.

Campion aforesaid was thus described. " That he was
" sent and came from Rome, and continued here in sundry
" corners of the realm; having secretly wandered in the
" greatest part of the shires of England, in a disguised
" sort; to the intent to make special preparation of trea-
" sons: and to that end, and for furtherance of those his
" labours, sent over for more help and assistance; and
" cunningly and traitorously at Rome, before he came from
" thence, procured toleration for such prepared rebels, to
" keep themselves covert, under pretence of temporary and
" permissive obedience to her majesty, the state standing
" as it did. But so soon as there were sufficient force,
" whereby the bull of her majesty's deprivation might be
" publicly executed, they should then join altogether with
" that force, upon pain of curse and damnation."

Who suffered the rack.

It was shewn further in this tract, to justify this course of using the rack, " That none of them that had been put
" to the rack or torture, no, not for the matter of treason,
" or partnership of treason, or such like, but where it was
" first known, or evidently probable, by former detections,
" confessions, and otherwise, that the party so racked or
" tortured was guilty, and did know, and could deliver the
" truth of the things wherewith he was charged. So as it
" was first assured, that no innocent was at any time tor-
" mented. And that the rack was never used to wring out
" confessions at adventure upon uncertainties. In which
" doing it might be possible that an innocent in that case
" might have unjustly suffered."

These and many other reasons, for the severity now sometimes used, were thought fit to be published, to check the clamours and slanderous libels that were thrown about: and to justify this manner of inquisition of truth, in discovering crimes, extending so much to the public danger,

which those ungracious persons had committed. Whose conspiracies, and the particularities thereof, it did so much import to have disclosed.

Anno 1583.

Discovery of the Newfound Land.

Now also came forth a book of another subject, upon the first discovery of Newfoundland in the West Indies; with this title: "*A true report of the late discoveries and possessions, taken in the right of the crown of England, of the Newfound lands: by that valiant and worthy gentleman sir Humfrey Gilbert, knight:* Wherein is also briefly set down her highness's lawful title thereunto, and the great and manifold commodities, that is likely to grow thereby to the whole realm in general, and to the adventurers in particular. Together with the easiness and shortness of the voyage. *Seen and allowed.*" An Oxford scholar, G. P. was employed in the writing of it; and dedicated it to sir Francis Walsingham, principal secretary to the queen, and his patron. The author of this treatise had the honour 207 to have divers copies of verses set before it, made by persons of quality and sea-officers: as of sir William Pelham, sir Francis Drake, capt. John Hawkins, captain Frobisher, captain Bing, captain Chester, Achellie, citizen and merchant of London, and some more. Only for a taste of this poetry, thus sir William Pelham began:

Like as the fishes, breeding in the deep,
Through all the ocean are allow'd to raunge,
Not forst in any certain bounds to keep,
But as their motions carry them to chaunge:
To men like liberty doth reason give,
In choise of soil, through all the world to live, &c.

The contents of this book.

The book begins with an historical account of this western discovery. And proceeds to discourse of these particular heads. 1. That it is lawful and necessary to trade and traffic with the savages: and to plant in their countries. 2. The lawful title which the queen had unto those countries, which through the aid of Almighty God were meant to be inhabited. 3. That the trade, traffic, and planting of those countries were likely to prove very profitable to the whole

BOOK I. Anno 1583.

realm. 4. That the trading and planting in those countries was likely to prove to the particular profit of all the adventurers. 5. That the traffic and planting in those countries should be unto the savages themselves very beneficial and gainful. 6. That the planting there was not such a matter of charge or difficulty as many would make it seem to be. Lastly, articles of assurance between the principal assignees of sir Humfrey Gilbert, knight, and the four sorts of adventurers in the voyage for the western discoveries. And then towards the conclusion of the book, to encourage this voyage, it is urged, "That her majesty's dominions should be enlarged. All odious idleness from this our realm utterly banished. Divers decayed towns repaired. Many poor and needy persons relieved. The ignorant and barbarous idolaters taught to know Christ. The innocent defended from their bloody tyrannical neighbours. The diabolical custom of sacrificing human creatures abolished."

Now to proceed to a few matters more private and personal, that may deserve a remembrance.

Lord Latymer, newly come from France.

One, calling himself lord Latymer, was not long come into England; who having been conversant in France with one of the Nortons, (rebels that had risen in the north, anno 1569, and fled abroad,) was justly suspected, in these dangerous times, to have come over upon some ill design. Sir Walter Mildmay (who was chancellor of the exchequer) coming from court to his house in London, was informed of this lord Latymer, by a merchant that knew him in Roan, and had a letter to come to him. Who thought fit presently to send knowledge hereof to the said sir Walter, to take him up to examination; as many suspicious persons now were, that came from abroad. This proved the man named Nevyle, that was in the combination with Parry,
208 that came over from France to kill the queen. The said Mildmay, without delay, acquaints the lord treasurer herewith by his letter, dated Feb. 1583; and being but short, was as followeth:

Mildmay's letter to the lord

"It may please your lordship. As I came homeward "from Westminster this forenoon, one Wight, a merchant

" of this town, shewed me a letter written to him from one " that calleth himself lord Latymer, to speak with him this " day, as by this enclosed your lordship may perceive. " This young man, having known this Latymer in Roan, " and there knowing him to have been lodged in old Nor- " ton's house, and greatly conversant with such as he is, " thought it his duty to declare this much, to be directed " what to do therein. Whereupon I am bold to send him " to your lordship, to understand what he shall further do; " and how the party may be stayed, and examined, as may " be fit for her majesty's service: which this man is ready " to perform, as your lordship shall command."

Anno 1583. treasurer, informing him of it.

Mr. Thomas Wotton, a worthy, learned gentleman in Kent, (to whom Lambard dedicated his Perambulation of that county,) was nephew to Dr. Wotton, sometime dean of Canterbury, a man famous for many embassies hence to divers foreign princes. Whose *legations*, with other writings of matters of state relating thereto, on his death, came into his nephew's hands and possession. Which papers, the great statesman, the lord Burghley, desired the favour of the said Mr. Wotton, that he might see, or some of them. Which with all readiness he sent, and all the remainders of them, by his servant, and glad to oblige so excellent a person. And therewith his letter, dated Jan. 18, which was as followeth: (for we must preserve, as much as we can, the letters, and therewithal the memories of such eminent men.)

Dean Wotton's writings of his legations.

" That if the rest of such books or notes, remaining yet " in his hands, as of any other of his late uncle's late lega- " tions, passed under his pen, might any wise stand his good " lordship in any stead, he did by that bearer, his servant, " send them wholly unto him. For the present applying of " one part of them, he might find that part among them. " We might easily say," added he, " that happy was her ma- " jesty that had such a counsellor: happy was the realm " that had such a member, as unto the one, and in th' " other, he [that lord] was well known to be. In which " course, under her said majesty, he beseeched the Almighty

BOOK I. Anno 1583.

" God to send a course of many joyful years." Written from Pykring house in London. Subscribed,

" Humbly at the commandment of your good lordship,

" Thomas Wotton."

The lord Thomas Wentworth died this year.

As the lord Thomas Wentworth buried his eldest son the last year, so this year put an end to his own life; who was the last English governor of Calais. He lived at Mile-End, and was lord of the great manor of Stebunheth, now commonly called Stepney, in the suburbs of London. There having been a great friendship between that lord and the
209 lord treasurer, the surviving lord Henry his son wrote to the said lord treasurer the sad news of his father's death; and begging the continuance of his favour to him; and to assist him in the discharge of his trust and duty to his deceased father; whose concerns were altogether uncertain to him. His letter was in these words:

" Right honourable and my very good lord. It hath " pleased God to call unto his mercy this night, my lord, " my father. And for that I am well acquainted with the " entire affection and honourable good-will which your " lordship did bear unto him while he yet lived, (for the " which I most humbly thank your lordship,) and being as " yet altogether uncertain in what state his lordship is de- " parted; wherein, both in nature and duty, it most nearly " toucheth me to see his credit and honour in all points " most carefully maintained: it may please your good lord- " ship, in respect as well of the premises, as also for the " good meaning I have to discharge my duty thereto apper- " taining, to stand my honourable good lord, for the better " accomplishing thereof: beseeching your honour, that as I " am wholly at your lordship's commandment during life, " so it may please your good lordship to accept of my good " affections, and to shew your lordship's honourable favour " in all such matters as shall concern my poor estate. And " thus with my humble commendations I commit your good " lordship to the protection of the Almighty; who grant

" you all your honourable desires. Stebunheth, the 14th " of January, 1583. CHAP. XVII.

" Your good lordship's most assured, always to command, " Henry Wentworth." Anno 1583.

By the way, an error in Camden's History of Queen Elizabeth, by the date of this letter, may be corrected; who placed this lord Tho. Wentworth's death under the year 1590. Camd. Eliz. p. 446.

A notable coiner was this year discovered and taken up in Cheshire, at Warrington, whose name was Orrel; apprehended first upon suspicion, living with his father-in-law, one Cartwright. Sir John Biron, and two justices more, searching his house, found divers secret rooms; and in a dark corner, between two mud walls, whereinto there was neither light nor entry, but by breaking one of them, among divers other things, both of metals and wood, as censors, bells, crucifix, chrismatory, &c. and such like church stuff, they found, sewed up in a canvass cloth, certain piercings, and droppings or dross of metal, and a pair of gold weights. We have mentioned some of these coiners before, and shall add another, discovered two or three years after, viz. anno 1586. A coiner of false money taken up.

One Christopher Amyce, formerly a merchant of London, coined rials, and other coins. He acknowledged he had coined seven score pistolets, and many spur-rials of a foreign coin. And that he made his plates himself, and stamped them also. And his instrument or mill was made in France, and all other his instruments and engines; and brought by him into England.... That he coined twenty pieces of Scotch coin; brass within, and blanched over with silver: and his spur-rials were made of fine silver and gilt. And that one Nevil Reve had of him sixty double pistolets for six shillings apiece; ten spur-rials at five shillings apiece. And that he and another were present at the stamping of them. And that he buried the stamps and other instruments near to Croydon, five miles distant from London. Another coiner discovered. 210

BOOK I.

Anno 1584.

CHAP. XVIII.

Consultation about annoying Spain. Captain Hawkins's advice therein; viz. to assist the king of Portugal. The queen's transactions with the agents of Holland. She is concerned for the murder of the prince of Orange. Her careful letter to the duke of Monpensier about that prince's daughters. The lord treasurer to the king of Navarr. Prince palatine comes into England. A scandal of the earl of Shrewsbury. Popish plots. An association of the nobility and gentry. Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, sent away. Stafford, the queen's ambassador at Paris. His intelligence of him, and English fugitives there. The faction of the Guises. A new parliament: usage of parliament. Supplication for learned and preaching ministers. Petitions for that end: and for regulation of divers things in the church. Answers of the archbishop and bishops.

The queen apprehensive of the king of Spain.

THE queen and kingdom had the greatest apprehensions from abroad of the king of Spain: with whom she could obtain no good understanding: and of whom especially it concerned her to beware, considering his power; which at that time was formidable; and thus set forth by our historian. " All the princes of Italy were at his beck; the bi-

Camd. Eliz. p. 305.

" shop of Rome was wholly addicted and engaged to him:
" the cardinals were, as it were, his vassals: all the ablest
" persons, for matters both of war and peace, were his pen-
" sioners. In Germany, the house of Austria, an house ex-
" tending and branching far and wide, and other houses al-
" lied unto the same by marriages, did, as it were, attend
" upon him and his service. His wealth also and strength
211 " were so much increased, both by sea and land, since the
" late addition of Portugal and East India, that he was far
" more powerful and formidable than ever his father
" Charles V. was. And if he should once reduce the Ne-
" therlands under his power, there was nothing to hinder,
" but that the rest of the princes of Christendom must of
" necessity stoop to his greatness, unless it were prevented."

This powerful prince then the queen had to deal with. It was judged therefore the best course to favour the Netherlanders, with whom he was now in war, and towards whom he had exercised great barbarities. It was now under deliberation concerning the doing of this weighty matter. The lord treasurer had consulted with Hawkins, a brave seaman, and treasurer of the admiralty, upon this affair: and what means might be used in this undertaking: requiring to know his thoughts thereof. He soon after shewed that statesman, in writing, the means to offend that king, and the reasons to maintain that faction. Take them from his own pen; beginning with his own letter to the said lord. After which followed another paper, entitled, *The best means to annoy the king of Spain without charge to her majesty.* And first take his letter.

Anno 1584.

The queen deliberates about assisting the Low Countries.

" After his bounden duty in right humble manner pre-
" sented. That he had briefly considered upon a substantial
" course, and the material reasons, that by his own experi-
" ence he knew, by God's assistance, would strongly annoy
" and offend the king of Spain, the mortal enemy of our re-
" ligion, and the present government of the realm of Eng-
" land." And then proceeding in this serious manner.

Hawkins's advice for annoying the king of Spain.

" And surely, my very good lord, if I should only con-
" sider and look for mine own life, my quietness and com-
" modity, then truly mine own nature and disposition doth
" prefer peace before all things. But when I consider where-
" unto we are born; not for ourselves, but for the defence of
" the church of God, our prince, and our country; I do then
" think, how this most happy government might, with good
" providence, prevent the conspiracies of our enemies.

His letter to the lord treasurer.

" That he nothing at all doubted of our ability in wealth.
" For that he was persuaded, that the substance of this
" realm was trebled: adding, God be glorified for it. Nei-
" ther did he think there wanted provisions, carefully pro-
" vided, of shipping, ordnance, powder, armour, and muni-
" tion: so as the people were exercised by some means in
" the course of war. For he read, that when Mahomet, the
" Turk, took the famous city, Constantinople, digging up

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" in the foundations and bottoms of the houses, he found " such infinite treasure, as the said Mahomet, condemning " their wretchedness, wondered how that city could have " been overcome, or taken, if they had in time provided " men of war and furniture for their defence, as they were " very well able. So, said he, there wanted no ability in us, " if we were not taken unprovided, and upon a sudden.

" And that this was the only cause that had moved him " to say his mind frankly in this matter, and to set down
212 " those notes enclosed. Praying the Almighty God, who " directeth the hearts of all governors, either to the good " and benefit of the people, for their relief and deliverance; " or else doth alter and hinder their understanding, to the " punishment and ruin of the people, for their sins and of- " fences. Humbly beseeching his good lordship to bear " with his presumption, in dealing with matters so high; " and to judge of them by his great wisdom and experience, " how they might, in his lordship's judgment, be worthy the " consideration. And so humbly taking his leave. From " Deptford, the 20th of July, 1584. Subscribing,

" Your honourable lordship's ever assuredly bounden,

" John Hawkyns."

His other paper, sent with his letter, was thus endorsed; *Reasons to maintain the faction.* The title was, *The best means how to annoy the king of Spain, in my opinion, without charge to her majesty. Which also shall bring great profit to her highness and subjects.* And is as ensueth:

" First, If it shall be thought meet, that the king of Por- " tugal may, in his right, make war with the king of Spain, " then he would be the best means to be the head of the " faction. There would be obtained from the said king of " Portugal an authority to some person, that should always " give leave to such, as, upon their own charge, would serve " to annoy the king of Spain, as they might, both by sea " and land: and of their booties to pay unto the king of " Portugal 5 or 10 of the hundred.

" There would be also one person authorized by her ma-

" jesty to take notice of such as do serve the king of Portu-
" gal. And so that party, with her majesty's consent, to
" give them leave and allowance to retire, victual, and sell
" in some port of the west country. For which liberty they
" should pay unto her majesty 5 or 10 of the hundred.

" None should have leave to serve the said king of Por-
" tugal, but they should put in surety to offend no person,
" but such as the said king had war with: and should be
" bound to break no bulk but in the port allowed. Where
" would be commissioners appointed, to restore such goods
" as were belonging to friends in amity with the king of
" Portugal; and to allow the rest to the takers.

" There would be martial law for such as committed pi-
" racy. For now there can be no excuse, but all idle sea-
" men may be employed.

" If these conditions be allowed, and that men may en-
" joy that which they lawfully take in this service, the best
" owners and merchant adventurers in the river will put in
" foot, and attempt great things.

" The gentlemen and owners in the west party will enter
" deeply into this party.

" The Flushingers also will be a great party in this matter. 213

" The protestants of France will be a great company to
" help this attempt.

" The Portugals in the islands in Brasyl and in Geney,
" for the most part, will continually revolt. Fishings in
" Spain and Portugal, which is their greatest relief, will
" hereby be utterly impeached and destroyed. The islands
" will be sacked; their forts defaced; and their brass ord-
" nance brought away.

" Our own people, as gunners, (whereof we have but few,)
" would be made expert, and grow in number. Our idle
" people would grow to be good men of war, both by land
" and sea.

" The coast of Spain and Portugal, in all places, would
" be so annoyed, as to keep continual armies; there would
" be no possibility sometimes. That of my knowledge it is

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" treble more tedious and chargeable to prepare shipping " and men in those parts, than it is with us.

" The voyage offered by sir Francis Drake might best " be made lawful, to go under this licence also. Which " would be secret, until the time draw near of their readiness.

" All this before rehearsed shall not be any means to " draw the king of Spain to offer a war. For that this party " will not only consist of English men, but rather of the " French, Flemins, Scots, and such like. So as king Philip " shall be forced by great entreaty to make her majesty a " means to withdraw the forces of her subjects, and the aid " of her highness's ports. For otherwise there will be such " scarcity in Spain, and his coast so annoyed, as Spain never " endured so great smart. The reason is, for that the great- " est traffics of all king Philip's dominions must pass to and " fro by the seas, which will hardly escape intercepting."

Matters transacted between the queen and the Hollanders.

The agents from Holland, monsieur de Gryse and Ortel, were now here. And to these points the affair betwixt the queen and them came digested in four papers: an abstract whereof was drawn by the pen of the lord treasurer.

The first contained an answer of the states to her majesty's propositions. That count Maurice was the chief over their affairs. That her majesty would send them aid speedily. They offered her 330,000 florins monthly. What numbers of the enemies forces were besides their garrisons, foot and horse, in Guelders, Antwerp, about Gaunt, &c. Then what their own forces were, and what they looked for out of Almain.

The second paper was, that they required her majesty to receive in general all the provinces united, into her protection: or particularly Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht. And that they would contribute, both by sea and land, two millions yearly; or else to accept these countries to her alliance. That the French king laboured to be accepted as their lord in general. And that the queen would prevent it, by sending three or four thousand under a good conduct.

A third paper was from Zealand, that the hearts of the

people would be the more inclined to her majesty, if she would presently assist them with four thousand foot.

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The fourth paper contained private instructions.

These notable papers may all be read at large (whereof this is but an imperfect account) in the Appendix. This message from these afflicted Netherlanders succeeded; and after some years addresses from them, to take the protection of them upon her, they now at last obtained it.

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The queen shewed her esteem for these Netherlanders by her great concern for William, prince of Orange, barbarously murdered in July this year; and gave a remarkable sign thereof after she heard of his death. He was the great general for those states in their defence against the king of Spain. The murderer was one Balthazar Gerard, a Burgoindian, by a pistol discharged at him in his own hall, at Delpht: encouraged thereto by that king; who had given sentence of death against him, some two or three years before, and given liberty to any to kill him, wheresoever they could meet with him, and withal encouraged them to do it with the reward of 25000 ducats. This bloody villain, meditating this murder, had been with a Jesuit at Treves: to whom he confessed himself, discovering to him his wretched design. Who kept him in their college, taking the Jesuit's counsel and direction, as this villain did confess boldly. The prince of Orange was not unsensible of the daily danger he went in; and being apprehensive of falling under some such treachery, had before acquainted queen Elizabeth therewith: and prayed her, that upon any such sudden decease of his, she would take some care of his daughters; whereof one was god-daughter to her majesty. Not long after this sad news came to the queen, she remembered the prince's request, and (as it is likely) her own promise to him; which caused her to despatch a letter in French, dated in October, signed by herself at the bottom, to the duke Monpensier, to this purport.

The prince of Orange murdered.

The queen's concern for it.

General History of the Netherlands, p. 854.

"That the prince of Orange, foreseeing the imminent
"danger that he was always subject to, by the secret me-
"thods and snares laid for him by his enemies, had instantly
"prayed her to have his daughters recommended to her;

The queen's letter concerning his daughters, one whereof she was godmother to.

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" and to take them under her protection, if he should chance " to leave them fatherless. Reposing himself (as by good " right he might do) under her favour and affection; which " she had borne towards him at all times. And that she had " advice after this unfortunate accident concerning a pro- " mise of hers to that purpose." And then the queen proposed and appointed the disposing of the young princesses, his daughters, to divers protestant princes, as follows. The eldest daughter, whose name is not inserted, to madam, the princess of Bierne, her kinswoman; where she could not but be brought up virtuously. The second, who was [*nostre filleule*] the queen's god-daughter, the queen would take. Brabantim, the third, she commended to the duchess of Bouillon, sister to the duke of Monpensier, to be bred up with mademoiselle, her daughter. Amolyne, to the elector palatine. Katherine, to the countess of Swartzenburgh; *leur marraine.* Lastly, Flandrine: whom the queen recommended long ago to la dame du Paracly. And so exhorting the duke, to whom she wrote, to take particular care of these young princesses, to whom he was so nearly related on the mother's side. But the whole letter, in French, as it came from the queen, I refer to the Appendix; where it deserves to have a place.

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Num. XXXVII.

Lord treasurer writes to the king of Navar.

And as the queen wrote a letter this year to the duke of Monpensier, a French protestant prince, so the great lord treasurer Burghley now wrote his to another, viz. the king of Navarr. Such was the good understanding and great friendship between this court and the protestant princes of France. That king had enough to do to preserve himself and his kingdom, and to defend the religion against the *leaguers*, viz. the duke of Guise and his party, sworn enemies to the *reformed.* He had writ often to this privy-counsellor upon business; highly commending his zeal for religion, as well as service to his mistress, the queen. Which letters he did not think convenient to answer, as looking like a piece of presumption. But Weemes, a Scotch gentleman, and servant of that king, departing hence to that court, and earnestly desiring a letter from this lord to that king, he at

length yielded to do. The letter may not be amiss to insert, to preserve as much as may be of the memory of that worthy king, as of that wise statesman who writ it. Which I transcribe from the minutes writ with his own pen. Anno 1584.

His letter.

" Sir, I have received sundry letters of your majesty di-
" vers times: wherein I confess myself greatly beholden
" unto your majesty for the good opinion expressed therein,
" of me and my actions for the cause of the gospel, more
" largely than my power can deserve, though my will, ac-
" cording to my bounden duty, is not less than your ma-
" jesty is pleased to express. And though I have not used
" to write to your majesty again in answer of your majes-
" ty's letters, (which I have forborne, as judging it some
" kind of presumption to trouble your majesty with my
" writings, where my answer was not needful,) yet at this
" time, the tender of a gentleman of Scotland, named Mr.
" Weemes, now belonging unto your majesty, hath very
" earnestly required me for his discharge, to certify you,
" that he brought to me your letters. Which in truth he
" did; and being a gentleman worthy of great commenda-
" tion, I could not deny him so reasonable a request. Which
" is the cause of my present writing. Praying your majesty
" to accept the same, as from an humble devoted servitor of
" your majesty. Not so much for your kingdom, which I
" do honour greatly, but for your magnanimity and con-
" stancy in the maintenance of the true religion of Christ.
" Wherein I pray God to assist you with his graces, to the
" confusion of Antichrist and of his members."

The queen kept always a fair correspondence with the foreign princes of the protestant profession. And both she and her great counsellor, the lord treasurer, shewed all respect to them. And so she did particularly to prince palatine of the Rhine; who, with his brother, duke Casimire, came about this time into England. The humanity and honour shewed them here, their agent Wierus (of whom mention was made before) acknowledged in a letter of high esteem and gratitude to the said lord treasurer, wrote in September, after the return of those princes: importing,

Prince palatine and his brother visit the queen.

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"That he had been chief instrument to them both, of taking their journey into England: where they had received exceeding satisfaction for the treatment they found, both from the queen and him." Wherein the agent added, "That he was bound to him for ever; and was ready to "serve him." He called that prince, George Gustavus, palatine of Rhine, duke of Bavaria, count Veldent, &c. and he took notice how that lord gave his brother, who was *præfectus*, chief officer, to the said prince palatine, the testimony of his hand and seal; which he had asked of him.

The queen of Scots writes to the lord treasurer.

The lord treasurer had the honour now to receive a letter from Mary, queen of Scots, dated from Sheffield, where she was in custody of the earl of Shrewsbury. For this year an earnest treaty was in hand betwixt her and queen Elizabeth, for her liberty: with whom she, the said queen Mary, professing to enter into a strict amity; and queen Elizabeth being inclinable to release her. But the wise men about her knew there could be no security in such an act. In the mean time the French ambassador was much employed in this affair. And to move the queen towards her, she now wrote herself an earnest letter to him, the said lord treasurer, in French, desiring him to second Mauvesier, the said French ambassador, on her behalf: beginning, *Monsieur, le grand thésaurier. Ayant écrit ces jours passés à la royne ma dame, ma bonne sœur*, &c. The import whereof was, "That she had lately written to my lady, the queen, "her good sister, to declare the sincerity of her intention "towards her, and the great necessity which she had of her "majesty's granting her requests, she thought fit by the "same messenger to pray him to be favourable in this affair, &c. and that she had prayed Mauvesier, the ambassador of the French king, her cousin, to communicate all "to him; and beseeching his aid and support towards her "said sister; and to have regard to her long captivity, and "to the truth of all that they would propound concerning "her," &c. But the whole letter, as I transcribed it from the original, I have thought worthy of a place in the Appendix.

Number XXXVIII.

I must not omit, among the public occurrences this year,

A scandal of the earl of Shrewsbury.

an information that was brought before the lords, of a vile report raised of the earl of Shrewsbury, viz. that he had a child by the queen. The scandal was so great and enormous, that it was brought from thence to the quarter sessions; that the party that related it might come to some due signal punishment. One of the seat of the justices for London and Westminster was sergeant Fleetwood, recorder of the city of London. The complaint beforesaid take from his own pen, written to the lord treasurer, according as his custom was, to give him in writing an account of such proceedings in their sessions. It was by way of diary, about Michaelmas, when the said Fleetwood and other justices sate upon the general sessions in Westminster-hall, for Middlesex; and the next day at Finsbury. "At this session, one Cople "and one Baldwyn, my lord of Shrewsbury's gentlemen, "required me [viz. Fleetwood] that they might be suffered "to indict one Walmesly, of Islyngton, an innholder, for "scandalization of my lord their master. They shewed me "two papers. The first was under the clerk of the council's 217
"hand, of my lord's purgation: in the which your good "lordship's speeches are especially set down. The second "paper was the examinations of divers witnesses, taken by "Mr. Harris. The effect of all which was, that Walmesley "should tell his guests openly at the table, that the earl of "Shrewsbury had got the queen with child; and that he "knew where the child was christened. And it was alleged, "that he should further add, that my lord should never go "home again, with like words. An indictment was drawn "by the clerk of the peace. The which I thought not good "to have published, or that the evidence should be given "openly. And therefore I caused the jury to go to a cham-"ber; where I was, and heard the evidence given.

Dr. Meredith Hanmer.

"Among whom, (added the recorder,) one Meredith Han-"mer, a doctor of divinity and vicar of Islyngton, was a "witness; who had dealt as lewdly towards my lord in "speeches, as did the other, viz. Walmesley. This doctor "regardeth not an oath. Surely he is a very bad man. But "in the end the indictment was endorsed, *Billa vera*."

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Many papists employed in plots.

The popish party was very busy here unto this year; and now more and more. Many Englishmen of that religion became bigots, and were employed in plots for the deliverance of the Scots queen, though it were with the assassination of their natural queen Elizabeth: acted and encouraged also by foreign princes too. Such were Throgmorton, lord Paget, his brother Charles, under the name of Mope, lord Arundel, and, among the rest, the false Welshman, Parry: and besides, a great many priests and seminaries had been discovered, and taken up; and remained now in divers prisons; as, the Marshalsea, the King's Bench, the Gatehouse, in London and Westminster: besides other prisons of the kingdom, as Manchester and Wisbich: whom yet the queen would not put to death, (as many had been already for examples,) but now chose rather to rid the land of them, and banish them.

De Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador here, was a great and busy instrument in these mischievous designs. So he was discharged and sent away: but remained in France, following his practices there against England. The duke of Guise and his party were sworn in an inveterate league against the reformed religion in general; and particularly against the queen. This dangerous condition wherein England now stood, especially, if the queen were taken away, caused an *association;* which this year all the well affected in the kingdom voluntarily entered into: the purport whereof was, by mutual vows and subscriptions to prosecute to death, as far as lay in their power, all those that should attempt any thing against the queen. These matters I leave to our historians to relate; I shall only shew some more secret passages concerning them, from a letter of sir Edward Stafford, now ambassador resident in France, to the lord Burghley and sir Francis Walsingham, importing, "That "the lord Paget upon a great sudden was departed thence, "[viz. Paris.] And that in so great a sudden, that his com- "panions that came over with him (all deep in the Scots' 218 "queen's interest) were, or at least seemed, greatly offend- "ed at it; and all the rest that were there, saving only his

The true subjects enter into an association.

Stafford, ambassador in France, his informations of English Romanists there.

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" brother and Throgmorton, who seemed only to be ac-
" quainted with it. The rest gave out that they knew not
" of his departure, only the night before he went. Whereat
" they stomached at Charles Paget, and seemed to grow in
" a great mislike of him; calling him a *glorious fool*, and
" standing in his own conceit more than there was cause." But perhaps that lord Paget had secret orders from the French court to depart for a while, to prevent the French king's surrendering him upon the queen's request; and so after a time to return again. " But Charles Paget told them that
" his brother, the lord Paget, went to Molain to avoid
" charges: where he meant to live more privately."

Anno 1584. Lord Paget. Throgmorton.

But the ambassador (part of whose office was to trace as much as he could such dangerous persons) added this further intelligence in his said letter; " That that lord being
" gone out of town, he assured them, that between the se-
" cond and third post towards Lyons, he had a man met him
" with three horses; one that he rid on, that brought the
" other two for the lord Paget and his man. Which (as the
" ambassador added) made him suspect that he had taken
" some other course. For giving out, that he went post, he
" went but two posts and an half. And from thence return-
" ed back his post horses, and took those horses that stayed
" there for him." And then subjoining his conjecture: " That
" he might perhaps have some such disguised matter, that
" his brother had under the name of Mope, when he came
" secretly into England," [and in Sussex waited for the duke of Guise, who was to land there upon his intended invasion.] " This he thought good in time to advertise their ho-
" nours of. And that ere long he should learn more of him;
" and with time advertise them what he knew."

His intelligence of the lord Paget.

In the same letter he let his correspondents understand,
" That there was, as he heard, a book new printed, and very
" secretly kept; and delivered out by himself who was the
" doer of it. Whom the party as yet either would not or
" could not name to him. But he guessed by the matter
" and other causes, that it should be Throgmorton. Be-
" cause that it contained at large that which in substance

A book printed of the nobility and havens in England.

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" he [the ambassador] had heard was found in Throgmor-
" ton's hands, that was executed. Which contained the
" names of the noblemen, gentlemen, and men of any ac-
" count in all shires in England; with their abilities, affec-
" tions, and dispositions: the measured depths of all the ha-
" vens in England, at every kind of tide. He added, that
" he thought he should come by it, as secret soever as it was
" kept. They reported it was bigger than the answer to the
" book, called, *The execution of justice*, almost once again.
" And that it was dedicated to the pope's son."

Mendoza's unwelcome coming to France.

The ambassador proceeded next to Mendoza, and his coming to Paris from England: " That the queen-mother
" stormed marvellously at Bernardines [vid. de Mendozas]
" sending thither, [to France.] And that she had told the
" king the dangerous disposition of the man. And that both
219 " of them would fain be rid of him, if they could. But the
" ambassador's thought was, that he should remain there;
" and that they would not strive, when it came to the point,
" to refuse him whom the king of Spain sent. And that he
" was credibly informed, that yesternight, a courier came to
" him with his full despatch from the king of Spain, to stay
" there. And Tasis [who was the other ambassador] to pre-
" pare to go either to Flanders or Spain, as by the next des-
" patch he should have order."

Walsingham, the secretary, had acquainted the ambassador with the abovesaid *association* of the gentlemen of England, for the queen's safety, and for revenging of any mishap befalling her by the treachery of her enemies. Concerning which this was the ambassador's opinion: " That hav-

The English ambassador's thoughts of the association.

" ing communicated it to some there, [in Paris,] they told
" him, they would dare, what they could, to make the king
" there to take a liking to have it followed in that realm. Into
" the which they that were England's best friends in France,
" if he [Walsingham] liked of it, would be content to give
" the first example. Which he [the ambassador] thought,
" if it might be brought to pass, would divert any conceits
" that any evil-disposed people would conceive of the good
" meaning of the English nation."

And then the ambassador, to shew his good zeal for his royal mistress, the queen, humbly offered to come into the said association, if it might be accepted, with expressions of high loyalty towards her. Using these words: "I think, "and whether it will be thought a presumption in so poor a "man, without means to help much in such a matter, as I "am, to offer to enter into so good a society. Or whether "it be a thing that men of greatness and much ability only "do enter into. But I have a life and blood: which in "other places I will keep and defend as charily as any man; "but in this case nobody shall spend it with a better will, "nor more frankly than myself; nor any man that lives in "heaven shall be more irreconcileable with any that shall "have a thought to attempt it, than I. And therefore he "beseeched his honour to know, whether his good-will "might be accepted among the rest of so honourable a "company; and what order others that were not present "should ratify their meaning among the rest: and he would "not fail presently to send that which he should command "him."

The ambassador desires to come into the association.

And then concerning that French faction of the Guises, (wherein England's danger also was concerned,) he wrote thus: "That the house of the Guises, their meetings and "great assemblies of the nobility with them, had raised a "suspicion in many men's minds of some trouble: which "would be better discovered ere long. And that word was "brought him even then, that the duke of Guise had agreed "to come to the court," [which was looked upon as strange news, in respect of that fatal discord between that king, Henry III. and that duke's party, which some years after ended in the murder of them both,] "but none of the "rest: having determined never to come at all once." This was writ in November, 1584.

Fears of the house of the Guises.

Now began a new parliament in November; there having not been one in some years before. And that it might begin with all the solemnity and ancient usages of parliament, the lord treasurer, an ancient member of parliaments in former reigns, as well as this, seems to have given this particular di-

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A parliament. The lord treasurer's directions.

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rection, about regular reading of bills, which I find under his own hand, entitled, *Usage of parliaments:* and withal how conformable thereunto the said parliament began: which was as followeth.

Usage of parliaments.

"The ancient custom of parliaments hath been, that the "causes of summons of parliament have been the first day "of parliament by the lord chancellor declared. And at the "same time also notice given, that if any person had any "suits or petitions to the parliament, to be heard there; "where were certain persons selected to receive the said pe- "titions within six days following. And certain lords of "parliament, both spiritual and temporal, were also select- "ed to be the triers of those petitions. And so allowing of "them, to be heard and treated of in parliament, the same "should be received in convenient time.

"*Nota*, That the first day of parliament, on Monday the "23d of Novemb. [1584], there were openly read the names "of five receivers of petitions, for England, Ireland, Wales, "and Scotland. And ten other lords of parliament, where- "of four bishops, three earls, three barons, to hear and try "the said petitions. And so to allow or disallow the same, "so as no private petition ought to be allowed to be treated "in parliament, but such as shall be in such manner tried.

"*Item*, The custom also is, that in the common house "the speaker should first prefer to be read all bills that are "brought to him, either from the higher house of parlia- "ment, as bills there passed, or otherwise signed by the king's "own hand, or brought from the king, or his council, con- "taining matters offered to be treated on, for the king's be- "half, or for the state of the realm. And until these bills "should be read, treated, and debated, the speaker ought "not to spend the time in reading of any other bills. Where- "by neither the public causes, for the which the parliament "was called, nor such others as should be sent from the king "and his council, should be delayed." The reason of which instruction for this parliament, given by that wise statesman, seems to be, to put some stop to those divers petitions, bills, and complaints, which were then earnestly brought in chiefly

by the puritan party against the clergy, their pluralities, non-residences, and insufficiency. Into which matters of controversy some considerable light is let in, by what is writ in the Life of Archbishop Whitgift, under this year. Anno 1584. Book iii. chap. 10.

To which I add, that in the parliament two years after, among the petitions of this sort, was one or more brought in for the redressing of the people's want of able ministers in the nation, (many defects in the clergy being mightily complained of;) and for more constant preaching of the gospel, and residence of the respective incumbents; to be ready to perform spiritual offices among them, especially preaching. A petition to the parliament for want of able ministers.

There was one petition also brought in for a learned minis- 221
try, entitled, *A lamentable complaint of the commonalty*, by way of supplication to the high court of parliament; which, it seems, had been brought in once before; and now reviewed and augmented. It began, "In most humble manner "that we may, most gracious sovereign, and right honour- "able assembly, we fall down at your feet, even in the dust, "presenting before you a most weighty petition. It is not "unlike that petition that Hester made to king Assuerus, "saying, *If I have found favour in thy sight, and it seem "good unto the king, let my life be given me at my petition, "and my people at my request. For we are sold, I and my "people, to be destroyed, to be slain, and to perish.* And "when the king demanded, who had done that deed, the "queen answered, That wicked Haman. In likewise, so "many congregations of us to be in this land destitute of a "godly minister, to preach unto us the word of salvation, "(as there be exceeding many,) do entreat for our lives, "and the life of our neighbours. For we are sold to be "destroyed, to be slain, and perish eternally, if, by your "gracious help, speedy remedy be not had. If question be "made, who hath done the deed, we answer, The blind "guides and unlearned curates that are set over us." This is enough to shew the strain of the composers of this Supplication. A lamentable Complaint. Vid. Part of a Regist. p. 201.

This petition was answered in a speech in the parliament, anno 1586, by a person unknown, perhaps sir Chr. Hatton.

BOOK I.

Anno 1584. A Supplication to the Queen, Council, and Parliament.

But before this, there was a notable supplicatory book prepared, styled, *A supplication, to be exhibited to our sovereign lady, queen Elizabeth, to the honourable lords of her most honourable privy-council, and to the high court of parliament.* By what is written on the back-side of this Supplication, by the pen of the lord treasurer, it appears to have been drawn up by Tho. Sampson, viz. *Mr. Sampson's book to the parliament.* See two letters of his to that lord on that occasion in the Life of Archbishop Whitgift, under this year: the articles of the petition, by him framed in the said book, for a regulation in the church, are to the number of thirty-four: " And all professed to be for the help of the " poor untaught people of this realm, and for the reforming " of some other disorders. As, first, That there might be " a review taken of all the market-towns, and other towns " of most inhabitants, to see what able preaching pastor is " now resident among them, and in every of them. And " also to know what sufficiency of living there was then " provided in them. Secondly, That there might be consi- " deration had of other little towns and parishes; that there " might, by some union of two or three parishes together, " be made sufficient congregations. Thirdly, That if in this " view there were found a want of able persons, fit to sup- " ply the office of preaching pastors in every congregation, " this want might be helped by some certain ways, there set " down. Fourthly, That every dean and chapter of every " cathedral and collegiate church, that did pay yearly wages " to singing men and choristers, and musicians in their " churches, to pay the same in yearly pensions to such pas- " tors as were resident on their benefices, which should be
222 " found to want sufficient sustentation of living. That all " archbishops and bishops should have assigned and ap- " pointed to them, eight, ten, twelve, or more preaching " pastor, doctors, and deacons, together with other grave " and godly men of worship, or justices of the peace; to be " assistant to them in their government in causes ecclesiasti- " cal: which at present those archbishops and bishops, with " their chancellors and archdeacons, did hear and determine

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" alone. And that so likewise every pastor should have ap- CHAP.
" pointed him four or six associates and *seniors*, inhabitants XVIII.
" of the parish, to and with the said pastor; to govern the Anno 1584.
" said parish with him. Since all parishes and pastors had
" need of the help of a godly *seignorie*. A *holy league* with
" the living God was also propounded to be entered into,
" both by prince and people: that the religion of Christ Je-
" sus might remain stable among us. And thereby to give
" open defiance to Rome." The rest would be too long to insert here. But the whole thirty-four articles may be read in the Appendix. Out of which (it may be) the commons Number XXXIX.
drew up their petitions, reducing them to the number of
sixteen; offered to the consideration of the lords; as they
are set down in D'Ewes' Journal of Parliaments, but very Page 357.
imperfectly. Which were all considered and answered by the archbishop of Canterbury and other bishops. But they were thereby, and by the queen's command, quickened to a reformation of some things amiss; as may be seen in that archbishop's Life.

But I will set down Sampson's prefatory supplication to the petitions aforesaid: entitled, *A supplication made in the name of certain true subjects; to be in most humble wise presented to our sovereign lady, queen Elizabeth, to the lords of her most honourable privy-council, and to the high court of parliament.*

" In most humble wise complaining; we, which are Supplication to be presented to the parliament for learned preaching ministers.
" thousands of the poor untaught people of England, your
" true subjects, most gracious sovereign lady and queen,
" and daily orators to the majesty of God for your high-
" ness, do shew to your clemency; and to your honours also,
" you, honourable lords of her most honourable privy-coun-
" cil; and to you, ye honourable and worshipful, you lords,
" bishops, knights, esquires, burgesses of the high court of
" parliament;

" That where, in this blessed time of this most happy
" government, there is and hath been now many years a
" blessed liberty given to preach and hear the gospel of Je-
" sus Christ, the word of our salvation, in peace and safety

BOOK I. Anno 1584.

"among us; a thing which our forefathers might desire, "but did not enjoy in such sort as we do; a thing also, to "which few of our neighbours in other dominions at this "day can attain; and a thing, for which we acknowledge "ourselves all manner of ways most dutifully bounden "to the goodness of God, and to our most gracious sove- "reign lady and queen. Yet so it is, that we, your said "suppliants, in this great plenty, are sore pinched with a "great scarcity. For so it is, most gracious sovereign, and "honourable lords, that in very many of our congregations "we have none who do break the bread of life unto us; we
223 "have none that do diligently teach us the holy word of "God; as by God's law we know, and as by your godly "laws we do think, we ought to have; nor, as we do see, "some of our neighbours have under your gracious protec- "tion. We have not the comfortable preaching of the king- "dom of God, joined with the ministry of the sacraments of "Christ, in our congregations and parishes among our own, "where we do dwell. And therefore some of us are driven "to seek for the same from our own, in other congregations "and parishes, where we do not dwell. We have not vigi- "lant, able, and painful preaching pastors resident among "us, to teach us by preaching the word of God; and by "catechising, to instruct us and our families in the way of "the Lord. We have some pastors which have a kind of "calling to the pastoral office: but many of them be not "resident on their benefices. Some of them are licensed to "be double, if not treble beneficed men. Some of them are "occupied in other affairs, which they do apply. So that "they neither can, nor do they the office required of a dili- "gent preaching pastor, resident on his flock.

Bishops. "If our bishops heretofore had, or yet did provide a re- "medy fit for this grief, we would not have made this com- "plaint now: but our bishops are so far from giving a meet "remedy for these our griefs, that they do rather daily in- "crease them: for these be some of them which do daily "make numbers of ministers or priests (as they be called) "which are so dumb, that they neither can do nor will

" speak any thing in the congregation, where they be resi-
" dent, more than they are compelled to read out of a print-
" ed book. With which reading, and some other conformity,
" (as it is termed,) our bishops and their officers, contenting
" themselves sufficiently, do give us simple readers, not skill-
" ed, nor sufficiently preaching pastors. The Lord hath not
" given to these men, of whom we do complain, the tongue
" of which the prophet doth speak, when he speaketh of
" profitable preachers, thus, *The Lord hath given me a* Isaiah l.
" *tongue of the learned, that I should know to minister a*
" *word in time to him that is weary.* Though they be such
" men as do want the gift, yet they do boldly seek to have
" the place of a teacher, though they cannot teach. Seeing
" pastors are commanded to feed the flock of the Lord, it
" may be thought to be a very presumptuous and preposte-
" rous thing, to ordain such men to be pastors as cannot
" feed it dutifully: and yet our bishops dare boldly confer
" that to them which they do blindly seek.

" The pastors which the Lord doth like and allow to be
" the pastors of his people, are such as do feed his people
" with *knowledge and understanding.* Our Lord and Sa- Jerem. iii.
" viour Jesus did send forth his apostles to preach the gospel. 15.
" The pastors which are to be allowed by the rule of the
" holy apostle Paul must be *able to persuade by sound*
" *doctrine, and to convince the gainsayers; must be apt to*
" *teach, and able rightly to divide the word of God.* Paul
" commandeth Timothy *to be instant in time and out of*
" *time.* Which things they regard not, which do give their
" people but bare readings, and appoint them to hear but
" quarter sermons. To be thus able to teach, and to do it,
" is more than to be a simple teacher: and is much more
" than our reading ministers do, or can do. If men contend 224
" to set up a reading ministry in place of preaching, they do Readers.
" not regard how the Lord hath ordained a preaching mi-
" nistry for the profitable edifying of his church. And so
" they do dangerously depart from the ordinance of the
" Lord Jesus Christ, and do draw very nigh to the abuse of
" Antichrist; who is content to feed his own church with

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" such a dumb and unprofitable ministry as serveth in read-
" ing or singing, and that in a strange tongue most unpro-
" fitably.

" The persons among us, which are unable to teach, do
" both satisfy themselves and some such officers as have rule
" over them with a simple reading of that which is prescrib-
" ed to them; though a number of them do read in no bet-
" ter sort, than some young scholars could do, which were
" newly taken out of some English school. Truly, this their
" reading is so rude in some places among us, that they
" seem themselves scarce to understand that which they do
" read. We know and confess that public and solemn read-
" ing of God's law is commanded. The best practice of
" which is set forth in the book of Nehemiah. Where it is
Nehem. viii. 8. " said, *The Levites did read in the book of the law of God*
" *distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to under-*
" *stand the reading.* If we heard this kind of reading at
" the mouths of our ministers, we neither would nor could
" complain of their unprofitable reading, as now we do.

" We might increase this our complaint with shewing this
" grief also; that whereas, by God's grace, there are in some
" places good teachers among us, (which are in number,
" and in comparison of them which do occupy the teaching
" place, and yet are no teachers at all, but very few,) these
" few do receive great discouragement and discredit: yea,
" and some of them are displaced, not because they do not
" teach us painfully and truly, but for an old continued
Teachers nonconformable. " quarrel of *conformity* in such ceremonies as men have de-
" vised; which have not in them any power to edify us.
" We do most humbly beseech your highness and honours,
Rom. xiii. " to call to your good remembrance, that *they which do well*
" *should receive praise and comfort of the powers which do*
" *bear the sword of God.* And we do humbly beseech you
" likewise to understand, that this hard handling of our
" good pastors doth cast us into hard distresses. And also
" that it may please you to receive information of our own
" poor estate herein; of us, who do feel the sore and smart
Deprived. " hereof. For when our bishops do deprive our preaching

" pastors of their livings, and do stop their mouths, so that " they cannot teach us the will of the Lord God Almighty, " they take upon them to do that for which they shall give " an account to the Lord God; whose ministers they do " forbid to serve his divine Majesty. And while they think " hereby to punish our good pastors, they do indeed stick " us with a dart of death. For they take from us the bread " of life, and leave us destitute of instruction and comfort " in God. And we do humbly beseech the Lord God to " judge this cause at his good pleasure. Bishops.

" Verily we have great need of such pastors as will, can, " and do painfully and truly teach us the way of the Lord. Ceremonies. " We have no need at all of such idle ceremonies as do not " edify us in true godliness. And it is very requisite that " the godly rulers take heed how they do burden the church 225 " of Christ with the things that are called *indifferent.* For " in continuance of time, they may grow to be intolerable " burdens to it. For things indifferent pressed upon the " church by the authority of man, do oftentimes breed much " hurt. We have by experience proved, that such cold ce- " remonies in the church do weaken the power of the doc- " trine of the cross of Christ. Because in them is neither " life nor spirit. The observing of such dead and unprofita- " ble ceremonies is no piece of that sacrifice which is made " of man to God by the preaching of the gospel. Of which " the apostle speaketh in his epistle to the Romans. To Rom. xv. " take preachings from us, and to give us, instead thereof, a " bare reading, furnished with a sort of idle and unprofita- " ble ceremonies, is to take from us the bread of life, which " God hath prepared for us; and to feed us after the device " of man, with an unprofitable hearing and looking. We " call it *unprofitable;* because our dulness is not thereby " quickened, our minds stirred up to attain unto the under- " standing of the mind of God, nor to embrace that which " is contained in his word. It is our great grief to have our " comfortable and profitable preaching pastors taken from " us for such unprofitable ceremonies. By this kind of dis- " couraging of the good labourers, we, which are simple peo-

BOOK I. "ple, are greatly hindered, and cast back in the way of the "Lord.

Anno 1584. "We might likewise in complaining shew, how that some "of ourselves, in whom God, by his grace, hath wrought a "hunger to hear his word, and do offer ourselves to seek it "in such places where it is to be heard; and do labour "quietly [to resort] to those congregations, where the "preaching of the word is comfortably joined with the mi-"nistry of the sacraments, to be partakers of the same;

Some molested; and why. "we are for this our doing molested and troubled by our "idol shepherds, and such officers as do favour them: as "though it grieved them, that we should be taught at the "hand of any other man than at theirs, which neither can, "will, nor do teach us at all; and as though they would "have our hungry souls contented with their dumb and "unprofitable ministry. By these, and the like to these, "occasion is given now to renew that old complaint of him "that said, *Multi sacerdotes, pauci sacerdotes; multi no-"mine, pauci opere.* To which kind of pastors, in title "only, and not in work, we think that the things which "God speaketh by his prophet may be applied; where he

Jer. x. 21. "saith, *The pastors are become beasts, and have not sought "the Lord: therefore have they none understanding; and*

Pastors described. "*all the flocks of their pastures are scattered.* We fear "that some of our men, which are called to receive the "charge of a church, do think more, that they are called to "receive the commodity of a house, glebe lands, tithes, and "of their Easter book, than to take the care and charge of "souls. Such pastors we have. We do neither envy nor "deny to pay that which is due to them, but we desire that "they may be commanded to give to us our due; which "now in their idleness and worldliness they do withhold "from us. And if the true Christian discipline ecclesiasti-"cal did bear such just and right dominion in this church of "England as it ought to do, and we humbly desire that it "may do, then pastors would do the duty of good pastors,

226 "and we, the people, should be by our pastors fed by the "word of God in understanding and godliness; which now

" we do want. But we mind not to trouble your noble ho-
" nours with so long an enumeration of our griefs, as we
" might make justly in this behalf.

" The truth of these our griefs touched, or others by us Visitors.
" not touched, if it please you, be made fully known to you
" by the relations of some such godly visitors, as may take
" a view and trial of these causes: it shall suffice us at this
" time to have declared thus much to your honours, that *we*
" *are as sheep scattered without a shepherd;* on whom the Matth. ix.
" Lord Jesus did take pity. We are left without teaching
" in these abundant days of teaching. They on whom we
" do complain do feed themselves, but we do famish. They The pastors
" will be in place of our pastors, but they do bereave us of charged.
" the fruit of the pastoral office. This they do, and this
" they suffer, to the great dishonour of God, to our great
" discomfort, and to the no small danger of the loss of our
" souls. Remember, you noble and honourable, we do
" humbly beseech you, that the loss but of one soul cannot
" but be straitly required by the living God, in that dread-
" ful day of account at their hands, to whose government
" his divine Majesty hath committed us.

" We do now complain of the danger of the loss of our
" souls and of our salvation, through this want of teach-
" ing which we now do suffer. There are whole thousands Thousands
" of us left untaught; yea, by trial, it will be found, that untaught.
" there are in England whole thousands of parishes desti-
" tute of this necessary help to salvation; that is, of dili-
" gent preaching and teaching. Salvation is promised to
" them only which do believe; but *we cannot believe on* Rom. x.
" *him of whom we do not hear; we cannot hear without a*
" *preacher;* as the apostle doth say. It is preaching, and
" not simply reading, that is required for having of faith.
" The reader may himself read without understanding, as Acts viii.
" the eunuch did: and likewise may the hearer hear the
" thing read, and not understand it. That eunuch had not
" full faith wrought in him, but by hearing Philip's preach-
" ing to him, and opening to him the meaning of the scrip-
" ture, which he had read before: for then the Holy Ghost

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" did work faith in his heart. So when in preaching, the " holy scripture is so well handled, that it is both truly " opened, and also applied fitly to the minds and under- " standings of the hearers, then doth the Spirit of God " teach the hearts of the hearers to understand; and doth " work that faith in them by it: which is the understanding " of life and salvation. We must hear and understand, " before we receive and retain the seed of life, to bring " forth the fruits of it. Neither can we understand it, un- " less we be rightly taught, both what it is, and how it is to " be understood of us.

Want of preaching.

" So of this want of preaching we do complain. This " penury of preaching breedeth in us a penury of faith; " which doth both greatly pinch us, and put us in danger. " It doth also constrain us at this time to make this our " humble complaint.

" In tender consideration whereof, and for redress of " these griefs, and of some other things which do need re- " formation, we do most humbly beseech your highness, our
227 " most gracious sovereign lady and queen, your lordships, " our most honourable good lords of her majesty's privy- " council, and your wisdoms, which are of the high court " of parliament, not only graciously to consider of the pre- " mises, but also of these our humble petitions hereunto " annexed, and now following: which we do humbly pre- " sent to your godly wisdoms; not as prescribers of that " which is to be done by you, but as most humble suitors, " most humbly beseeching you to be moved by your own " good consideration of the things which we do desire in " them, yourselves to think on; to devise and establish " some such remedy for our miseries, and the disorders " which do hinder godly order among us, as to your godly " wisdoms shall be thought good and necessary. And we " shall pray God, our heavenly Father, even in the name " of Jesus Christ, both to pardon all former faults and " negligences, and to work in your hearts the right and full " understanding and care of true godliness, which is to be " had.

"We do confess, that when God did first call you to "take the affairs of the church in hand, you did find in it "many ruins and great gaps. He hath directed you by "his grace to do much good, to the repairing of the same; "we do humbly praise him for it. And even so we pray "him still to lead you by his principal Spirit to do all that "which remaineth, and is yet to be done in the business of "his holy Majesty: that you may bestow yourselves, and "the power which he hath given to you, wholly in his ser- "vice. And that both you may govern us, and we obey "you, according to his blessed will, thoroughly." The petitions that are said to follow are set in the Appendix.

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Which remain to be done.

Numb. XXXIX.

But as for the petition consisting of sixteen articles brought into the house of parliament, for reformation or alteration of the customs and practices of the church established, and sent up to the house of lords, they are set down elsewhere at large; with the answers to them by both the archbishops, and also by Cowper, bishop of Winton. But besides, I meet with another answer, at good length, to those sixteen petitions, given in by the bishops in general; and seem to have been done at their convocation: which having not as yet seen the light, I cannot omit to insert this manuscript, being an important matter of the history of our church at that time, when there was such a joint endeavour of many, eager for another discipline to be brought in, and the former, with the public prayers and offices, to be laid aside. First, the articles are set down, and then the answers of the bishops to each article distinctly follow. But this paper being somewhat large, I refer the reader to the Appendix, where I have exemplified it. N°. XL.

Life of Archbishop Whitgift, book iii. ch. 10.

Answer of the bishops to the 16 articles.

As the year before [viz. 1583] the bishop of London visited his clergy at St. Paul's, Dr. Walker preaching before them, and then all the ministers subscribed anew to the two books; [that is, I suppose, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Thirty-nine Articles;] so now this year there was another call of the city clergy again, to elect clerks for the convocation. When also a general subscription was made to the queen's supremacy. And certain Scotch ministers,

A call of the clergy at St. Paul's.

BOOK I. exiled out of Scotland, were forbidden to preach, except they had lawful licences thereunto. There was also then a
Anno 1584. call to relieve a bishop's widow of Ireland, who was there
228 killed; and likewise to gather money, to redeem one Mr. Rogers, a captive in the duke of Parma's hands. This, I suppose, was Daniel Rogers, that transacted the queen's business in Flanders.

CHAP. XIX.

A convocation. Articuli pro clero. *The archbishop's cares. Comforted by sir Christopher Hatton. James Diggs, ordinary servant to the archbishop. Dr. Drurie's advices to him about a* Melius inquirendum. *Dr. Howland made bishop of Peterborough. The bishop of Lincoln's Admonition. A book called The Abstract, for bringing in another discipline: answered. The Counterpoison. Dr. Copcot's sermon at Paul's Cross. A brotherly and friendly counsel to the ministers for peace and concord.*

A convocation. A CONVOCATION now sat, November 24: of which synods and meetings of the bishops and clergy there was a great use under queen Elizabeth; both for the maintaining of themselves and their privileges, and providing for religion and regulating abuses, and offering good bills to the parliament; as they used to be full of business in various and sundry such like matters.

Articuli pro clero. In this convocation the *articuli pro clero* were framed by the archbishop, bishops, and the rest of the clergy of the province of Canterbury, and established by the queen, and approved and confirmed by royal authority. These articles, in Latin, may be found in the Collection of articles, injunctions, canons, &c. collected by bishop Sparrow. Which articles were digested under these heads. I. That fit men be admitted to holy orders and ecclesiastical benefices. II. For the moderating the solemn commutation of penance. III. Concerning moderating certain indulgences for the celebra-

tion of matrimony, without thriee denouncing the banns. IV. Concerning restraining or reforming some excesses about excommunication. V. Concerning the pluralities of benefices. VI. Of fees due to ecclesiastical offieers, and their servants. Lastly, Concerning inquiries to be made by bishops. The making of which articles were no doubt occasioned by the bills put up this parliament for the reformation of many ecclesiastical abuses complained of.

The original of these articles I have seen among the lord treasurer Burghley's papers. Out of which I must note some lines, which are not in the printed articles, as we have them in bishop Sparrow's Collection; where, immediately after line the 10th, this paragraph follows: *Quod si patronus quispiam clericum aliquem ad beneficium aliquod præsentaverit, qui prædictis qualitatibus non fuerit imbutus, licebit etiam episcopo ejusmodi præsentatum rejicere; nec brevi illo de* Quare impedit, *nec ulla alia ratione cogetur eundem instituere, aut eadem causa ullum legis periculum subire.* But this indeed had a × set against it. But I find also the same period in the same book of articles in English without any × there.

Sparr. Collect. p. 194.

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Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, was aware of these bills and petitions that were preparing by the innovators, and their outcries against the state of the clergy, and against non-residences, pluralities, &c. Nor was his diligence wanting to provide answers, where complaints were ungrounded, and redress where need was. And in this weighty business he had the encouragement and cordial friendship of sir Christopher Hatton, vice-chamberlain to the queen, and one of her privy-council; who had sent to the archbishop a paper of notes containing, as it seems, the sum of those petitions for reformation that were to be brought into the parliament house, now ere long to sit; that so the archbishop might the better understand the import of them, and get replies ready upon occasion. The archbishop made use of Mr. Bancroft, his faithful chaplain, as his messenger to sir Christopher. From whom he repaired back with his advice and comfort; which was seasonable to the archbishop

The archbishop's cares and concerns for the clergy.

BOOK I. in this troublesome interval. And that the said knight might be certified hereof, he forthwith gave some instruc-
Anno 1584. tions to the said Bancroft to signify as much to him; which he accordingly did by his letter, viz.

Bancroft's letter. "That he had been with his grace, as his [Mr. Vice-"chamberlain's] pleasure was, and had returned his notes "according to his commandment." And then proceeding in these words concerning the archbishop; "Your most ho-"nourable friendship, (as I was willed to signify,) by me in "your name imparted, is and shall be his grace's continual "comfort: I am persuaded he never received message more "to his good liking.

"My lord's grace commanded me to make thus bold "with your honour by a postscript. He certifieth you, "that he is very glad the notes do prove so frivolous. And "touching the other which were moved the last parliament, "your honour shall have the answers unto them, with their "inconveniences, before the beginning of the parliament "next. They had been sent now, but that they could not "be written out so speedily. And thus by my hearty "prayer unto the Lord for your honour, committing to his "most sacred protection, in all humility I take my leave.
"From Lambeth, the 6th of November, 1584.

"Your honour's most bounden and dutiful chaplain,
"Richard Bancroft."

This Bancroft was he who was afterwards bishop of London, and succeeded Whitgift in the archbishopric; and recommended this year by the archbishop for the deanery of
230 Gloucester, now void. He wrote a book, called, *A survey of the pretended holy discipline*, and other books against the puritans. And how cordial a friend sir Christopher Hatton was to the archbishop, and the cause of the church in this parliamentary controversy, may be seen in that arch-
P. 224. bishop's Life, printed anno 1718. And there is a notable speech of his in parliament concerning this affair, preserved in D'Ewes' Journal.

These particulars, before set down in this and the former

chapter, concerning this earnest endeavour of reformation of supposed defects in the established church, will serve as a further addition to what hath already been related of it in archbishop Whitgift's Life. Anno 1584. Book iii. ch. 10, 11.

A passage or two more concerning this archbishop, happening this year, follows. Upon an occasion offered to one of his servants, he vindicated an ancient privilege of such as were advanced to the see of Canterbury. The occasion was this: James Diggs, one of his gentlemen in ordinary, was, since the present parliament began to sit, committed to the Fleet upon a *Reddit se* in the exchequer. But upon the motion of the said archbishop, claiming the ancient privilege of this high court, the lords gave commandment to the gentleman usher, that the said James should be brought before them: and the lords openly hearing sir Roger Manwood, lord chief baron of the exchequer, in this cause, and the same James Diggs, ordered him, by virtue of the privilege of the court, to be enlarged and set at liberty. And further ordered, that the appearance of the said J. D. by rendering himself into the exchequer, was and should be a sufficient discharge of his sureties and their bonds; and that the bonds should be redelivered. A servant of the archbishop's committed to the Fleet. D'Ewes' Journal, p. 3 4. b.

The archbishop was also now concerned about another considerable danger the clergy were in, about their revenues; which was laboured now to get them despoiled of, or greatly diminished, by a commission of *Melius inquirendum*, to be obtained from the queen. For the preventing whereof, how the archbishop used his endeavour, and what course he took, and the arguments devised to stop it, have been shewn in that archbishop's Life. To which I add a paper, since coming to my hand, containing some advices given him by Dr. Drury, a learned civilian; shewing the evil consequences of this to many of the laity, (as well as the clergy, that were chiefly hereby struck at:) those of the laity also enjoying impropriations and rectories, and other ecclesiastical rents and revenues: and what course was to be taken for the better knowledge of these things, that Dr. Drury's advices to the archbishop concerning a *Melius inquirendum*. Book iii. ch. 12. p. 212.

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on occasion might be shewed and declared to the queen, or her council, or her parliament. This curious paper was endorsed, *Dr. Drurie's notes for the church to the archbishop.* They were as follow:

"*Particulars,* for every bishop within his diocese, to be "collected, and certified unto your grace, viz.

"I. The names and numbers of all and every impro- "priation in the possession of the prince, or any layman. "The usual fines, and the rent reserved; and also the true "yearly value thereof. Whence may be gathered, whether
231 "the fine received be greater than the first-fruits, and the "rent than the tenths and subsidies. And so whether it "be greater profit for her majesty to have them restored to "the clergy, or to rest where they be: which being de- "clared to her majesty will cause restitution; or at the "least hinder the attempt of them that seek to impropriate "all, and put the clergy to single pensions. And upon "knowledge of the true value, order will be taken for a "better stipend for the curates.

"II. The names and numbers of ecclesiastical livings of "every sort, now leased to laymen, and the value and rent "reserved. And what lands in every parish discharged or "freed from payment of all or any part of tithes by pri- "vilege, composition, custom, or prescription. So it will "appear, how far the laity is entered into the livings or- "dained for the relief of the ministers, and how many "places are, by means thereof, destitute of preachers. And "forasmuch as in 21 Hen. VIII. it was enacted, that no "spiritual person should take any farm, no, not a parson- "age, nor any thing, to sell again. And further, the leases "which they then had should be merely void, unless by a "certain day they did assign them into lay hands; it is a "most equal and reasonable course, if the like act in the "next parliament be procured against leases taken or to be "taken by laymen, of any thing belonging to the clergy.

"III. A true copy of every *prohibition* for seven years "last past. Whence may be gathered the rough violence

"and absurdities therein used, and good causes to obtain "her majesty's consent for an act of parliament against "*prohibitions*.

"IV. Out of all the premises may be gathered a suffi- "cient answer to the untrue objection, that the tenth part "of the fruits of the land is possessed by the clergy. And "if it can be justified, that her majesty should have more "profit out of the ecclesiastical livings in first-fruits, tenths, "and subsidies, if they were restored, than she hath now "from the laity in fines and rents, the *Melius inquirendum*, "and every other plot to pinch the clergy, (which may "justly be suspected to be in deliberation,) will be pre- "vented and met with."

Then follow *general propositions* to be supplied with proofs by such as his grace should appoint, and other particulars to be gathered; which may be read in the Appendix. By which we may gather, what apprehensions now were of the ruin of the church to be brought to pass this parliament; and that the taking away the livings of churchmen, and the dissolution of bishopries and cathedral churches were drawing on; insomuch, that that civilian propounded it to the archbishop, as advisable that the whole state of the clergy should be exhibited in a petition to the queen, or to the whole parliament, and their case represented: and that not faintly and fearfully pursued: and that then it could not be, but that restitution of the state and persons ecclesiastical to their former dignity and estimation would follow, or at least no further depression of them. And that it was further to be considered, whether long forbearing to complain of the rough dealings with them, and concealing what difference there was between the advancement and service of the laity and the clergy, were not far more dangerous; and that it would bring all down, as hitherto it hath done by piecemeal full one half.

N°. XLI.

The dangerous state of the ecclesiastical revenues.

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This year was Richard Howland, D. D. head of St. John's college in Cambridge, made bishop of Peterborough. It was but a year before, happened the death of Dr. Latymer, dean of that church. Lord Burghley, lord treasurer,

Howland made bishop of Peterborough.

BOOK I.

Anno 1584.

who was Howland's great friend, sought to get him to succeed in that deanery; and being absent from court, wrote to Beal, clerk of the council, to move the queen for him: who answered, that she thought him worthy of a better place; and that in the mean time she would not bestow that deanery without consideration had of him. So that, as Beal sent word back again to that lord, he doubted not but that his lordship would obtain it for him. Dr. Fletcher, her chaplain, sued for it now: but she told him, that, upon a motion made by the lord treasurer, she had bestowed it upon Mr. Howland. But though he failed of it, (for Fletcher indeed had it,) the next year she preferred him to the bishopric. This bishop was sprung from a citizen of London, being the eldest son of John Howland, of London, gentleman, and Anne, the daughter of —— Greenway, of Clay, in Norfolk. This Richard was baptized the 26th of September, anno Dom. 1540. He had a younger brother named Giles; who was called Giles Howland, of Stretham, in the county of Surrey, knight. This Giles married Anna, daughter of John Hare, of London, knight. His second wife was Elizabeth, daughter of John Rivers, knight; by whom he had John Howland, of Stretham, knight, justice of peace in the same county, anno 1623, whose posterity continued. Meeting in the heralds' books with the family of so memorable a person as this bishop, I thought it not amiss to insert it.

The learned men of this church of England made it now a part of their business and study to maintain and vindicate the church as it was first reformed and established, in respect of its doctrine and government; and both those of the clergy and those of the civil law bore their parts therein: such endeavours being now made by a disaffected party, (called puritans,) to overthrow this excellent constitution, and to bring in a new. Cowper, the learned bishop of Lincoln, (afterwards of Winchester,) took pains in this behalf. And in a book which he published, called, *An admonition to the people of England*, particularly recommended a Catechism for the doctrine of this church, and an Apology for

Bishop of Lincoln's Admonition concerning the church of England.

A Catechism, and an Apology.

the reformation of it, as abundantly sufficient to establish all Christians in a cheerful submission unto, and agreement in, the worship and service observed in it. For these are his words: CHAP. XIX. Anno 1584.

"I think it very superfluous and needless to make a new "catechism, or pen a new confession of the church of "England, [which, it seems, some now endeavoured to bring "to pass,] seeing they both are so sufficiently performed, "that, without envy be it spoken, there is none better in any "reformed church in Europe. For a catechism I refer "them to that which was made by the learned and godly "man, Mr. Nowel, dean of Paul's; received and allowed "by the church of England, and very fully grounded and "established upon the word of God. There may you see 233 "all the parts of true religion received, the difficulties ex- "pounded, the truth declared, the corruptions of the church "of Rome rejected But this I like not (added the bi- "shop) in our church, that it is lawful for every man to set "forth a new catechism at his pleasure, &c. whereby it is "made a principal instrument to maintain and increase dis- "cord and dissension in the church."

And then for the Apology thus he proceeds: "For a "sound and true confession, acknowledged by this our "church, I refer them to that notable Apology of the Eng- "lish church, written not many years since by the Jewel of "England, late bishop of Salisbury; wherein they shall find "all parts of Christian religion confessed, and proved both "by the testimony of the canonical scripture, and also by "the consent of all learned and godly antiquity, for the "space of certain hundred years after Christ. For the in- "tegrity and soundness of his learning and eloquence, shew- "ed in the same Apology, they that contemn that notable "learned man, because he was a bishop, may have very "good testimony in a little epistle written by Peter Martyr "unto the said bishop, and now printed, and in the latter "edition set before the same Apology: where they shall "find, that he speaketh not for himself only, but for many The Apology.

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" other learned men of the church of Tygure, [in Helvetia,] " and other places."

Anno 1584.

Rites and ceremonies of the church, vindicated.

As for the laws, customs, and government of this church, they were very learnedly proved and maintained by some civilian, (Dr. Cosin, perhaps, or Dr. Bancroft,) taking now in hand the examination of a noted book, written by some adversaries, called, *An Abstract*, (which was a collection made out of the laws, acts of parliament, canons of the church,) in favour of the *disciplinarians;* and endeavouring to prove the deviations of the present bishops in their exercise and government.

An Abstract.

The book was called, *An abstract of certain acts of parliament, and of certain of her majesty's injunctions and canons*, &c.

Answer to the Abstract.

The answer to this Abstract (coming forth this year) was entitled, *An answer to the two first and principal treaties of a certain factious libel, put forth lately without name of author or printer, and without approbation by authority, and with the title of An Abstract*, &c. In the second page of this answer the writer hath these words:

" That surely, looking into the present time and occa-
" sion, he could not be otherwise led to think, but that this
" proctor of perverseness, being nettled that his clients
" were then, by force of her majesty's godly laws set forth,
" to be recalled back from their fantastical breaches of the
" lawful unity and uniformity of this church, (too long by
" them used, to the great animating of papists,) and that
" none of his private hot apologies for them do give any
" sufficient colour of law or equity to protect them, doth
" now think he shall be sufficiently revenged by beating
" back one nail with another, and by objecting breach of
" law also to those grave fathers, whom her majesty hath
" put in authority for reducing of others to conformity of
" her laws ecclesiastical; whose faults and oversights, (if any
234 " such be supposed,) as they are not by themselves defend-
" ed, or by others to be excused; so in Christian charity
" ought they not in this manner to be laid open, as Cham
" did his father's nakedness——to the thrusting through

" of religion by the sides of [the bishops] the ancientest, " learnedest, and most godly professors thereof. Neither " doth it become every triobolar mate thus covertly to carp, " either at her majesty's singular wisdom, who with the ad- " vice and assistance of her renowned, wise council, hath " made choice of those fathers, as having more integrity " and sufficiency, than he is willing by any means to agnize; " or at the laws of the land, by the parliament heretofore " established, &c. And so dangerous to enforce so great in- " novation, and yet so spitefully to sow seeds of dissension " among the great men of the land.

" And as to the end of writing this Abstract, the author " pretended these pains of his chiefly to have been under- " taken, that, by the better execution of these laws, many " and notable points of such controversies as had been a " long time among us might more easily and speedily, by " the same laws, be dispersed: by which controversies and " contentions about reformation of ecclesiastical discipline " and popish ceremonies, he said, the quiet and peaceable " state both of the church and commonwealth have been " shrewdly troubled and brought in hazard, &c. But, saith " the answerer, their drift was, the obtaining of sovereignty " of *seniors* in every parish. The want whereof bred these " threats of hazard to the commonwealth; and which was " the only thing they meant by reformation of ecclesiastical " discipline, and the Helena which they contended for; nay, " the popedom which they gaped after."

The scope of this book.

And again; " That the principal scope of the author of " this book [the Abstract] was covertly to bring the go- " vernors and government ecclesiastical of this church of " England into contempt, hatred, and obloquy, especially " with their prejudicate and unwary readers of it: as " though the said governors were either grossly ignorant, " or wilful breakers of laws, canons, &c. in force, touched " in that book; yet in other points ready enough to put in " ure other canons, constitutions, synodals, provincials of " like nature, which served better for their purpose. If " this were not his drift and mark whereat he aimeth, he

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" would not have set his articles of *A learned ministry by* " *law commanded*, in the vaward; and therein have spent " almost half his book. Whereby, by like, he thought " simple and affectionate readers would easily be led to ima- " gine, that the chief governors in our church matters did " hold some opinion to the contrary thereof, tending to the " upholding of ignorant ministers. Wherein let the wise " consider what injury and indignity underhand he offered " to this church, to fain that to be holden and maintained, " which is not; and by joining herein with the common " enemy, the papists, in strengthening their hands; who " also in seditious books do harp much upon the ignorance " and dissoluteness of our clergy."

To which objection of an ignorant clergy, much insisted upon, it was answered, " That howsoever some bishops per-
235 " adventure inconsiderately heretofore had laid their hands " upon some ignorant ministers, (which thing neither other " godly men nor they themselves did afterwards well like " of,) the objector's own conscience, he dared to say, was " witness unto him, that this church, and the godly go- " vernors therein, did disallow an ignorant ministry, and " did with all their hearts wish it possible, that, *rebus sic* " *stantibus*, every parish had a sufficient minister. And " that in these respects it had been more convenient for " him to have tendered another issue upon some points in " practice in our church, namely, to this or the like effect; " whether it be simply unlawful, that one should be ad- " mitted to minister the sacraments, which is not sufficiently " enabled to divide the word of God aright, ὀρθοτομεῖν, and " to correct sin, and to instruct in virtue and good life; or " else whether it be expedient, that all the parishes in Eng- " land, either not able to sustain such a learned minister, or " for the scarcity of such, so well qualified, not able to pro- " cure one such, be destitute of public prayers, and admi- " nistration of sacraments, till such a preacher be procured " unto them, or no?"

Ignorant ministers no ministers.

For to give a taste of this Abstract. In a section thereof it is handled, whether the sacraments administered by such

ignorant ministers, and other parts of the execution of the officers, incident to the function, should be accounted duly and rightly done; in effect he answered, that the actions and public execution of their function by them done, should be of none effect. For he made them to be no ministers that were ignorant and defective in some respect or other, when they were ordained by the bishop. But the author, perceiving the great inconvenience of this assertion, thus warily solved the matter: "That since no controversy "had been moved touching the validity of their calling, "state, and condition, and for common utility and a general "error's sake, therefore the things heretofore done by them "were rightly and duly done." But to this the answerer very well saith: "That since the controversy is now moved, "with the actions done by such ministers, which after this "time shall not be available and of force, what confusion "and danger this doctrine might bring to this common-"wealth, about the marriages and baptizings of infinite "numbers by such ministers; whereby, by the laws of this "land, the inheritances, dowers, and tenancies by courtesy, "do greatly depend, I leave to be weighed by deep states-"men and wise counsellors," &c. He addeth, "Where-"upon it resteth still firm and inviolable, that if we have "so many, (as he enforceth,) only pretended ministers in "this church of England, and being so in deed and truth, "then shall the actions and functions of the ministry exe-"cuted by them be of no other force, [notwithstanding "the common error which the writer of the Abstract would "excuse it by,] than if they had been done by mere laymen, "both in deed and common reputation.

Answer to the Abst. p. 169.

"Nay, by this man's platform the priests made in times "of popery, being not so much as capable of the ministry, "and the ministers ordered in the time of king Edward, "and of her majesty's reign that now is, being no ministers "indeed, because they were not chosen by the people, which 236
"the book and law required, [as that author asserted,] it "will follow, that we have no ministers, in deed and by "law, in this realm of England. For the answer shewed,

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" how it was a piece of new church model, (and quoteth " T. C.'s Reply for it,) to affirm, that not only the dignity, " but also the being of the sacrament of baptism depended " upon this, whether he were a minister, or no, that doth " minister it. And then subjoineth the consequence, viz. " that the common law of the land maketh espousals void, " to the intent of legitimation, or inheritance of the chil- " dren, where the matrimony was not celebrated by a priest " or minister; and none to be capable of any benefit of a " subject in this land which is not baptized. So that, as " he concludeth, we see, a more pestilent platform, than this " man hath laid against the particular interest of every sub- " ject in this church and commonwealth, cannot be devised " by the most seditious traitor in Rome or in Rhemes; nor " by the most stirring and tumultuous devil, if all that " were true, which he and his complices do deliver unto us, " as undoubted truths here, and elsewhere in their peremp- " tory and perilous assertions."

Answer to the Abstracter, p. 238.

In short, however this abstracter of our laws maketh use of them to countenance and favour his assertions and reprimands of our bishops and churchmen, yet in truth he had little regard or esteem for either. For thus the answerer unveileth his good-will and judgment of them, in one place of his book; where he calleth her majesty's laws, and all the ecclesiastical laws, " popish, and to be abandoned, and, " as a froth and filth, to be spewed out of the common- " weal. And that her majesty cannot gratify her capital " enemy so much, as by authorizing and practising his laws. " And it were not a dodkin matter, if all the books thereof " were laid on a heap in Smithfield, and sacrificed in the fire " to the Lord," &c.

Besides this Abstract there came forth another book of the like strain about this time, called, *The Counterpoison;* which consisted of reasons for the *eldership*. For the controversies raised by the puritans were now very hot, and divers tracts were written and dispersed by such; accusing many things in the established church, in respect of the worship and discipline of it. And the churchmen took their

opportunities to vindicate the practice and usages of it, and answer the objections made against it. And so did Dr. Copcote, master of Bene't college in Cambridge, to his auditory, in a sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross: therein taking occasion to give some answer to the aforesaid book, severely written by some of these *disciplinarians*. A part of this sermon they printed, and a *Defence*, by way of reply, of the reasons set down in the *Counterpoison*, in maintenance of the *eldership*, against a sermon made by Copquot, as they either ignorantly or abusively named him: who had laid to their charge, that they said, as I transcribe it from the book, "That *the church of England was no* "*church, but after a sort.* And why? Because it lacked "discipline. As the papists said of it, (saith the preacher,) "that it is no church, but *secundum quid.* And that a city "cannot stand without walls, neither could a church with- "out discipline. The preacher confuted this from the holy "father, Mr. Gualter, [as he calleth that learned worthy "minister of Zuric,] upon the Epistle to the Corinthians: "who writ there; That for lack of discipline, no man ought "to depart from the church. And upon the Galatians, I "do think, saith the same father, that if any man do ask of "the form of discipline, that the same cannot be appointed "in all countries and nations through the world."

Anno 1584.

Dr. Copcot's sermon at the Cross, against the Counterpoison.

Part of a Register.

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The preacher also confuted their ruling *eldership*, or *presbyteries;* taking occasion from a Catechism, printed at London not long before, being the Scots catechism. Wherein one of the questions asked was, *What may the eldership do in the church?* The answer is, *Admit unto the sacraments, and exclude from them, according to God his word.* And then the preacher shewed the two places in scripture about *elders*, by which the *disciplinarians* proved their eldership. The one was, where it was said, *That the elders that rule well are worthy of double honour; chiefly, they that labour in the word and doctrine.* To which Dr. Copcote thus; We say, this is understood of the preachers of the word. And so, said he, Peter Viret, and Nicolas Hemyngius, (learned foreign divines of the reformed reli-

A Scots catechism, asserting an eldership.

1 Tim. v. 17.

BOOK I. Anno 1584.

gion,) affirmed it of such priests to be worthy of double honour. And whereas that book of the Counterpoison had said, that that understanding of the foresaid place of St. Paul, to be meant of priests and ministers, was taken from the interpretation of the Rhemist Testament; Copcote made this reply, That it was not so understood by the authority of the Rhemists, but the authority of the holy fathers. And then quoteth St. Augustin; who asketh the question, Who are they that do and govern well, but they that do and labour well in their calling. And St. Cyprian; *Boni et fideles dispensatores*, i. e. *Good and faithful dispensers of the word*, they are they that are worthy of double honour. And St. Ambrose; *Presbyteri*, i. e. *Priests* or *elders who govern well in life and doctrine, deserve double honour from them over whom they are set.* And then he confuted another argument of theirs for *presbyteries*, from 1 Cor. xii. *God hath ordained some in the churches; first apostles, &c. helps, governments.* Therefore, say they, there must be presbyteries in the church. But said the preacher, I do not allow of this their argument, viz. That as they had such elders in the church then, so it must be now: for the learned Mr. Gualter saith, [upon the place I suppose,] "That where there were certain that would "erect a presbytery hence, they must prove they have the "same gifts that the presbytery had then; viz. prophecy, "working of miracles, and other gifts, written there." The said preacher concludes, "They that do these things are "thought to trouble the order of the church of God, and "to bring in contention. The civil magistrates went to get "unto themselves ecclesiastical authority; but this turned "into the popish tyranny."

I have been the larger in giving some account of this learned divine's sermon, preached in that solemn auditory, the rather, because the church was at this time so fiercely assaulted by this sort of adversaries: and it is likely he had
238 some instructions from the archbishop, or some other superiors, to take this opportunity to vindicate the present settled constitution of the church.

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Anno 1584.

Yet, that I may not be silent of what these friends of the *Counterpoison* answered to this preacher, in plea for their party, I add these words, taken from the *Defence of the* reasons of the *Counterpoison*. "Where he [Dr. Copcote] "slandereth us, in saying we slander the church, &c. our "words, our preachings, our writings, have always wit- "nessed, that we hold the church for a true church of "Christ. From which no member may separate himself: "although he [the answerer] must disallow the wants in "her..... Have we not (yea, when we were unjustly de- "prived for not subscribing) adjoined ourselves to the "church, in all the actions of the ministry, of the word "preached, of prayer, and of the sacrament? Have we not "by persuasion continued many in the bosom of the "church? Yea, when through weakness, because of many "abuses, they would have departed."

Defence of the Counterpoison.

A paper of good counsel of peace in these differences.

In the midst of these sharp contentions, which greatly broke the peace of the church, and that between both, professors of the same reformed religion, I meet with a paper, written in Latin by some pious learned foreigner, as it seems, interposing his seasonable good counsel, (whether written this year, or near it,) being well worthy to be taken notice of, and preserved: tending so much to unity, peace, and concord; and to the healing these divisions among the clergy, and for the begetting a better understanding and Christian forbearance. The title it bore was, *Fraternum et amicum de resartienda inter ecclesiæ Anglicanæ doctores et ministros pace, consilium:* that is, *A brotherly and friendly counsel of restoring peace among the teachers and ministers of the church of England.* The writer of it seems to have been some person of great gravity, wisdom, and authority too: warning both parties by the most holy name of God; and shewing them how these differences were ready to create a plain and open schism in the English church. It beginneth with these seasonable words of the apostle; *Si alios mordetis et devoratis, (ait Paulus,) videte, ne vicissim alii ab aliis consumamini.* It is endorsed, *A project for a reconciliation in the church of England.*

Int. Foxii MSS.

BOOK I.

Anno 1584.

He shewed, "How the Greek church first of all contend-
"ing concerning rites and ceremonies, and soon after quar-
"relling about the first article of our faith, on a sudden,
"as it were, fell oppressed under the miserable slavery of
"the Turks. Dear brethren," added he, "take heed, lest,
"not sufficiently taught by the dangers of others, ye be at
"last compelled to grow wise by your own misfortunes.
"Nor let it deceive you, I beseech you, that ye agree
"among yourselves in the sum of the apostles' doctrine,
"which to all good men ought to be the strictest bond;
"and that ye seem to differ in matters of less moment," &c.
But I recommend this grave and Christian counsel to the
reader; who shall find it in the Appendix, preserved there
at length.

N°. XLII.

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CHAP. XX.

The bishop of Winchester goes down to his diocese: desires a commission for recusants in Hampshire. Subscription required by the archbishop, of the clergy of Lincoln diocese, void. Account thereof from the archdeacon. Their backwardness. Contest about settling a master of the Temple. Hooker appointed. Travers's Supplication. A note of Christopher Goodman. The popish faction. Their great plot. The queen of Scots privy to it: her letter. Sir Francis Englefield's letters to the pope and Spain.

To gather up now some matters of remark concerning some of our bishops, and their care in the government of their dioceses about this time.

The bishop of Winton going down to his diocese.

Cowper, bishop of Winchester, lately translated from Lincoln, was now going down from London to his diocese. Where understanding what considerable numbers there were in those parts under his inspection, especially in Hampshire, that were recusants, chiefly popish, he thought it very necessary to take an *ecclesiastical commission* along with him: and that such men might be put into that commission as might be depended upon; that is, such as were

no secret favourers of them. And some such he mentioned to the lord treasurer, to whom he wrote his desire in this affair, and the pressing occasion thereof. His first care was to inform himself of the state of the diocese. And for better knowledge of the same, as his letter to the said lord imported, "that he had ordered the archdeacon of Hampshire "to make inquiry particularly of such as were obstinate re- "cusants. And he was certified, that there were already "presented by the churchwardens to the number of four "hundred; and in some one parish forty or fifty. And yet "it was thought that, by the slackness of the church- "wardens, a great number more were omitted. Whereupon "he thought fit to arm himself with a commission, either "ecclesiastical, or of oyer and terminer, or both: for that "the country being in such a case, he was of opinion that "there would need extraordinary authority: and that to be "committed not to many: for he understood there were "divers of great countenance would speak very well, but "dealt very hollowly." And then recommending the lord de la Ware and some others, both of the laity and clergy, that he might be sure were sound and hearty. But the whole letter of this bishop in this weighty cause must be preserved. See it in the Appendix. N°. XLIII.

Anno 1584.

Nor was this all the pains he took in this affair, so important to church and state, against these underminers of both: for I find, that being now resident on his bishopric, he had a careful regard of the said county: which he found greatly addicted to popery; and that religion increasing; many being perverted by priests and seminaries creeping in among them. Insomuch that there was apprehended great danger from them, and of an invasion that way, lying upon the seacoast. This caused the bishop, either this year or soon after, to present the state of that place; and withal to give his advice to the rulers, for the better security of religion and the kingdom, in a petition to the privy-council. Which was thus entitled: *The humble petition of the bishop of Winchester, the better to suppress the boldness and waywardness of the recusants in the county of Southamp-*

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Petition of that bishop against popish recusants.

BOOK I.

ton. The petition follows, which I transcribe from the bishop's own handwriting.

Anno 1584.

" First, That it may please your honours to renew the " charge of diligently looking to the seaside, and creeks, " for the coming in or passing forth of ill disposed persons.

" Secondly, That it may please you to give in charge to " the sheriff, and some other of the most forward gentle- " men, once in a month or three weeks, upon the sudden, " to have a privy search in sundry suspected places; where " it is thought the Jesuits or seminary men have their re- " course and refuge, to seduce her majesty's subjects.

" Thirdly, That an hundred or two of obstinate recu- " sants, lusty men, well able to labour, may by some conve- " nient commission be taken up and sent into Flanders, as " pyoners and labourers. Whereby the country shall be " disburdened of a company of dangerous people; and the " residue that remain be put in some fear, that they may " not so fast revolt as now they do.

" Fourthly, If it shall please your honours to grant li- " berty to any of those gentlemen that shall compound " with her majesty, according to your lordship's late letters, " that the same may not be suffered to remain in the same " shire, but to be assigned to some other place where " they may do less harm: for undoubtedly they that have " remained there have stolen away the people's hearts " mightily; and daily do continue so to do: for even this " last Easter, upon some secret fact purposely wrought, " five hundred persons have refused to communicate more " than before did in will fall out to further inconve- " nience," &c. The rest is defaced.

The archbishop sends into the diocese of Lincoln, to require subscription.

Subscription to the articles for conformity were now pressed upon all persons that had curacies and benefices in the church, and cure of souls. But many that scrupled subscription had great friends at court: and they were put in hopes to be dispensed with, or at least the time of their sequestration put off. Many such were in the diocese of Lincoln, now vacant of a bishop; and had made their address to the lords of the council for their favour. In this

vacancy the archbishop took the care of it in that particular respect of subscription. And for that purpose sent special order and direction to one Mr. Barfoot, archdeacon of Lincoln, leaving the care thereof to him: and to give him [the archbishop] account what he had done therein. To which he accordingly did at large in a particular letter from Lincoln. A short mention hereof was given in the Life of Archbishop Whitgift. But here I shall give the whole letter at length, which will open several particulars of the management of that affair, with those scrupulous ministers. And that related so fully, that the said archbishop thought fit to send the letter to the lord treasurer for him to peruse: that the court might be the better acquainted with the state of the clergy in those parts, and how they stood affected: "That "according to his grace's direction sent unto him by Mr. "Randes, he had exhorted the ministers there, recusants, "to subscribe. That they would leave off their fantasies, "conceived without any ground of learning, and listen unto "his grace, and other fathers, and learned counsel: signi- "fying also unto them, that his grace's pleasure was, that "they still should remain in the state of suspension; but "that the sequestration of the fruits of their benefices "should be stayed for a season; so that they would in "the mean time provide sufficient and conformable men "to serve in their several cures. That so many as were "with him with one consent answered, that they looked "for other news from his grace: some of them affirming, "that they had already informed some of the council, (he "knew not, he said, upon what presumption,) that they "should be restored to their preaching and ministering, in "their own cures at the least. And indeed certain of them "affirmed that my lord [bishop] of Winton [lately their "bishop of Lincoln] had said in their hearing, that he "could wish it were so for a season, till they might the bet- "ter bethink themselves of their conformity: always re- "ferring himself, as they themselves reported, unto his "grace of Canterbury's good liking thereof."

Anno 1584.

His order to the archdeacon of Lincoln therein.

241 Book iii. ch. 7.

To this, he told them, "That they had very small cause

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" given them by these speeches [of their late bishop] to de-
" liver any such information unto their honours [of the
" council.] Notwithstanding they found very great fault
" with Mr. Randes, that he, knowing his grace's mind fully,
" would not resolve them thereof, before their coming to
" London, but suffered them to return with such vain hope.
" Barefoot answered them, that it was not meet that Mr.
" Randes, having a message from his grace unto him, [the
" archdeacon,] should publish the same unto any private
" persons, before that he had delivered it unto him.

" Finally, That he appointed them the last day of the
" last month to conform themselves to subscribe; still ad-
" vertising them, that they stood suspended, as before; and
" signifying unto them, that if by that day they did not
" conform themselves, he must presently send certificate
" thereof unto his grace. They answered, They would to
" London again, and renew their suit: and so departed.
" But upon what heartening he knows not. And that, as he
" was informed, they did presently, the next Sunday, be-
" take themselves unto preaching and ministering in their
" several charges, as before. In other places than their own
" parishes he did not as yet hear that they meddled."

And then he added these words as the effect of incompliance of these ministers: " But truly, my lord, the con-
" formable ministry is very much grieved thereat. And
242 " divers said plainly, that if they had thought this would
" have been the end, they would have joined with the other
" in their recusancy, rather than have offered themselves to
" such reproachful speeches as were given out of them by
" some of that faction. For they told him, that there was a
Field the puritan's letter. " letter there in the country sent from Mr. Field of Lon-
" don [a great puritan] to the ministers in those parts, re-
" cusants, exhorting them to stand stoutly to the cause; af-
" firming the same not to be theirs, but the Lord's: boldly
" assuring, that such as had subscribed had made a *breach*,
" as he was informed Field termed it. And therefore
" rashly judging of them, that they never would do good
" hereafter, and slanderously terming them by the name of

" *branded menne.* He assured his grace, there was great " grief conceived hereat: and that yet the matter was so " closely kept among the recusants, that albeit they had " many copies of that letter in their hands, and were con- " tented to shew the same unto divers, to the wounding of " their consciences, yet would they not part with any copy, " but unto such as were of that side. He proceeded further " about this letter, how he was informed, that if his grace " dealt roundly with one of those, whom now by virtue of " the high commission he [the archbishop] had before him, " namely, Mr. Huddleston, vicar of Saxelby, he might " happily attain the sight of the original: for that they " were of good credit that told him, that he [Huddleston] " had it; and, as they supposed, had it still."

He added, " That he was emboldened to import this " matter so largely unto his grace; for that he perceived " there was very great muttering of these matters among " the laity, as well as among the clergy: and, as he heard, " such as were backward enough in religion, and more than " half papists, were great commenders of the conscience of " those men. So that the wiser, godlier sort were somewhat " in doubt whereunto this matter would come at the end." And then concluded with these words:

" Thus humbly craving pardon for my rude boldness " with your grace, I beseech Almighty God to increase all " his good blessings in you more and more, to the honour " and glory of his holy name, and to the edifying of his " church. From Lincoln the first of June, 1584.

" Your grace's most humble at commandment,

" Jo. Barefoot."

These intelligences from Lincoln concerning the clergy in that diocese were so material, that the archbishop thought fit to send this letter to be perused by the lord treasurer; who endorsed it with his own hand, as sent him by the archbishop.

This refractoriness of these recusants, and their persistance therein, seemed to hasten more severe dealings with

BOOK I. Anno 1584.

them; and some were deprived. There were letters of the council in this affair, and of the archbishop to them; which may be read in the Life and Acts of that Archbishop.

Life of Archbishop Whitgift.

It falleth in my way here to mention some occurrences of certain of these puritan ministers.

243 Contest about settling a master of the Temple.

A great controversy happened this year about the settling of a master of the Temple; to preach and minister holy things to the society there. Great endeavours were made for Mr. Travers, that had been reader there before. And now upon the death of Mr. Alvey, the former master, much endeavour was made by some of the gentlemen of the Temple for him to succeed. But objections were made against him by the archbishop of Canterbury, on account of his taking orders from a presbytery at Antwerp, and want of conformity to the church of England. The letters that passed about it betwixt the archbishop and the lord treasurer will shew the matter at large: to which I refer the reader in that Archbishop's Life. The learned Mr. Richard Hooker, (who writ the Ecclesiastical Polity,) recommended by the bishop of London, obtained it. But Travers made great objections against him, and his doctrines, preached in the Temple: for the particular knowledge whereof, recourse may be had to the additions made to the Life of Mr. Hooker before his said book of the Ecclesiastical Polity: where his answers to those objections are also set down by me from an original paper.

Travers and Hooker.

Book iii. ch. 9.

Ecclesiast. Polity, edit. 1705.

Travers's Supplication.

I add to what hath been related already, that Travers wrote a Supplication to the council; wherein he vindicated his *ordination*. To which Mr. Hooker also gave an answer: which remains among his works. Out of which Supplication and Answer I shall only take up a few remarks. Now for his *ordination* at Antwerp, he took advantage of the *canon;* which he allowed to be among the ancient and best canons, viz. that none be made ministers *sine titulo*. And he had none; and so could not, by the order of this church, have entered into the ministry. (Though in truth he went over to take orders there, because he would not take them according to the form of our ordination.) And that when

he was at Antwerp, and was to take a place of *ministry* among the English people of that nation; he saw no cause why he should return again over the seas for orders; or how he could have done it, without disallowing the *orders* provided in that country where he was to live; namely, to minister to an English congregation there.

Conference between them.

In Hooker's Answer to his Supplication, it appears there was a conference between them at his first coming to the Temple; wherein Travers took the freedom to tell him some of his faults: as, his praying in the entrance of his sermon only; and not in the end: likewise, naming *bishops* in his prayer: also, kneeling when he prayed; and, kneeling when he received the communion, and such like.

Whence we may observe the practice of the puritans then: for it was a custom in the Temple, in Mr. Alvey's time, to receive the sacrament sitting. Which Travers would have altered, and would have been done standing; and then walking away after the reception. For thus he tells us, "There was an order tendered, that communicants "should neither kneel, as in most places in the realm, nor "sit, as in this place [viz. the Temple] the custom was; "but to walk to one side of the table; and there standing "till they had received, passed afterwards away round "about by the other side. Which being on a sudden be-"gun to be practised in that church, some sate, wondering "what it should mean; others, deliberating what to do." Till such time, as at length by name, one of them, being called openly thereunto, requested that they might do it, as they had been accustomed. Which was granted: and as Mr. Travers had ministered his way, so a curate was sent to minister to them after their way. Whereupon this unprosperous beginning did so disgrace the order, that it took no place. And Travers so much offended, who supposed it to be the best, that since that time he contented himself to receive it, as they did, at the hand of others, but thought it not meet they should ever receive it out of his. And in my time, added Hooker, he hath always been present, not to minister, but only to be ministered unto.

Travers endeavours to bring in new customs for the sacrament.

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This new order Travers brought into the Temple, but it would not be received; namely, that of standing and walking away at the sacrament. Another order was devised; viz. to bring *collectors* and *sidemen* in the Temple: which he attempted in Alvey's time: for which there was a request made to her majesty's privy-council; signifying, that this place did much want it, and that it would please their honours to motion such a thing to the *ancients* of the Temple. They accordingly wrote their letters to that effect. Whereupon, although these houses [of both Temples] never had use of such *collectors* and *sidemen* as were appointed in other places; yet they erected a box, to receive men's devotions for the poor; appointing the treasurers of both houses to take care for bestowing it, where need was. And granting further, [with respect to sidemen, as censors of men's behaviours,] that if any could be entreated (as in the end some were) to undertake the labour, to observe the slackness of men, they should be allowed; their complaints heard at all times, and the faults they complained of: if Mr. Alvey's private admonitions did not serve; then by some other means ordered; but according to the old received orders of both houses; whereby the substance of their honours' letters were fully satisfied. But Mr. Travers intended not this, but, as it seemed, another thing, more agreeable to the discipline. Whereupon he complained, that good orders were withstood.

Travers would bring in another new order into the Temple.

Collectors and sidemen.

Two ministers in the diocese of London suspended.

Giffard, minister of Maulden, was suspended this year for refusal to subscribe, and so was one Huckle, a busy disorderly man, and that kept night-conventicles, and a disputer against Athanasius's Creed. Of both, accounts are given in the Life of Ælmer, then bishop of London.

Life of Bishop Ælmer, p. 104.

Minister of Boughton sequestered.

The minister of Boughton Mountchensey was another of those that were sequestered this year. However he was acceptable to his parishioners: insomuch that they applied themselves by petition to the lord treasurer, to restore to them their minister; with their names underwritten, to the number of fifty-seven; but not writ with their own hands. Which petition ran to this tenor: "We the inhabitants of

" the parish of Boughton Mountchensey in the county of " Kent, whose names are here underwritten, most humbly " desire your honour, of your accustomed clemency, to be a " mean for us, that we may have our minister restored unto " his pastoral charge; from the which he was deprived the " 20th of June last. Who sithence his coming unto us hath " continued very diligent and faithful in preaching the " word of truth sincerely; whose travail herein the Lord " hath greatly blessed. And so often as occasion serve, " (which was divers times,) he taught us all dutiful obedi- " ence unto her highness, and unto all her godly proceed- " ings. And at no time, unto our knowledges, hath he in " his sermons, or otherwise, inveighed, or spoken against " the Book of Common Prayer. And for his conversation, " it hath been very wise and good.

Anno 1584.

The parishioners petition for him.

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" Wherefore we beseech your honour, in the bowels of " Jesus Christ, that we may have him again. Herein we " are enforced to be so much the more earnest, as we have " less hope to enjoy the like again, in regard of the very " small maintenance which law hath provided for such an " one among us. Thus hoping that your honour will pity " the desolate state of us, who have lost our natural and " loving pastor, and withal are utterly destitute of the mi- " nistry of the word; we commit the same, with all your " actions, unto the protection of our good God: desiring " him so to govern it, and direct them, that whatsoever you " do, it may tend to the glory of his name, the good of his " church, and the prosperous estate of her majesty, &c.

" Your lordship's most humble orators,

" The poor parishioners of Boughton Montchensey."

Why deprived.

But what the faults and failings of this minister were, for which he was sequestered and deprived, will appear by a paper enclosed in this petition; with these words: *The breach of the Book of Common Prayer in divers places. The* marriage *according to the book of Scotland. And his utter denial to accept the submission for the same enjoined him. A contentious and factious sermon, preached by him*

BOOK I. *at Ashford, since Easter, as appeareth also by his own confession.*

Anno 1584. Christopher Goodman, a man of note of this party, (who had wrote a book in queen Mary's reign, of the lawfulness of taking up arms against her, on account of her false religion,) was yet alive; and we hear of him now dwelling in Cheshire; and upon this occasion. When archbishop Whitgift was pressing subscription to the three articles, which made great heats about this time, Goodman wrote to a certain lord, [the earl of Leicester, I suppose,] that the papists in Cheshire and elsewhere rejoiced at these proceedings of the archbishop. This the lord treasurer communicated to the archbishop. Whose answer was this: "Goodman was "a man for his perverseness sufficiently known, and some "other ill-disposed Christians; who instilled these things "into his lordship's head."

Christopher Goodman in Cheshire.

Writes to a certain lord.

But, added the archbishop, "How can that please the "papists, when they subscribe that in our Book of Com-"mon Prayer there is nothing contrary to the word of
246 "God? This cannot please the papists, which wholly "condemn it. They likewise subscribed to the book of "Articles; which the papists count for heresy. There is "therefore no likelihood that the papists can receive any "encouragement by this subscription. But if he be encou-"raged at all, it is because this subscription is refused. "And thereby the opinion of our service and religion, by "some of ourselves, verified."

Papists are carrying on a plot. The Scots queen privy to it.

The popish faction, the other enemy to the church, were now playing their game, for the dispossessing the queen of her throne, and for the rescuing Mary queen of Scots, and to set her in queen Elizabeth's place, if they could. For the compassing of which purposes were combined together the pope, the Guises in France, and Philip king of Spain; (which was called *the holy league*;) and the said queen of Scots privately holding a correspondence with them: which was discovered by letters seized. For letters passed between sir Francis Englefield, a pensioner in Spain, and her; viz. of him to her, and of her to him. There was at this very

time letters between that queen and the queen's majesty. But what thoughts she had of any good success of it, with other matters, by her said letters to that fugitive gentleman, may appear. A copy of which was endorsed thus by the lord treasurer's own hand; (and so the more certain credit to be given to it;) viz. *The queen of Scots to sir Francis Englefield, October* 9, 1584. And seems to be copied from the cipher. It ran in this tenor: Anno 1584.

" Of the treaty between the queen of England and me, I " may neither hope nor look for good issue. Whatsoever " shall become of me, by whatsoever change of my state and " condition; let the execution of the *great plot* go forward, " without any respect of peril or danger to me: for I will " account my life very happily bestowed, if I may, with the " same, help and relieve so great a number of the oppressed " children of the church. And this I give you as my last " and final resolution: for [I] doubt, I shall not have the " commodity to write it hereafter: to the end you should " impart the same to whomsoever you think convenient. Her letter to Englefield in Spain.

" And further, I pray you, use all possible diligence and " endeavour to pursue, and promote, at the pope's and " other kings' hand, such a speedy execution of their former designments, that the same may be effectuated some " time this next spring: which is the longest time the same " can be expected. And failing then, it cannot be avoided " or prevented, but that we shall see forthwith an extreme " and general overthrow of our whole cause; never again " to be repaired and set afoot in our days.

" Of the 12,000 ducats, long since promised to myself, I " have yet received no penny; nor my son: but 6000, of " 10,000 promised unto him. Wherewith he is not a little " grieved and discontent: and yet as well inclined to our " designment as before; and in the rest of his doings and " proceedings to direct his course, as I will advise him. He " is now despatching a gentleman of his, called Gray, to " the court of England; chiefly to have occasion to visit " me; and by mouth to impart unto me his resolution in " all our affairs. The gentleman is catholic. God grant he

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Anno 1584.

" may be permitted to come to me. Solicit with all dili-
" gence, that the 12,000 ducats for myself be sent with all
" speed. October 9, 1584."

247 This letter will receive light by what our historian writes under this year, of sir Francis Throgmorton being taken up for treason; and the lord Paget and others fleeing thereupon into France: and that it was certain at this time a horrid piece of popish malice against the queen discovered itself by a book set forth, wherein the queen's gentlewomen were exhorted to lay violent hands upon the queen, after the example of Judith. *Quere*, Whether the Scots queen was not privy to this treachery by what she called the *great plot* and *designment* in her letter.

A horrid popish plot against the queen's life.

Camd. Eliz. p. 295.

She came now under a new keeper, from the earl of Shrewsbury to sir Amyas Paulet: wherein she suspected more strait looking to. Whereupon her abovesaid agent, Englefield, thought it of moment to acquaint both the pope and king of Spain with it: which he in another letter let her know: and withal sent a copy to her of what he writ to them both, dated January the 8th, 1585, *mutatis mutandis*, as followeth: " The queen of Scots pressing, that " by the change of her keepers, and place of abode, the " great appearance that she shall not longer have liberty, " nor commodity of receiving nor sending letters, hath " therefore written as followeth, the 9th of Octob. 84. *Of* " *the treaty of the queen of England and me for my li-* " *berty*," &c. The whole letter before set down. Whereunto sir Francis Englefield adjoined this which ensueth.

Englefield to the pope and king of Spain.

" Besides this written by the queen of Scotland herself, " it is to be considered, that the queen of England and her " council, having first, by printed libels, published the " queen of Scotland to be a confederate practiser with don " Bernardino de Mendoza [the Spanish ambassador, now " commanded to depart from England] and Francis Throg- " morton against the queen and realm of England; having " also contrived and set forth a new form of *association* and " *confederacy*, whereby all men shall swear and subscribe " to resist and pursue all that shall pretend a right in suc-

" cession in the crown of England; and now lastly, hav- CHAP. XX.
" ing changed the place of her abode and keepers, by re-
" moving her from the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury, Anno 1584.
" and putting her into the hand of base and obscure here-
" tics; whole affectionate, and at the devotion of her com-
" petitors; it is by these doings very probable, and in effect
" manifest to such as have had experience of the English
" government, that the queen and council of England have
" made a secret resolution, not only to deprive and disin-
" herit the said queen of Scotland, but also to ruin her per-
" son, and take away her life, if the pope and the king of
" Spain shall not, within the time prescribed, find some
" means, either to deliver her, or at least so to occupy and
" molest the queen of England, that she shall conceive and
" find, as hitherto she hath done, till of late, that the life
" and safety of the queen of Scots is and hath been her own
" principal security and assurance.

" And by this it is made evident, how vain and weakly 248
" founded those arguments and reasons were, which in the
" spring past did persuade, that the succours expected by
" the queen and catholics of the realm might without pre-
" judice be delayed and deferred, till either the Low Coun-
" tries could be recovered, the queen of England dead, or
" some notable mutation occurred in that realm.

" And admitting that the said queen of Scots should
" escape this plunge and ruin intended; yet since her pass-
" ing through the same cannot be without the favour and
" friendship of heretical authority, it were neither wisdom
" nor policy, but apparently prejudicial to the catholic
" church, to acknowledge the safety of her life, and enjoy-
" ing of her estate, to the favour of heretics. As also if she
" perish, (which is now most likely,) it cannot be but very
" scandalous and infamous to his catholic majesty. Because
" he being, after the queen of Scotland, the nearest catholic
" that is to be found of that blood royal, shall ever be sub-
" ject to the false suspicion and calumniation of leaving
" and abandoning that good queen to be devoured by her

BOOK I. " competitors, for making the way more open to his claim " and interest."

Anno 1584. The sum of the intercepted letters.

These secret intercepted letters make it evident how privy this queen of Scots was to this conspiracy against the state, and how fierce for overthrowing the whole government thereof by violent methods, to be used by the pope and Spain, whatsoever became of her. And we learn the title that king pretended to this crown, as next heir catholic to that queen. And how earnest these English fugitives were, forthwith to set upon this enterprise: and that queen also of the same mind; (guided, as it seems, by some prognosticators;) confidently averring, that unless they made haste, and began their business against England the next spring, " they should see an extreme and general overthrow of their " whole cause, never again to be repaired and set on foot in " their days:" as in her letter.

249 CHAP. XXI.

Parry executed for treason. A cardinal's letter to him. His speech at his execution. His account of his condition and quality, by himself given: false. Solicits to be master of St. Katharine's; or for a deanery, &c. Some account of him for some years past. Lives abroad. His letters from Paris, Venice, and Lyons. His intelligences from abroad to the lord Burghley. Comes home. He flies abroad again: and why. Prayers appointed upon Parry's treason, to be used in the queen's chapel, and in parliament: order of prayers for Winchester diocese. Parry's bold letter to the queen from the Tower. A nephew of Parry's executed.

Parry's treason and execution.

THE notorious treason of William Parry, a doctor of the civil law, (of whom something before,) was now discovered, and execution deservedly done upon him. Our historians shew us what it was; namely, to kill the queen, as she was riding abroad: and how he had encouragement for doing

the fact from the pope; one of the cardinals, named cardinal di Como, assuring him of the pope's allowance and absolution, as of a highly meritorious act, in his letter dated from Rome, January the 30th, 1584. The very original whereof, in Italian, I have seen among the papers of the lord Burghley, then lord treasurer; being the pope's plenary indulgence and pardon of all his sins. And it being so remarkable a piece of history, I might set it down from thence: it was superscribed, *Al signore Guglielmo Parri.* Beginning, *Mon signore, la santita*, &c. The cardinal's whole letter ran thus in English, as I find it translated in one of our historians; which I cannot but set down, being so instructive of what I have afterwards to add of this matter.

Anno 1584. Cardinal di Como's letter to him, from the pope.

" Sir, His holiness hath seen your letter of the first, with " the certificate included, and cannot but commend the good " disposition and resolution which you write to hold toward " the service and benefit public. Wherein his holiness doth " exhort you to persevere, and to bring to effect that which " you have promised. And to the end you may be so much " the more holpen by that good Spirit which hath moved " you thereunto, he granteth unto you his blessing, plenary " indulgence, and remission of all your sins, according to " your request. Assuring you, that beside the merit that " you shall receive therefore in heaven, his holiness will fur- " ther make himself debtor, to acknowledge your deservings 250 " in the best manner that he can; and so much the more, " in that you use the greater modesty, in not pretending " any thing.

" Put therefore your most holy and honourable purposes " in execution, and attend your safety. And to conclude, I " offer myself unto you heartily, and do desire all good and " happy success. From Rome, the 30th of January, 1584.

" At the pleasure of your signorie,

" N. Cardinal of Como."

Holinshed, in his Chronicle, hath preserved divers particulars concerning this wretch and his treasons; taken from a book printed soon after his death. As, 1. A true and plain

BOOK I. Anno 1584.

declaration of the horrid treason practised by him against the queen's majesty; and of his conviction, and execution for the same, the 2d of March, 1584. 2. Edmund Nevyl (his sworn fellow conspirator) his declaration, subscribed by his own hand. 3. The voluntary confession of Parry. 4. A letter of his to her majesty after his condemnation. 5. Another to the lord treasurer, and the earl of Leicester. 6. A letter of Will. Creichton, a Jesuit, to sir Francis Walsingham, concerning Parry's application to him, with this case of conscience, *Whether it were lawful to kill the queen.* 7. Cardinal Como's letter to Parry; certifying him of the pope's pardon and indulgence, and encouragement to do the fact. 8. The manner of his arraignment. But leaving the reader to the historian for these, I shall relate divers other remarkable passages out of this man's letters, or otherwise.

Notwithstanding his crime was so notorious and evident, this traitor had the confidence, at the place of his execution, to deny it, and to boast his loyalty. A report of whose speech at that time I have seen among the lord treasurer's papers, endorsed by his own hand. And is as follows:

Parry's speech at his execution.

" That he was brought hither, not to preach, but to die; " and to avow his own innocency, which he had declared at " the bar after his judgment, and would there seal it with " his blood. His offence, he confessed, was twofold. The one " in being reconciled to the church of Rome, (whereof he " was a member,) both at Milain and Paris, contrary to a " positive law only. The other in entering conference with " his kinsman and friend, (as he took him,) Mr. Nevyl, and " in concealing what passed between them. Which he did " upon confidence of her majesty. To whom he had before " bewrayed what he had been solicited to do. Being charg- " ed with cardinal Como's letter by Mr. Topcliff," [one employed in those days in discovering and prosecuting papists;] " and that therein he had promised to destroy her " majesty; and was from him, as from the pope, animated " thereunto: O! Mr. Topcliff, said he, you clean mistake " it. I deny any such matter to be in the letter: and I wish " it might be truly examined and considered of.

" The sheriff requiring him to cease to purge himself,
" since the law had passed against him; O! Mr. Sheriff,
" said he, give me leave to speak; for this is my last fare-
" well to you all. I die a true servant to queen Elizabeth: 251
" for any evil thought that ever I had to harm her, it never
" came into my mind; she knoweth it, and her own con-
" science can tell her so. God save queen Elizabeth; for a
" more gracious princess and sovereign was never any. I
" avow it before you all, and seal it here with my blood. I die
" guiltless, and free in mind from ever thinking hurt to her
" majesty. And I know her to be the anointed of God;
" not lawful for any subject to touch her royal person. If I
" might have my life, nay, if I might be made duke of
" Lancaster, and have all the possessions belonging there-
" unto, yet I could never consent to shed the least drop of
" blood out of the top of any of her fingers.

" Mr. Treasurer [sir Francis Knowles] demanding of
" him, what he could say of the proceedings in law against
" him; he answered him, the same to be most just and ho-
" nourable, pleading still his own innocence of mind; and
" charged Mr. Treasurer to tell her majesty, as he was a
" true counsellor, that he died her faithful servant; and
" prayed for her safety. I know her, said he, to be the
" *anointed* of God; and therefore not lawful for any man
" to lay violent hands on her. She is a most gracious lady,
" full of goodness, full of mercy. And therefore to you,
" *catholics*, I speak it, serve her, obey her, honour her, and
" reverence her. She will never harm you. She hath said
" it, she hath vowed it: nay, she hath sworn it to myself,
" that while you continue her dutiful subjects, she will
" never trouble any of you for your conscience. It is true,
" it is true, I tell you all for your comfort.

" His guiltiness being urged by Mr. Treasurer, Oh! said
" he, I pray God, queen Elizabeth do not find, that in tak-
" ing away my life, she hath killed one of the best keepers
" in her park.

" Being exhorted by a preacher, standing by, to be sorry
" for his sins, to pray to God for his mercy: I will, said he

BOOK I. Anno 1584.

" and so said the Lord's Prayer in Latin, with other pri-
" vate prayers by himself. The people there cried, Away
" with him, Away with him. The preacher again called on
" him to believe in the merits of Christ. Oh! said he, I do
" acknowledge there is no salvation but only in the free
" mercy of Christ.

" After this, a pause being made of his execution, he said,
" he had written to the queen and council, who was lawful
" successor to the crown of England. That place was not
" fit to name the party. [Mary queen of Scots he meant,
" no doubt.] It sufficeth her majesty, and the council know-
" eth it; and their title whom he had named to them was
" just and lawful.

" Some more time he spent in excuse of himself, to the
" effect aforesaid; and so was turned from the ladder; and
" after one swing was cut down: when his bowels were
" taken out, he gave a great groan." There is a letter extant of Parry's to the queen; but the letter he here spake of to the queen and council, concerning the lawful and right heir to the crown, I do not meet with it.

Parry's family and quality given by himself.

252 The condition and quality of this unhappy man may be better known by what account he gave of himself to the lord treasurer Burghley: who had asked some questions of one Lewis, his countryman, concerning him. Which Parry coming to the knowledge of, was ready enough to give answer thereto himself, in a letter to that lord, dated Aug. the 2d; which he writ for very truth, and upon his poor credit, as his words were. His letter was in this tenor:

His letter thereof.

" It may be, your lordship, desirous to know me through-
" ly, or willing to answer for me upon some occasion, may
" be contented to see this much. Howsoever it be, I will
" not lose this advantage to trouble your lordship. Our
" surname of Parry is but, as it were, yesterday. The fa-
" mily known in Flintshire by the name of Bethels. We
" bear for arms, ar. a chevron between three boars' heads,
" sable, tusked, or. For antiquity there is no Flintish man
" can say more. The Vths ancestor best remembered, and
" next (above my father) was Ithel Vaughan, and was one

" of those that did homage to the prince at Chester, 29 E. 1.
" as appeareth in D. Powel's book, f. 383. And so of these
" trifles sufficient."

In a paper enclosed was as followeth: " I was born at " North-hope, within the lordship of Inglefield, and county " of Flint. My father, without question, a poor gentleman, " was of no greater fortune than to be (as many gentlemen " of that country were) of king Henry's guard, and ap- " pointed to attend upon queen Mary, while she was prin- " cess. My mother was a Conway, descended of the house " of Bodrythan, in Flintshire. My father had thirty chil- " dren: whereof fourteen by his first wife, and sixteen by " my mother. He died about the 8th of the queen; of the " age of 108 years. His land was very small; his best living " was a lease of his parsonage of Northope. Wherewith he " commonly maintained seven or eight at that school.

" My first fortune was to marry, in Carmarthenshire, one " Mrs. Powel, widow, daughter to sir William Thomas. " My second fortune was to marry the widow of Mr. Ri. " Heywood, an officer in the king's bench, of good wealth. " My state at this time, by my ill husbandry and liberality, " is no better than these. I have 20*l.* land in Flintshire, " of my own purchase. My wife hath 80*l.* yearly: whereof " I have not handled penny for some years past. For un- " thriftiness I can truly say, that diceing, carding, hawking, " or hunting, did never cost me 20*l.* The greatest cause of " my charge hath been these, beside my trouble and travail: " I do maintain at Oxford two of my nephews; whereof " one is, or within few days will be, of the ministry. I do " maintain one in France, one in London, and two at a " country school in Flintshire. I have also maintained " wholly, for these ten years at least, a poor brother, his " wife, and a fifth son. What I have given, and do give " weekly, to the relief of twelve poor folks in Northope, let " other men report."

And hence he took his opportunity to soficit this lord in this manner: " All this, my best lord, is as true as the " Lord liveth. Help therefore, I beseech you, or else you 253

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" shall shortly see me and all these to fall at once. For truly " they shall not lack, while I have. God bless you, and " send us his grace."

This is the character he gives of himself unto the lord Burghley. But there was another account given of him soon after his death, printed by C. Barker, the queen's printer; which his vain boasts of himself and his pedigree gave occasion to. For so that tract was prefaced. " That forasmuch " as Parry, in the abundance of his proud and arrogant hu- " mours, had often, both in his confession and letters, pre- " tended some great and grievous causes of discontentment " against her majesty and the present state; it shall not be " impertinent, for better satisfaction of all persons, to set " forth, simply and truly, the condition and quality of the " man; what he was by birth and education, and in what " course of life he had lived."

A true account set forth of what Parry was.

And then the relation of him begins: That he was one of the younger sons of a poor man, called, Harry ap David, that dwelled in North Wales, in a little village called Northope; and kept a common alehouse: which was the best and greatest stay of his living. That his mother was the reputed daughter of one Conway, a priest, parson of a poor parish called Halkyn, &c. That in his childhood he was noted, by such as best knew him, to be of a most villainous and dangerous nature and disposition. That he often ran away from his master, one Fisher, in Chester, that had some small knowledge in the law; who was often taken and brought to him again. That his master caused him many times to be chained, locked, and clogged, to stay his running away. Yet all was in vain; for at last he ran away quite from his poor master, and came to London to seek his fortune. That his good hap was, after his service in several places, to be entertained in a service above his deserts; where he stayed not long, but shifted himself divers times from master to master. And then began to forget his old home, his birth, and education, and aspired to great matters, and challenged the name and title of a great gentleman, and vaunted himself to be of kin and allied to noble and worshipful; and

left his old name, Ap Harry, and took upon him the name of Parry, the surname of divers gentlemen of great worship. And because his mother's name by her father, a simple priest, was Conway, he pretended kindred to sir John Conway: and so thereby made himself of kin to Edmund Nevyl. What he had with his wives he soon consumed with his dissolute and wasteful manner of life. And when he had possessed himself of his second wife's wealth, he omitted nothing that might serve for a prodigal, dissolute, and most ungodly course of life. His riot and excess was unmeasurable. He did most wickedly deflour his wife's own daughter, and sundry ways pitifully abused the old mother. But this lasted not long; his proud heart and wasteful hand had soon poured out old Heywood's wealth. And then he fell again to his wonted shifts, &c. This, and much more, is related there of him.

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And in these shifts that he made to help his necessities, one was his application to the queen and some friends at court. And St. Katharine's by the Tower being now void of a master, he put in strongly for it. And thus I find him addressing to his supposed friend, the lord treasurer, (to whom he had given such a good character of himself, in a letter written in May this year.) "Good my lord, pardon "my importunity, so much warranted by the hardness of "the time, and my secret contraries. The particulars en- "closed, [viz. the account of himself mentioned above,] fa- "vourably delivered by your lordship or master secretary "to the queen, would undoubtedly remove all doubtful con- "ceits of me in religion and duty. That were a small mat- "ter with the queen to avow my service with the credit of "an hospital. Your earnest request to Mr. Secretary to "further it, for your sake, to the queen's majesty at this in- "stant, will surely serve the turn." And whereas another stood candidate for this mastership at this time, thus he added, "That he could not think it possible for Mr. Rouk- "by, or any of his coat, to adventure more than he had "done in her service. I would to Christ her majesty would "command any further possible trial of me." He proceed-

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Laboureth to get the mastership of St. Katharine's.

BOOK I. Anno 1584.

ed, " That Mr. Secretary told him, that he thought the " queen meant to give him a pension: that St. Katharine's " was in truth no other upon the reckoning: and yet, God " knows, added he, there is a marvellous difference between " the one and the other, in opinion and credit."

Concluding, " Remember me, my dearest lord, and think " it not enough for a man of my fortune past, to live by " meat and drink. Justice itself willeth, it should be credit " and reward." [Such was his vainglorious value of himself.]

" Your lordship's faithfullest and most bounden,
" W. Pa."

But in short, he obtained neither pension nor St. Katharine's; this being given to another. Which neglect he resented.

I find him yet at London in September, undiscovered; soliciting business with the lord treasurer, for others as well as for himself. Particularly for sir Philip Hoby, governor of the Isle of Wight, under some trouble at court: whose loyal manner of proceeding, as he wrote, gave him good hope, that all should go well with him, by that lord's honourable means and furtherance: that he was fully acquainted with his state, and daily occupied in settling such matters for him as might most import him in profit and credit. And that he would attend his lordship's return from the court, to know his pleasure. And then concluded in a word for himself, " That in the mean time it should please his " lordship to commend him as a fit man for a deanery, pro- " vostship, or mastership of *request;* it was all he craved. " And so he prayed God to preserve his good lordship." Dated from London, the 3d of September. For the rest of his story, and end, I refer the reader to our historians.

255 It may not be amiss to look back some years upon this false man, and his course of life, in his travels abroad; in the correspondence he held with the lord treasurer. Which I shall do from divers of his letters, written by way of intelligence to the said lord, pretending great loyalty.

After the queen had given Parry his life, condemned for an act of burglary, (committed on Mr. Hugh Hare, of the Inner Temple, breaking into his chamber, with intent to rob him,) he went abroad out of England; his great debts, by his extravagancy, growing heavy upon him. He had obtained some favour of the lord treasurer. To whom he mightily addresses himself. And that lord, upon the protestation of his loyalty to the queen, and promises made of information from time to time, of what the queen's rebellious subjects abroad were doing; and who and where they were. So that the treasurer gave him some countenance, and, as it seems, some pension. But he was false all the while, notwithstanding divers letters which he sent from foreign parts to that lord, and while he was beyond seas, at Venice, at Siena, and Rome, and Paris and Lyons: yet once or twice returning home for a time. And in those parts he played his tricks, in correspondence with Jesuits and English fugitives: and consulting with them in behalf of catholics, and for restoring the Romish religion in England: and still keeping in with his lord here at court, by his frequent fraudulent letters of intelligence; and always, as opportunity served, recommending the queen's popish subjects abroad to favour.

Anno 1584.

Parry leaves England.

He had been at Rome and Siena; and was returned into England anno 1577. And newly now come home, he gave the lord treasurer notice that he was ready to give him information according to certain instructions given him by the said lord. And now being in London, writ him a short letter, "That being wearied with his long journey, he defer-" red his attendance upon him until his coming to court: " and spake of his having in his letters, both from Rome " and Siena, advertised his lordship of some such matters as " he had heard and seen in those parts:" [that is, probably, the treacherous practices of the English fugitives, and others against the queen and state of England.] " And how " most desirous he was of his lordship's good favour; upon " hope to be able to do him some such service as he never " intended to do, or offered to any before that time."

Comes home from abroad anno 1577.

Applies to the lord treasurer.

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In the year 1579, I find him again fled hence, into France. And from Paris he writes to the lord treasurer, in excuse of his sudden departure; (to avoid, as it seems, his creditors.)

Anno 1584. Fled to Paris. Thence writes to the same.

" That as the manner of his departure out of England " might in reason leave cause of offence behind him, so ne- " cessity, and his demeanour on that side the sea, might, " and he trusted would, crave pardon for him. The rather, " as it might please his lordship, for his dutiful mind, and " poor good-will, long favour, and protection. And having, " since the death of his late good lord and master, the earl " of Pembroke, never served or followed any besides her " majesty, whose faithful servant and subject he would ever " be found to be; he hoped his lordship would not resist
256 " his humble suit, grounded upon no greater warrant, than " his desire to deserve well of him by such service as he " should be able to do his lordship hereafter."

And then goeth on in these flattering, hollow words: " Good my lord, pardon my plain nature, if I seem at " any time less ceremonious than your greatness or my duty " do require. And be assured to find in me all plainness " and truth."

His letters to the said lord, anno 1580.

And no less than six other letters he wrote to the above-said lord in the next year from Paris, (where he was privately reconciled to the church of Rome,) still requesting that lord's favour, and offering his service for intelligence: writing thus, " That he was emboldened to lay before his " lordship the service of such an one [meaning himself] as " studied daily, how and in what sort he might best and " most acceptably discover his readiness to honour and serve " him, &c. And that it added to his crosses, that it was told " him, that his departure, and demeanour there, [at Paris,] " had bred some offence at home." And in another letter thence, put into the queen's ambassador's pocket, he signified, how his long or short abode there depended upon his good or ill speed in the service intended and mentioned in his letter.

And because there were suspicions and jealousies of his integrity and protestations of his loyalty; therefore, in the

month of May, the said year, 1580, he addresseth another letter, to this tenor: "That the name and title of a *true sub-* "*ject* had always been so dear unto him, that he could not "but hold him and his religion for suspected, that practised "any thing against her majesty. Whose government and "fortune had been no less comfortable to all good men at "home, than strange and fearful to her enemies abroad. "And that backed with his prayer, God preserve her from "the one, and defend her from the other."

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The title of a true subject always dear to him.

Adding, "That he had heretofore purposely written some "ordinary letters to his lordship, that thereby he might, "without suspicion, write to him still. And thus long de- "ferred to look carefully into any thing, until he might be "settled, and better acquainted with some men's proceed- "ings on that side: and chose this way of sending, as best "assured, and would continue it, if he might understand "his service to be acceptable to her majesty, and pleasing "to his lordship. And that he found his credit and favour "to be such with the best of the English and Scottish na- "tions in Rome and Paris, (by the hope conceived of his "readiness and ability to serve them,) that he doubted not "in few months to be well able to discover their deepest "practices, if the same may be nourished with her majes- "ty's charge, to be bestowed, as occasion should serve, in "trifling gifts (rather of pleasure than price) and friendly "entertainment: the true manner whereof should always "appear to his lordship. That some in court had hereto- "fore sought to draw him into this course. Which as he "refused then, so making a show of his pretended purpose "to move that lord's belief, would forswear to follow, if it "were not his pleasure to embrace of, and like it, in him. "And then solicits his favour again, Good my lord, begin "to look favourably upon me, and I will end in doing you "service."

He was frequently in his letters to that lord a solicitor for the English papists beyond sea, fugitives, and some of them pensioners of the Spaniard: pretending for them their true loyalty to the queen: and therefore that they might

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A solicitor for the fugitives.

BOOK I.

have favour shewn them. Such were the Ropers, John and Thomas: whom he recommended to the treasurer, "for "their readiness and ability to serve his lordship: well wor- "thy his good opinion and countenance." In another letter he writ very favourably of Thomas Copply, commonly called lord Copply: who had that title given him by the French king; and was pensioner to the king of Spain. This man had promised great service to the queen in those parts. And a second letter, addressed to that lord in his behalf, import- ed, "That if his former letter, touching that lord Copply, "proved serviceable unto her majesty, and profitable with- "out offence to him, he should think himself very happy to "have adventured thus far for such an one, as was very "likely to be found, by his deserts hereafter, worthy her "grace's and his honourable favour. The necessity of the "time; his credit heretofore in England; his long services "well entertained abroad; joined to the earnest and con- "stant speeches of his dutiful desire to serve her majesty, if "the same were taken in time, did put him out of doubt, "that her majesty should have good cause to thank your "lordship for so seasonable recovery of so necessary a sub- "ject. And that he sued for no greater privilege than many "a true and faithful subject did daily enjoy. Land, liberty, "and reputation should undertake for his good demean- "our." This Copply was a busy man abroad under the king of Spain, who had also given him an honourable title, viz. *Grand master of the Maes*, &c. and had sent him out a commander at sea, to make prize both of the English and Netherlands ships. And so very obnoxious to the queen. And this was the man Parry now recommended.

Anno 1584.

The Ropers.

Lord Copply.

Camd. Eliz. p. 208.

In the month of July, 1580, I find another of his letters to the same lord in behalf of the rebel, the earl of Westmor- land, to this purport: "That if the most humble submis- "sion of the infortunate earl of Westmorland might, by his "lordship's means, be made plausible to her majesty, (his "life and liberty once reserved,) he was ready, with great "repentance of his error and fault, committed in his youth, "to fall at her majesty's feet." And then adds his argument

His letter in behalf of the earl of West- morland.

for the same favour to be shewed the earl: "I know not," as he subjoined, "whether the reclaiming of desperate men "doth agree with our state and policy. And yet it is daily "seen, that the king, *Christian* and *catholic*, do it: yea, "sometimes with advancement." Anno 1584.

I find him returned into England in the year 1580. And having had the favour to be the queen's sworn servant, he writ another letter to his presumed patron, the said lord treasurer, in September. And therein brings commendations from Cavalcanti, (whom he calls sir Guido Cavalcanti,) an Italian merchant, trading in London in the reign of king Edward; and who by his diligence and abilities was made use of in messages from that king to France; and was so serviceable an instrument in good offices to the kingdom, that a pension was settled upon him for life, as our histo- 258
rians relate. Parry comes acquainted with him in Paris. Now concerning so memorable a man in our English history, we may have leave to insert what we find of him in Parry's letter; viz. "That he was desired by sir Guido Cavalcanti "to deliver his lordship his very humble commendations, "and to tell him, that, his gout and other griefs greatly in- "creasing, he was advised to remove to some warmer cli- "mate, for the recovery of his health. And therefore, de- "sirous to depart in the grace and good favour of his ma- "jesty, he meant to come over into England for the winter: "and so to depart in the spring for Venice: if he thought "it, in this busy time, might stand with his lordship's ad- "vice and liking. Of whom always and very often he had "a very thankful and honourable mention. That he did "mistrust that he had some hinderers of his credit with her "majesty, and did not stick to name whom he suspected. "That he thought his pension inferior to his deserts and "service to this crown: having spent so many years in jour- "neys to and fro, much more than might have bought such "a living. But that as he and his name had lived under "and served this state above eighty years; so, howsoever "his fortune served him, he would die a faithful ser- "vant unto her majesty; and, in the mean time, bring up

Brings commendations from Cavalcanti.

His merits and services.

BOOK I. " another Cavalcanti, to succeed him in devotion to this " country."

Anno 1584. And then the writer proceeded to other matters. " That " discretion willed him not to be too busy with his pen, lest " at length it proved loathsome. But, as he hoped, it would " not dislike his lordship that he moved the same for so ho- " nourable a gentleman, so would he take heed how he trou- " bled his lordship with any trifles." And so, to shew his loyalty, he informed what he understood in Paris: viz. First, " That Julio Busini, an Italian, known to his lord- " ship, now living in Paris, and following Cavalier Giraldo, " late ambassador in England, for Portugal, was, as he had " great cause to suspect, a busy dealer in English practices. " That he writ very often to the Cursini's. And that com- " ing one day to his chamber, he found him deciphering of " a letter, which that morning he had received out of Eng- " land. That by chance he [Parry] fell upon a paper en- " closed, [by him in his letter,] which, he said, he knew to be " his hand; and believed that it did serve to decipher the " other, being very close, well writ, and of that very kind." And then added, " It may be such a cipher might come to " his lordship's hands. And therefore he thought good to " send him this for trial."

Further, " That he had divers speeches with the French " ambassador: who seemed to deal plainly with him in " whatsoever was greatest and most important. And com- " paring his discourse with some such as he [Parry] had " had with the archbishop of Glasco, the bishop of Rosse, " and Thomas Morgan, of late, he found them (for the " queen of Scots) very like, and in effect the same: and " that yet he knew the archbishop of Glasco to be made a " stranger to many things, whereunto some others were
259 " privy. That he had rather, that his simple opinion of " these matters should grow to his lordship upon question " at his pleasure, than trouble the same with all he had " heard."

And then he falls in with his flatteries of the lord to whom he writ all this. " That he did receive no small com-

" fort and contentation, that it was his good fortune to ho- Anno 1584.
" nour and love his lordship, of whom both catholic and
" protestant, on this side and that side, had in this latter
" time (for the best and greatest part) spoken much honour
" and good." And then addresseth in these words. " Truly,
" my lord, it cannot be, that you do know in what estima-
" tion you live, &c. I would be very glad that it might
" please your lordship to give me leave to wait upon the
" same at your next going to the court, that I may do my
" duty to her majesty, sithence I am her poor servant
" sworn. In the mean time, and ever, I will honour, love,
" and serve your lordship, as my best friend, father, and
" lord."

His debts owing.

But Parry's creditors, when he came home, were so sharp upon him, and especially Hare, (the same that he had once robbed by breaking into his chamber,) that he was glad to flee again out of England. But before he went, he tried his friends to be bound with him for that debt to Hare, which was 600*l*. But the former sureties thought fit to withdraw themselves out of danger. But he found other sureties for that debt: and likewise for the peace, to be bound with him in the king's bench for 1000*l*. Who were sir John Conwey and sir George Peckham, knights. In these straits, he again earnestly applied to the lord treasurer. To whom he laid open his circumstances.

At Venice, whence he writes.

In the year 1582 I find him in Venice, writing to the abovesaid lord informations and intelligences. Such as these. " That it had been told him in great secret, (though
" he might not avow it,) that the queen-mother [of France]
" lay in the wind, and watched to give our queen a mate,
" [i. e. her son, the duke of Anjou,] and would undoubtedly
" do it, if her majesty did not look well to her game. That
" they heard of great and daily preparations for the sea, in
" Naples, Spain, and Portugal. But not that don Antonio's
" fortunes could serve him to offend the king catholic. That
" it was judged but a very slender policy, that we, having
" no ambassador in Spain, did still entertain the Spanish
" ambassador [viz. Mendoza] in England. Where, he

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" feared, there was so much to be done for money. That " many were of opinion, that it were a matter of less diffi- " culty for us to continue the ancient league with Burgun- " dy, than to continue our intelligence with France. With " whom, for five hundred years, he did not find that we had " any long peace. And out of doubt he was, that we had " very mighty enemies in France to our peace. That our " traffic to the Levant could not but be dangerous, and " full of adventure for our merchants, so long as we stood " upon doubtful terms with Spain, &c. That the prince of

Prince of Orange.

" Orange was thought now to lie in more danger than ever; " and that he shall not long escape, if practice may prevail." [But it was not before two years after, that this bloody practice took effect, that is, in the year 1584; so long and implacable was the malice of this good prince's enemies.]

260 In the same letter he mentioned a book printed at Rome,

A book, De Persecut. Anglicana.

and dedicated to the cardinal S. Sixti, entitled, *De Persecutione Anglicana.* " That it had raised a barbarous opinion " of our cruelty." Adding, " That he could wish, that in " those cases it might please her majesty to pardon the dis- " membering and drawing."

Sir Rich. Shelly.

And concerning sir Richard Shelly, formerly lord prior of St. John's, now a fugitive in Venice, he added, " That he " was desirous to return, and professed very great services; " if he were not disquieted for his conscience." This was written from Venice the 4th of May, 1582. No name subscribed.

In the year 1583 we find him at Lions, and then at Paris. His letters writ thence we have given some account of before. In 1584 he returned again into England, when and where he ended his wretched life, after he had the honour once to sit in the parliament house.

Upon the discovery of this so horrid treason against the queen's life, and the present apprehension of danger from that implacable faction of papists at home as well as abroad, suitable prayers were composed, printed, and appointed to

Prayers appointed now to be used.

be used. Whereof one was used in the queen's chapel, entitled, " *A prayer for all kings, princes, countries, and peo-*

"*ple, which do profess the gospel; and especially for our* "*sovereign lady, queen Elizabeth.* Used in her majesty's "chapel, and meet to be used of all persons within her ma- Anno 1584. "jesty's dominions." Another prayer composed now, and used in the parliament house upon this occasion, had this title: "*A prayer and thanksgiving for the queen: used of* "*all the knights and burgesses in the high court of parlia-* "*ment.* And very requisite to be used and continued of all "her majesty's loving subjects." There was also a third prayer framed, and used in the parliament house only. Which prayers being scarce now to be met with, I think worthy to be preserved; and therefore may be found in the Appendix. N°. XLIV.

There was an order likewise of prayer and thanksgiving to be used in the diocese of Winchester: which was called, *An order of prayer and thanksgiving for the preservation of the queen's majesty's life and safety: to be used of the preachers and ministers of the diocese of Winchester, upon the discovery of Dr. Parry's treason.* Which, I suppose, was compiled and set forth by Cowper, the bishop. First is set down the direction, how the minister was to use the order: viz. The next Sunday after his receiving it, he was to make a sermon of the authority and majesty of princes. And in the end of the sermon he shall set forth, and declare, the brief notes of the confession and wicked purpose, conceived by Parry, to have murdered the queen: animated thereto by the pope and cardinals. And then the extract of Parry's treason follows, being his voluntary confession. And lastly, he was to say a prayer for that purpose. And then to be sung or said the twenty-first Psalm. A form of prayer for Winton diocese.

And thus one of the good bishops thought fit to call his clergy and diocese to a due and public acknowledgment of God's goodness in this great deliverance. The prayer having several historical remarks, as well as a devout spirit in it, I insert; and was as follows.

"O eternal God and merciful Father, with humble 261
"hearts we confess, that we are not able either by The prayer.
"tongue to utter, or in mind to conceive, the exceeding

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" measure of thy infinite goodness and mercy towards us, " wretched sinners, and towards this our noble realm and " natural country, not many years since: when for our un- " thankful receiving of the heavenly light and truth of thy " gospel, we were justly cast into thraldom and misery, and " thrust again under the kingdom of darkness. So that " our consciences lay groaning under the heavy burden of " error, superstition, and idolatry: even then, even then, O " Lord, thou didst vouchsafe, of thy great goodness, not " only without our desert, but far beyond our hope and " expectation, to preserve for us thy faithful servant, our " gracious prince and sovereign queen Elizabeth; and to " save her from the jaws of the cruel tigress, that then " sought to suck her blood, and to work to us perpetual " tyranny and bondage of conscience. Thus thou didst, O " gracious Lord, undoubtedly, that she might be to this " thy church of England a sweet and tender nurse; and " that this realm, under her happy government, might " be a blessed sanctuary and place of refuge for thy poor " afflicted saints in these dangerous days, persecuted and " troubled in many countries for the profession of thy gos- " pel. Yea, and that our benefit and their comfort might " be the more assured, thy divine providence, from time to " time, hath many ways mightily and miraculously pre- " served and kept her from the crafty, cruel, and traitor- " ous devices of her bloody adversaries, and the deadly " enemies of thy gospel: which with barbarous cruelty had " sought to extinguish the light thereof by shedding her " majesty's most innocent blood.

" But this thy gracious goodness and mighty providence " never so apparently shewed itself at any one time, as even " within these few days; when a traitorous subject, never " injured nor grieved by her, but sundry times holpen, re- " lieved, and countenanced, far above his state and worthi- " ness, had of a long time retained a wicked and devilish " purpose; and often sought occasion and opportunity to " lay violent hands upon her royal person, and to have " murdered her. But still the vigilant eye of this blessed

" providence did either prevent him by some sudden inter-
" ruption of his endeavour, or by the majesty of her per-
" son, and princely behaviour towards him, did strike him, Anno 1584.
" so abashed, that he could not perform his concealed
" bloody purpose. And at the last this wretched villain was
" by thy means disclosed; and his own tongue opened to con-
" fess his detestable and wicked intent. For this thine in-
" estimable goodness towards us, O heavenly Father, with
" humble hearts and minds we thank thee, and bless thy
" name for ever and ever. For assuredly, if thou hadst
" not been now on our side, as the prophet saith, the whole
" floods and waves of wickedness had overwhelmed us, and
" we had been sunk into the bottomless pit of infinite and
" unspeakable misery.

" We beseech thee therefore, O Lord, that thou wilt
" bless us so with thy grace, that we may be rightly and
" truly thankful to thee, that is, not in word only, but in 262
" deed also, daily studying to frame our lives according to
" the direction of thy holy word, which thou hast sent
" among us. And that her majesty, thus feeling the mighty
" hand of thy providence fighting for her safety, may
" more boldly and constantly with an heroical spirit stand
" in the protection and defence of thy blessed church,
" which by thy word thou hast planted amongst us. And
" lastly, that the cruel spirits of Antichrist, that seek the
" subversion of the gospel, may by the hand of thy justice
" feel what it is to set to sale for money the infinite blood
" of thine anointed princess; which thou hast prepared
" and set up to be the nurse and protector of thy truth.
" Grant this, O heavenly Father, for Jesus Christ's sake,
" thine only Son, our Saviour. To whom, with thee and
" the Holy Ghost, be given all honour and glory, world
" without end."

There was also another prayer composed upon this occa- Another prayer.
sion, to be used, as it seems, in the churches. The copy whereof in manuscript was sent to the lord treasurer for his review; and having some insertions of his pen in some places: it is large; and containing a grateful sense and

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acknowledgment to Almighty God for his wonderful favours to the queen, and therein to the whole kingdom, I have preserved in the Appendix. It bore this title: *A prayer of thanksgiving for the deliverance of her majesty from the murderous intention of Dr. Parry.*

What the thoughts of the court were upon the queen's escape of this intended assassination of her, may appear by what the great statesman lord Burghley writ to sir Nic. White, his correspondent in Ireland; who had been inquisitive of that lord about it.

A passage in the lord Burghley's letter concerning Parry.

His words in his letter, dated in May, were these: "The "matter whereof you writ, which, as it seemeth, hath stirred "upon your spirits, is, I doubt not but by public writing, "better known afore this time, than I think it was at the "time of your writing: I mean the attempt of that unfor- "tunate wretch, Parry. God therein (as in many more, "both known and unknown) hath shewed his singular fa- "vour and privilege to the person of our sovereign graci- "ous lady. For continuance whereof, we all, that enjoy the "benefits which he denieth to the most part of all other "nations round about us, are most bound to obtain of his "mercy by prayer and pleasing of him." This was dated from the court at Greenwich.

But before I have quite done with Parry, I cannot but make mention of his voluntary confession, writ to the queen herself from the Tower, a little before his execution.

Parry's confession to the queen.

Which though it be set down in a tract, called *A true and plain declaration of Parry's treason*, &c. and from thence entered in Holinshed's Chronicle; yet being much curtailed there, and shortened somewhere in sentences, and somewhere in whole periods, I think the whole letter may deserve to be preserved: which I have done in the Appendix; as I transcribed it from Parry's own minutes. I will give here an instance of a sentence or two, omitted in the printed letter: "Give some ease to your catholic subjects.

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263 "Remember the rest of my letter, and you shall find, that "God will bless you, foreign princes esteem you, and your "subjects obey you. The indignities passed between your

" majesty and the king catholic are many: you have dis- Anno 1584.
" quieted his state, maintained his rebels, and do bear with
" such as have robbed him and his subjects. Many mer-
" chants are undone. Some bad humours pleased, and
" yourself dishonoured," &c. Many such sentences, and instructions therein given to the queen, containing his judgment in state-matters occurring at that time wherein she was concerned, and his advice and counsel, suggested to her with such authority, as though he had been her lawgiver, or at least one of her chief privy-counsellors; namely, instructions and counsels concerning the kings of Spain and France, and the queen of Scots, and the Roman catholics her subjects: for whom he interceded in a kind of threatening way, if she favoured them not. For her glorious title of *supreme governor*, he bade her forget it, as vain and false; which neither Luther nor Calvin, nor the catholic world allowed her; and even the puritans smiled at. For all these and divers other his confident expressions used to her majesty, I refer the perusing thereof to his letter in the Appendix, as above directed.

A kinsman of Parry's executed.

To all this that I have collected concerning this Parry, I subjoin the mention of another villain of that name, and his relation, who was a robber and murderer; and at length taken and executed at Oxford, about the latter part of queen Elizabeth's reign. Of whom Dr. George Abbot, (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury,) in his book against Dr. Hill, gives us this remarkable account: That he was taken and convicted with one Richardson for a murder. And besides many other villanies done in England, and beyond the seas, he once robbed upon the highway, and murdered a drover, carrying with him some good store of money. He with his said fellow were afterwards taken, and prisoners in Oxford; where the said Dr. Abbot was with them, to visit and instruct them. When he observed, that it much grieved his fellow Richardson, then being in company, that Parry had slain the man; and his conscience, as he reported to Abbot and others, could in no sort be appeased about the fright and remorse thereof. But Parry

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bade him not to dismay himself; but prepare as soon as he could to fly after him into Ireland: for thither the principal murderer was hastening. And from thence they would travel to Rome; where he had been with his uncle, Dr. Parry, before; and knowing the fashion of the place. And there he undertook to get a pardon of his holiness; and all should be as well as if it had never been. This Parry told Abbot, that he had been a page to a cardinal in Rome, an attendant on the duke of Guise, who was slain by the commandment of Henry III. of France, and of guard to the duke of Parma. And therefore, as Abbot concluded, he might well be supposed to have known popish fashions. And for certain he lived a Romanist, and so professed himself at the time of his execution.

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Dangers from papists in Cheshire and Lancashire. Creiton, a Scotch Jesuit, from Rome; taken: and examined. Popish books; writ upon the execution of Jesuits. Books in answer thereto. Proved that they were traitors by the statute of king Edward III. Dr. Whitaker's application to the lord treasurer for the mastership of St. John's college, Cambridge: his letters. Letter of lord Burghley to King's college, in behalf of Mr. Cowel. Winchester college in danger, by means of forged writings. Dr. Bilson the warden's good service. Remarks on several persons. Richard, suffragan of Dover. Manwood, lord chief baron. Daniel Rogers. John Fox's request for his prebend. Hurleston of Cheshire. Sir Edward Stradling. John lord Russel. Sir Philip Sydney. Emanuel Demetrius.

WHAT reason there was now to have a strict hand over papists at home, as well as a watchful eye on those abroad, that which hath been related above will shew; and this hint will in part suggest; taken from a letter of the earl of Leicester, being now in Chester, to the lord treasurer

Burghley; relating the insolency of the papists in Cheshire and Lancashire, (who had been favourably handled of late,) in these words: "There is great need to hold the favourable hand toward the papists of this country, [as some had unseasonably moved there might be.] You will not believe what harm it hath done; and how bold they be, I have written somewhat to Mr. Secretary; but at my coming [home] I will tell your lordship more." And then mentioned one Barlow, whom some protestants of Lancashire had wrote their letters for, because of his age and infirmities, that he might be removed to some more liberty. And then adds; "My lord, he is the most arrogant that lives, not only in his religion, but in his lewd and naughty speeches openly, whensoever he is called. [i. e. before the ecclesiastical commissioners.] I am sorry to write it, but there is great cooling of protestants in those parts. And it is most true, and no marvail," [meaning, while so many seminaries were harboured there.]

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Papists in Lancashire and Cheshire.

The danger of the kingdom appeared further by Creiton, a Scotchman, and Jesuit. Who had been at Rome, and transacted for a great sum of money to be procured and sent into England for the Scots queen; and had dealing with Morgan, the Scots queen's agent, and the Guises in France. But he was taken, by the diligence of secretary Walsingham, with divers letters also, discovering what they were doing. From which, and the knowledge obtained thereby, and the informations therein, the secretary drew up divers questions to be put to the said Creiton. Which will serve to open his treason.

Creiton, a Jesuit taken, with letters.

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The questions, as I transcribed them from Walsingham's own hand, shall follow. The title to the paper is this: *Articles to be ministered to Creyton the Jesuit, the 3d of Jan.* 1584. First, For what cause he repaired last to Rome: and by whom he was directed thither. Secondly, Whether he was sent thither to procure a certain sum of money of 12,000 ducats: what success he had therein: and how the same was intended to be employed: and to whose hand it was delivered. Thirdly, Whether the said sum was

Articles to be ministered to him. Paper Office. Vid. the Scots queen's letter; ch. xx.

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not delivered to one Cleude, a Jesuit, born in Lorain. Fourthly, Whether complaint was not made to the duke of Guise by one Morgan, the Scots queen's agent, of the said examinant, for that the money was not delivered unto him. Fifthly, Whether he did not write into Scotland to certain of his associates, touching the employment of the said sum of money: as also to Dr. Bernard, being here in England. Sixthly, Whether he did not desire the brethren at Rome to make fervent prayers for his furtherance of an enterprise to be done; as also the Jesuits at Lions. Seventhly, Whether he had not commission from the duke of Guise and others, to impart unto certain in Scotland an enterprise intended against this realm in September last. All this the secretary was enabled to inquire into, by means of certain letters from Scotland, that were seized, or came some other way to his hand.

By reason of these dangers, too evident, both to the queen and the quiet of the whole kingdom, divers persons were executed. But great clamours arose against the government on this account; and popish books were written, shewing what direful executions and cruelties were done here in England. For the stopping of which calumnies, and for satisfying of the world in the justice and necessity of the methods taken, some books also, as answers, were published. One was entitled, *The execution of justice in England, for maintenance of public and Christian peace, against certain stirrers of sedition, and adherence to the traitors and enemies of the realm; without any persecution of them for questions of religion, as is falsely reported and published by the factors and fosterers of their treason.* Beginning: "It hath been, in all ages and in all countries, a common "usage of all offenders, ... to make a defence of their lewd "and unlawful facts," &c.

Books set forth upon the execution of papists: and answers to them.

Another book came forth this year of the like import, called, *A declaration of the favourable dealings of her majesty's commissioners, appointed for the examination of certain traitors, and of tortures unjustly reported to be done upon them for matters of religion.* Beginning thus:

A declaration of favourable dealings, &c.

" Good reader, although her majesty's most mild and gra- CHAP. XXII.
" cious government be sufficient to defend itself against
" those most slanderous reports," &c. [It came forth soon Anno 1584.
after the execution of some traitorous Jesuits.] " And 266
" against slanderous reports spread abroad in seditious
" books, letters, and libels; thereby to inflame the hearts
" of our countrymen and her majesty's subjects," &c. This
book is entered in Holinshed's Chronicle, under the year Hol. Chron. p. 1357.
1584, where it may be read.

There came out also this year, after the execution of Papists executed, traitors by statute.
some papists, who were adjudged to death for treason, a treatise, to prove that those lately executed were traitors; and that such other papists as had of late been executed were, by a statute of Edward III. lawfully executed as traitors. It began with that statute: " That if any man shall
" compass or imagine the king's death, or shall levy war
" against him, or shall probably be attainted to have been
" an adherent to the king's enemies; he shall be adjudged
" a traitor." Then the author proceeded to consider the papists' dealings. " That Pius V. the father in his time of
" them all, called her majesty's interest in the crown *præ-*
" *tensum jus*, and declared her deprived, by his authority,
" of the kingdom. He absolved her subjects from their
" oath of obedience. He cursed all that should yield her
" any princely duty. And yet, not herewith content, he
" sent of his ministers into this land, to signify, by his
" authority apostolic, to certain illustrious persons, what
" was done at Rome; how Elizabeth was a heretic; how
" she had lost her crown; and that they owed her no kind
" of obedience." And hereupon began the rebellion in the north by the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland. But the tract being somewhat long, and done by some able pen, I recommend the whole to the reader in the Appendix, where it is preserved. It was occasioned by a popish book lately set forth, entitled, *Historia martyrum in Anglia*. Number XLVII.

Under the next year we shall hear more of these Ro-

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mish zealots, and their practices: now we shall proceed to matters more private and personal.

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I begin with an university affair. Dr. Howland, master of St. John's college in Cambridge, was this year preferred to the bishopric of Peterburgh. On which occasion the place of master of that college was like ere long to become vacant. The election of a successor being in the fellows of the college, several persons made their interests with them for it; as Watson, Stanton, and William Whitaker, who was public professor of divinity in that university, a learned writer, and particularly against Campion the Jesuit his Challenge. Who thinking his interest not strong enough amongst the fellows, making some exceptions against him, thought fit to apply himself to the lord treasurer, the high chancellor of that university, (who was also himself once of that college,) in a letter or two composed in elegant Latin; therein shewing his case and his plea; which I choose to represent in his own words translated.

Whitaker endeavours for the mastership of St. John's college.

His letter to the high chancellor.

The former letter, bearing date the last day of November, was to this tenor: "That he could not then wait upon his "lordship, the business of his scholastical profession hin- "dering him; and therefore prayed him to take in good "part his sending of that letter. That he understood, that "he had been recommended long since, *certo nomine*, to his
267 "honour by others; who thought better of him than he per- "haps deserved, (as he modestly said.) For how small his "abilities were, and how unworthy he was to succeed a "man so excellent and accomplished, he easily acknow- "ledged. But, added he, by the grace of God I am "what I am: and his grace in me, I hope, hath not been in "vain. That he had performed in his lordship's university "the office of the profession of *theology*, in which then he "had been employed five years, and desired so to spend all "the other part of his life, if the Lord had so appointed. "Which that it might most conveniently be, there was no "need to admonish his excellent wisdom; for he knew the "state of their university and the church. To which if his

" labours heretofore had not been, as he hoped, unprofit-
" able, they might be more profitable hereafter by his lord-
" ship's benefit. And that if any raised any suspicions of Anno 1584.
" him, (too disingenuously perhaps,) he besought him, his
" most honourable lord, *de me mihi potius, quam aliis cre-*
" *das;* that he would believe him concerning himself, ra-
" ther than others. That he dared not longer to detain his
" honour. Wherefore he commended him and all this
" affair to the divine clemency."

It was but two months after I find this learned professor apologizing for himself to the same lord, against certain, who seemed to have accused him, as not to have deserved well of the church established; and would have had the chancellor to decline his good opinion of him for that mastership. It was time now to give a truer representation of himself and his principles to his patron. Which he did thus at large; and I the rather shew here, to give us, his posterity, a true light of one of the learned divines and writers in that age: beginning, *Obtestor humanitatem tuam*, &c. Dr. Whitaker to the lord Burghley, in vindication of himself.

" Beseeching his courteous, obliging disposition, surpassing
" even his honour, (and that very great too,) that he would
" pardon him the disturbance he gave him by his letter,
" being urged by the necessity of thus writing. Which he
" wished had not happened, that he neither might have
" been troublesome to his honour, and that none had been
" injurious to him. That indeed he was grieved, that some
" suspicion concerning him should be given to his honour:
" which grief would have vexed him bitterly; but that he
" was persuaded of his benevolence towards him, that by a
" true apology he might hope, that he should be able to
" satisfy him, and to take all scruple out of his mind. And
" that unless he resolved with himself to perform those
" things which belonged to the office of that place, [the go-
" vernment, as it seems, of that college,] he would refuse
" it indeed, however offered. But he doubted not in this
" matter abundantly to satisfy his honour, and all good
" men."

He proceeded then to give a character of himself. " That His promise.

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Anno 1584.

" he was not ignorant of how great prudence and moderation there was need, in such various wits and manners. " That he would endeavour to seem to be, though not the " best, yet far removed from the worst. That he would " be the author of peace, of concord, of agreement. That " he would cut off the occasions of factions, as much as he
268 " could. That he would not do any thing that might give " cause to any deservedly to judge him a favourer of " parties. That he would most diligently observe the laws. " Lastly, That if he should not be such as the place re- " quired, as the law prescribed, as authority should ap- " prove, he might be removed; and he would not think it " much to be removed out of his place." He demanded therefore, " What is there that any one man requireth in " me, which he may suspect of me, to judge me unworthy " of that place? If I am not worthy of that place, I can- " not think myself worthy of that which I now hold, [re- " gius professor of divinity,] and have held some years; " and which hereafter I shall gladly and willingly hold, " though I suffer the shame of this repulse."

His character.

And then applying to his lordship, " That it was not un- " known to his honour what he had done; how he had " lived; what labour he had taken for the sake of the " church. That those that accused him not to deserve well " of our church might be refuted by deeds rather than " words. That indeed he had consecrated his whole self, " and all his life, to those academical studies; for this pur- " pose, that he might do his endeavour in the behalf of our " church, in those necessary contests with the adversaries. " That if he received any blow in this cause, if he were " now compassed and oppressed with accusations, he knew " not, which; if he there should lose all his lordship's fa- " vour besides, which alone he had always esteemed, and " whom he had always hopes would be his patron; he " should lament his cause, and should comfort himself, as " he should be able, with the testimony of a good conscience. " That indeed nothing now happened to him beside his ex- " pectation: for he did not doubt there would be such who

" would desire to estrange his lordship's mind from him: CHAP. XXII.
" not for that cause that they really thought those things
" were true that were laid to his charge, but that they might Anno 1584.
" by some means or other snatch away his place from him.
" Which if they could perform and obtain, to persuade his
" lordship concerning him in that which they desired, he
" truly would rest quiet; and would better meditate of that
" of the prophet: *It is good to trust in God, rather than in*
" *man; it is good to hope in the Lord, rather than in*
" *princes.*" And then concluded with his prayer; " The
" Lord Jesus preserve and increase your honour. Cam-
" bridge, cal. Febr. 1584."

But notwithstanding this his fear of the loss of the lord treasurer's friendship, he continued his friend and patron. But he obtained not the mastership of St. John's till two years after, when the present master, Dr. Howland, now bishop, surrendered it; and had used his interest in the college for him, as that lord had required of him. Whose letter to the said lord we shall take notice of, when we come to the year 1586; and shall see there in what state he left that college.

Lord Burghley to King's college, in behalf of Mr. Cowel.

There was another college, viz. King's, wherein a particular affair of one of the members obliged the said lord Burghley to interpose, addressing his letter to the provost and fellows in favour of Mr. Cowel, (another learned man of that university,) to elect him their proctor. He was a very 269
learned civilian, well known afterwards for his book called the *Interpreter* of the terms in the civil law: for which he came into trouble. In memory of him, as well as to retrieve what memorials I can of the universities, and the transactions there, I shall here transcribe the chancellor's earnest letter to the said college, in Cowel's behalf, with the esteem he then had, from the original minutes thereof in his own hand.

His letter to the provost and fellows.

" After my hearty commendations. I hear there is now
" for this next year the room of one of the proctors for that
" university to be chosen out of your college; and that one
" Mr. Cowel, one of your company, a man of great commen-

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" dation for his learning, and no less for his wisdom and " discretion, is thought to be a meet man for that room. " Wherefore I do require you, that beside the considera- " tions, that I hope shall prove yourselves for the good " liking of the party, that upon this my request and com- " mendation, (a manner not much used by me to trouble " you with any request,) this Mr. Cowel may find you the " more ready to prefer him to this place. And that if any " other shall seek by any extraordinary means to procure " the voices to the contrary, I require you most earnestly, " that you will appear now, before any such attempts to " divert the same, by demonstration of your former disposi- " tions towards Mr. Cowel. And for the favours herein I " shall think myself much beholden unto you. From the " court at Oatlands, the 25th of September, 1584."

A forgery against Winchester college.

From these colleges in the university I am carried to another college, viz. that of Winchester, where Dr. Bilson was now warden, (as he was afterward the worthy bishop of that diocese,) well known for his learned writings. The revenues of which college had been like to have been swallowed up by a notorious forgery; that is yet hardly discoverable: namely, by an ancient pretended right and title to the lands thereof. The discovery whereof, and the rescue of the college, was owing chiefly to the elaborate pains and diligence of the said warden. A relation whereof he giveth us himself, in an epistle to the reader before a book of his, that came out near about this year; viz. " That " there happened an injury to be offered to the inheritance " of his college by a false title derived from before the " foundation of the house; and so strengthened on every " side with ancient deeds and evidence, that the forgery " was hard to be discerned, and harder to be convinced; " but by infinite searching into muniments of many churches " and bishoprics, as well as in their own, [of Winchester,] " and their examining sundry large and laborious commis- " sions, which they had taken out before Dr. Bilson's time; " to testify the keeping, and justify the delivering of these " suspected deeds and ligiers:" to the detecting and im-

The difference between Christian subjection and Anti-christian rebellion.

pugning of which no person was (he saith) or would be used (he spake it for the pains, and not for the skill) but himself. The cause was so huge, the comparing of the circumstances, and contrarieties both of deeds and witnesses, so tedious, the proof so perplexed and intricate, and the danger so nearly touched the whole state of the house, that he tells us he was forced two years to lay all studies aside, and addicted himself wholly, first to the deeper handling, and then to the pursuing of this falsehood.

I proceed now to some remarks of divers particular persons of note falling out within this year.

A remark of Richard, suffragan of Dover.

And first, something occurred this year in Canterbury, that bespake Richard, suffragan bishop of Dover, to have been a pious, upright, and just man. There happened to be a foul murder committed in that city by a gentleman's son there; so barbarous, that when it came to Manwood, the lord chief baron's ears, that lived hard by, he was resolved the murderer, as he deserved, should die for it. But notwithstanding afterwards it was put up; and the malefactor walked confidently about the streets, to the indignation of the people. Which the said suffragan related to Tho. Diggs, esq. a gentleman of good quality in those parts, in a letter to this purport: "One notable matter hath the chief "baron done of late in the knowledge of all men; which "is this: The son of one Collard of Canterbury did lately, "in the open streets there, most wilfully kill a poorer man. "Whereat the chief baron was so moved at the first, that "he earnestly vowed the hanging of the murderer. But "after the father, being a rich man, had dealt with him in "behalf of his son, he brake his vow; and, contrary to all "expectation, procured (as it must needs be, of some wrong "suggestion) a pardon for the said murderer; who then "walked up and down the streets in Canterbury, as it were "in despite of all his enemies, to the great grief of all the "honest inhabitants there. But such parts as these were, "were not, as he [the suffragan] thought, strange unto "him [unto whom he wrote] in this party, [meaning the "chief baron.] He added upon this, that he hoped a day

Lord chief baron Manwood.

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" would come, when they should see him a better man; or " else he was persuaded his confusion would not tarry long.

Anno 1584. Psalm vii.

" *For the Lord is a righteous judge, strong and patient;* " *and God is provoked every day. If a man will not turn,* " *he will whet his sword. He hath bent his bow; and made* " *it ready. He hath prepared for him the instruments of* " *death.*" [By these words of the Psalm glancing at that chief baron, corrupt.] It was dated from Sutton, 27. Octob. 1584. Subscribed,

" Your most assured,

" Ri. Dover."

In a catalogue of articles drawn up afterwards against this aforesaid lord chief baron, (the paper endorsed, *Abuses committed by him*,) this was one: " Collard's son of Can- " terbury killed a poor man coming from his work, in the " open street at Canterbury: for which the chief baron " threatening at the first to hang him: but by means of 240*l.* " paid by his father, the son had his pardon by the chief " baron's means. And ever after the offender wore the " chief baron's livery. His father was a brewer in Canter- " bury, who said and swore, that it cost him 240*l.* to ap- " pease the matter by soliciting the chief baron."

271 Daniel Rogers, the queen's agent in the Netherlands.

Daniel Rogers (who had been employed in the Netherlands by the queen, and earnest in her causes) was treacherously seized by the Spaniard for some pretence of a debt, and cast into the prison about four years ago; and detained till this year, when he got his liberty, after much danger of his life. He was sent to the prince of Orange in the year 1575, as our historian tells us, when the queen had declined to assist him and the Netherlands against the violences of Spain, and thereupon was consulting to apply to the French king. His business with that prince now was to dissuade him from that purpose. This Rogers had long lived and been a traveller in those parts, and an intelligencer of the lord treasurer; between whom passed many letters.

Camd. Eliz.

He was now at Buckholt, a town of the bishop of Munster's jurisdiction. From whence in November he signified

Anno 1584.

His letter to the lord treasurer concerning his troubles.

to the said lord his deliverance, with particulars of his case and circumstances, and his protestations of his true concerns for the queen and her interest. And withal requireth that he may be supplied with a sum of money for his complete liberty of coming away from thence. And considering the qualities and condition of this gentleman, for a remembrance of him, I will relate the contents of this letter. He mentioned, "How his lordship had bore it in his mind, "that he had travailed to deserve well of her majesty and "the commonwealth. That he never travailed to pleasure "the multitude; but judged it would stand him in stead, "if his studies and services might be approved by his lord-"ship. That there were that had not travailed so long, "neither in the like dangers, as he had done; and yet had "been better considered: whom, as he said, he envied not." And then using these words of himself: "My conscience "giveth me testimony, that the travail I have followed, I "never undertook, as puffed up with vain-glory or ambi-"tion; but stirred up by a singular desire which I always "had to seek the advancement of God's glory, her ma-"jesty's assurance, and the establishment of the realm.

"That if besides there were any skill or experience in "him, which would stand his lordship in stead, he would "think himself happy to be commanded by his lordship; "who might be (as he trusted his lordship was already "well persuaded) assured of him. That he should be over "tedious, if he here discoursed to his lordship after what "sort he was taken; by what detained so long time. That "it might suffice for this present to advertise his lordship, "that as he was, for his own respect, right glad that he was "at liberty, delivered out of such strange captivity; so be-"cause it might have happened, if he had died in prison, "that her majesty might have been interested according as "Spanish humours were inclined. He thanked God, he "was at liberty, not only to convince all fraud, which might "have prejudiced her majesty, but ready, and peradventure "fitter to do greater service unto her highness, than ever "before he had or could have done."

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In short, the queen had granted him 160*l.* for his deliverance. And he requested 160*l.* more, to carry on a law-suit against his adversaries, to convince their barbarous covetousness and practices: who had studied, for further gain, to prolong his captivity, as he signified to the lord treasurer. And then adding, "That he dared assure his "lordship, by the aid of Almighty God, that it should "never repent him; meaning to employ himself in such a "manner for his lordship's advantage and honour, as that "his lordship should think his liberty well bestowed. And "that he would confer with the earl of Leicester and the "secretary, to both whom he had written, for the relieving "of him."

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Some account of Rogers.

This Daniel Rogers was the more remarkable, being the son of John Rogers, prebendary and reader of divinity in St. Paul's, London, and the proto-martyr in queen Mary's cruel reign. He studied at Wittenburgh, and was a scholar under Melancthon; (as he mentioned in one of his letters;) and understanding the German, Dutch, and other languages, as well as Latin, was secretary to an ambassador of queen Elizabeth's divers years past, and particularly in the year 1569. And having that opportunity and advantage, gave intelligence to secretary Cecyl of the acts and occurrences (that year) of princes and kingdoms, with respect to queen Elizabeth, and the affair of religion especially; by information and state letters, received from Rome, from Venice, Paris, Brussels, Antwerp, Strasburgh, Leipsich, Vienna, Lyons, Geneva, Augsburgh, Barcelona, Frankfort, Norinberg: all containing matters of moment, transactions and reports of affairs, wars, leagues, and the pope's interpositions, in the several states and dominions in that year: transcribed by him out of letters from those several parts and places; and digested by him into a book: which I once saw among the Burghleian papers; entitled, *A book of all such letters and advertisements as were written to the most part of the princes in Germany, and as come to my hand since my last departure from Hamburgh: which was the 28th day of May last, unto this present August.* 1569.

Well worthy to be entered, to give light to the affairs of religion reformed, spitefully struck at by the princes of the earth at that time, and laboured to be utterly rooted out. But it would take up too much room here: only for a taste, I will set down in the Appendix some of the intelligences from Rome and Venice, wherein England and queen Elizabeth are touched. CHAP. XXII. Anno 1584. Number XLVIII.

But all this shews what a considerable man he was in these times, and how he deserved the great character that the writer of the *Athenæ Oxonienses* gives him, "That he "was the most accomplished gentleman of that time, and a "very good man, and excellently learned." See somewhat more of him in the Life of Archbishop Whitgift, when, in the year 1585, court-interest was made for him to be made treasurer of St. Paul's, London. Page 199. Book iii. ch. 14.

John Fox, the great martyrologist, that had merited so well for his laborious writings of the state of religion, and the sufferers for it in this kingdom, from century to century, (but more largely in the reigns of king Henry VIII. king Edward VI. and queen Mary,) was in the times of queen Elizabeth much reverenced. Whom I find this year requesting the lord treasurer to obtain the queen's hand for his prebend of Sarum, (called Shipton Underwich Wood in Oxfordshire,) to be renewed and confirmed to him and his son after him; the bishop and chapter of that church having granted the same. This request he made in a well-penned epistle, some part in Latin and some in Greek, to the said lord, his old and known patron, especially his circumstances being now but narrow: beginning, *Ornatissime, illustrissime,* γενναιότατε *in Christo patrone.* Therein shewing, that the bishop of Sarum and the whole society of the church had subscribed, and that nothing was now wanting but the ψῆφος of her gracious majesty; which he left to that lord's piety to obtain for him. He wrote, that he well knew how unseasonable it was for him to interpose in that lord's very weighty business. But could he not in such a necessity, or whom could he sue to, but him? But the whole John Fox, his prebend in the church of Sarum. 273

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letter of so memorable a man, and that so elegantly composed, I have laid in the Appendix.

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But it seems this matter was not so thoroughly fixed: by some defect in the lease, or whatever was the cause, Piers, the bishop in the year 1586, intended to bestow this prebend upon his chaplain, had not archbishop Whitgift wrote to that bishop in behalf of Samuel, John Foxe's son: upon whose letter it was readily obtained for him; as was shewn in that archbishop's Life.

Book iii. ch. 16.

Hurleston of Cheshire, his services.

I meet with one Richard Hurleston, an active gentleman of Cheshire, and of long employment and trust, and an active justice of peace in that county; and for his merits and *feodarship* in that county, a place under the treasurer there, granted him. This gentleman was now cited into the star-chamber, as one that had not been faithful in that office. Into which trouble he seemed to have been brought out of some spite to him, for his zeal for religion and the queen's government. I have his letter this year to the lord treasurer in vindication of himself, written from Picton in Cheshire. Which I the rather enter here, as giving some light into the history of religion in the times past of king Edward and queen Mary, and so onward in the next, through many past years of his life, and his quality and condition.

" That he was servant first to sir Thomas Seimour, (he " who afterwards was lord admiral of England,) serving " him in the place of a gentleman during his life; and ac- " counted one of the best sort of his gentlemen. After " whose death he became servant to the earl of Pembroke, " then sir William Herbert, and master of the horse: with " whom, during king Edward's time, he gave often attend- " ance, and was often used in matters of importance; and " associated with the best sort of his servants. In which " time he served the king as marshal in his country, in the " time of the lieutenantships. And was, without his desire " or thinking of it, made a justice of peace in his country. " In which place he continued. And then bishop Scot [bi-

" shop of Chester] calling him into question for religion, he " was displaced. And in that time he was called by his " master [earl of Pembroke] out of the country: where he " remained absent from the court, from the death of king " Edward till he went to St. Quintins, [where, anno 1557, " a battle was fought with the French, the earl of Pem- " broke being general.] And from thence was sent with the " charge and government of the lord Herbert [son and heir " of the said earl] to Doway. Where they remained, till 274 " the lord, his father, came thither. And so they went " home. And then he [Hurlestone] went into his own coun- " try, where he remained till the death of queen Mary.

" Upon whose death, (as he went on with the relation of " himself,) he repaired to the court, to rejoice with such of " his familiars, which had passed the dangerous gulph of " her reign; which had swallowed very many of them. " That he might truly affirm, and would prove, that during " the government of king Edward and queen Mary, he " never had lewdness any way laid to his charge, but " by bishop Scot; who nevertheless dismissed him without " any manner of reproach, and with silence, after he had " charged him, that he and two other of his friends had " marred the country in king Edward's time: meaning for " religion.

" That at the beginning of queen Elizabeth's blessed " reign, perceiving that the authority of Rome had been set " up, maintained, and continued by power and force, he, " being appointed a justice of peace, without his seek- " ing, as he protested, endeavoured to bring *preachers*, " whereof the store was then small, to repair Abraham's " wells, that were digged in king Edward's time, and stop- " ped up in queen Mary's; to the shortening of the said " Romish power. And that by his means, and his travail, " the gentlemen of the country were contented to contribute " to their maintenance 2000 mark by year. By reason " whereof there came into the country Dr. Piers, Mr. Dun, " Mr. Lane, and others: who all were by his means enter-

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" tained. And thereby, and by their diligent travail, the " said power [Romish] in that place declined. And after- " wards, for the better combining of the minds of the coun- " try in their duty to God and her majesty, I provoked, as " much as in me was, to bring the *chamberlainship* of Ches- " ter into the hands of the earl of Leicester; being the per- " son most bounden to her majesty, as I then thought, and " furthest from declining from his duty.

" And not long after followed the rebellion, [in the " north,] the thing whereby the Romish authority might " be brought into England again, in which time of rebellion " he drew a manner of proclamation. Which was by the " justices of the peace, being met together at the North- " wich, sent to be published in all the churches in that " shire, [viz. Cheshire,] to the appalling of many ill-dispos- " ed, and to the comfort of all well-minded persons. And " that the copy of it was ready to be shewed.

" He related also, how he was sent by the earl of Leices- " ter about matters concerning her majesty. For which " matters he received that earl's letters to come to the court. " That he also received his lordship's letters; whereby he " attended him at Buxton's [well]. And that he advertised " the earl of Pembroke then of the Lancashire conspiracy. " And afterward discovered some part of sir Thomas Stan- " ley's intention. And that in which he laboured upon his " own charge; and got enemies, and had his life sought."

275 All this concerning himself and his merits: and then he comes closer to what he was then accused for in the star-chamber. " That the lord Burghley gave him the office of " the *feodarship* by his good favour. And in such good " manner, as he acknowledged himself bounden unto him " for the same: an office under the treasurer. But he [the " said treasurer] had charged him to deceive the queen. " And so put him out of the same, being troubled with " him." For so the lord Burghley had written to Hurles- ton. But he thus in his own behalf: " That it was most " true, that the exercise thereof was a yearly charge unto

" him, and never any way profitable. And that he was able " to make appear, the queen was better served in the same, " than ever she was before or since.

" And for deceiving the queen, he answered, that to his " knowledge he never, by colour of that office, did willingly " deceive her of the value of one penny. That it might be, " that ignorantly, and by negligence, he might commit " something which in duty he ought to have answered more " certainly: but that he was never thereof any way ac- " cused." This gentleman, so much employed in public services, and so just, may deserve a remembrance in history.

An heiress seized, and her lands.

Here follows a gentleman brought into another of these courts, viz. the court of wards and liveries, but hardly, and innocent. The case was this. Sir Edward Stradling, knight, had seized a young lady, heiress to one Gamage, esq. and detained her in his house; being now come to age, and so no longer the queen's ward. Which he reckoned would secure him in what he did, or intended to do, in his taking possession also of her houses and lands. When the lord Burghley was informed of this, who was master of the queen's wards and liveries, he seasonably interposed; and put a stop to Stradling's proceedings, who thought to swallow up all, now he had gotten the heiress: but she had not sued out her livery from the queen. Without doing which the right of her estate still lay in the queen's hands. Therefore the said lord Burghley issued out his letters to Stradling, to forewarn him from meddling with the said heiress's lands, and the writings, and evidences thereof. For that by his office he was concerned in them in behalf of the queen, though she were no longer a ward. And withal he sent another to Karn, a knight in those parts: whom he ordered to take possession of the said house and lands for the queen, and to keep the evidences of her estate for her good. But it is worth perusing the whole letter; wherein will appear what power and check this great officer had in those times against the wronging of young heirs and heiresses. It ran in this tenor.

Lord Burghley,

" That although he had not to do by his office to inter-

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Anno 1584. master of the wards and liveries, his letter to Stradling.

" meddle with the state of the marriage of the daughter " and heir of Mr. John Gamage, late deceased, because he " credibly was informed, that she was in full age, and at her " own liberty to marry, where she should best like, with the " advice of her near kinsfolks: yet because she was not to " have the possession of her lands, but by composition with " her majesty for her livery, and that by his direction, as " master of the queen's liveries; he took himself bound by
276 " his oath and office to have care, that she and all others, " before they sue their livery, may have their lands and " possessions preserved from waste, or from an intrusion by " any stranger; and especially from all entries of persons, " that may have any pretence or colour of title to any part " of the same lands.

" And upon these considerations, and his hearing that he " [sir Edward Stradling] had seized upon her person, and " did keep her in his house, without any colour of reason, " as a prisoner. With which his doings he [the lord Burgh- " ley] meant not to meddle, but referred to her next kins- " folks: but especially to the lord chamberlain, and others " in the court. But hearing that he had presumed, without " any leful authority, to enter into her house, and to secure " into his hands all things there: where also the evidences " of her lands remained; unfit for any to deal withal, until " the inquisition be made by his [that lord's] direction; and " an office found after the death of her father, who was the " queen's majesty's tenant *in capite:* whereby she might, " according to the law of the realm, sue her livery."

And then he came to a resolution in these words. " Find- " ing this manner your proceeding, (if I be truly informed,) " unjust, unleful, and unhonest, I do therefore in her ma- " jesty's name charge you, that you forbear to continue any " such unleful actions; being dangerous to the gentlewo- " man's inheritance. And that you permit some other per- " sons, more indifferent, to take the charge of the house, " and to cause all places, where the evidences are, to be " sealed, until I shall cause the queen's majesty's writ to be " sent, to inquire after her father's death. And because I

" think sir —— Karn (who was a neighbour to her prin- Anno 1584.
" cipal house) to be a meet person to take this charge, as a
" person indifferent, to whom I have written to that effect;
" and therefore I require you, that he may have access to
" the gentlewoman; and to inform her of this care for her
" benefit. And yet if he shall, for any cause to me un-
" known, mislike of him to take this charge, I require you
" that she may, at her good liberty, (without constraint of
" fear of you, or the lady your wife, or of any other,) name
" any other discreet person, to take the same charge, for
" her after-weal. And that to be pronounced in the pre-
" sence of the said sir —— Karn. And he also may assent
" thereto; as I doubt not but he will, if the person be a
" meet person for that purpose. And so to end this my let-
" ter, being somewhat at length, I require you to let me be
" answered otherwise, than, for ought I understand, you
" have answered my former next afore this. Which was
" not unreasonable to have been well interpreted, and so an-
" swered."

To which I will subjoin the said master of the wards and liveries his letter to Karn, being but short: wherein the conscientious care of this officer towards the fatherless appeared.

" After my hearty commendations. Understanding, that
" since the death of John Gamage, esq. sir Edward Strad- And to Karn, a knight, to guard the heiress's estate.
" ling and his wife have seized upon the person of his
" daughter and heir, who is the queen's tenant *in chief*, and
" is to sue her livery; and her doth keep, as a prisoner:
" and doth also enter upon her houses and lands; which
" ought to be in the queen's majesty's hands until livery be 277
" made from the queen's majesty by me, the master of the
" queen's wards and liveries: and in the same house the
" evidences do remain, subject to danger of her inheritance,
" by the intermeddling thereof by sir Edward Stradling: I
" have for these considerations made choice of you at this
" time, as a person indifferent, to see to the guard of her
" houses and evidences. And have for that end written my
" letters to Mr. Stradling, (the copy whereof I send to you
" to be seen.) Which letters I pray you to deliver; and to

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" require, that you may have the custody of her house,
" where the evidences are: and so to do, I authorize you, in
" her majesty's name, by virtue of my said office: most
" heartily requiring you not to forbear to do this service,
" being agreeable to justice; a neighbouring part for you,
" and a charitable deed, for the saving of the gentlewoman's
" inheritance. And if she shall, for a cause unknown to us,
" name any other, either to join with you, or otherwise to
" do the same alone, I pray you take care that the same
" may be done."

John lord Russel dies.

This year died John lord Russel, son and heir of the earl of Bedford. Which lord married Elizabeth, one of the daughters of sir Anthony Cook, knight, an excellent, well accomplished, and learned lady. This lord was buried in Westminster-abbey. His lady shewed both love and learning in several copies of verses, in English, Latin, and Greek, very elegantly composed by her upon his death: those in English were as follow.

Right noble twice, by virtue and by birth:
Of heaven lov'd, and honour'd on the earth:
His country's hope, his kindred's chief delight.
My husband dear, more dear than this world's light.
Death hath me reft: but I from death will take
His memory. To whom this tomb I make.
John was his name. Ah! was; *wretch, must I say,*
Lord Russel once, now my tears thirsty clay.

To which I add these following Latin verses, by the same lady, to her daughters, survivors; which are set upon his monument.

Carmina ærumnosa matris in superstites filias.

Plangite nunc natæ, nunc flebile fundite carmen.
Occidit, heu! vestræ gloria sola domus.
Mors rapit immitis florentem stemmate claro,
Præsignem literis, tum pietate, patrem.
Hæredi comitis quin vos succrescite, tali
Ortu qui nituit, sed bonitate magis.

On which sad occasion also she compiled a copy of elegant verses in Greek. CHAP. XXII.

I must enter here a memorial of the brave and good sir Philip Sidney, one of the finest gentlemen in this reign. 278 To whom Dr. David Powel dedicated his book of history of Cambria, or Wales, set forth this year. Where, instead of extolling his noble birth and virtuous qualities, (the ordinary practice of those that write epistles dedicatory before their books,) it is to be remarked, how this author chose to play the part of a grave divine, &c. to direct his style, "To "admonish him to employ and use his parts and accom- "plishments to those ends for which they were bestowed "upon him from above, rather than otherwise, vainly with "suspicion of flattery, to speak of them; after this manner: Anno 1584. Sir Philip Sydney.

"First, I would have you consider with yourself, that "you have received all the good gifts you have at the hand "of Almighty God, who is the giver of all goodness: for "the which your duty is to render most humble and hearty "thanks unto his divine Majesty. The end also for the "which they are given unto you is at no time to be for- "gotten; that is, the setting forth the glory of God, and "for the benefit of your country. He exhorted him, that "he should also call to remembrance, that they were talents "delivered unto him of credit, to use for a time: for the "which he must render an account, when it should please "the owner to call him to it. That the more he had, the "greater his account would be. And then added, Use them "therefore, and hide them not in a napkin. For they are "the better for the wearing. The more you use them, the "more they will increase. The more you lay out, the richer "you shall be. Have always before your eyes the glory of "God: never forget the same in any thing you do. Seek "the weal-public of your country: labour to do it good in "any thing you may, while you have time so to do. For "you have but a while to remain here[a]. Away you must "go after the common course of nature. Let the remem- "brance of your account, when the stewardship is ended, "never out of your mind."

[a] This was, as it were, propheticially spoken: for sir Philip was

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He added: "These be the chief points, leading the right "path to true nobility. These things you shall find set out Anno 1584. "at large in that book wherewithal you" [speaking to sir Philip] "are most delighted." [Meaning surely the holy scriptures.]

slain at Zutphen, not much above a year after.

Further, for the backing his grave and godly counsel to this young gentleman, he excites him by illustrious patterns, after this manner. "For the putting these things in prac- "tice, I am to lay down two examples to you to imitate. "The which because they are domestic, ought to move you "to be the more willing to follow them. The one in your "own noble father, [sir Henry Sidney,] who always hath "been, and yet is, more inclined and bent to do good to his "country, than to benefit or enrich himself; as Wales and "Ireland, besides his own, can bear him witness. The other

Secretary Walsingham.

"is, your honourable father-in-law, sir Francis Walsing- "ham, her majesty's chief secretary; a man, for his zeal of "God's glory, and love towards them that fear God unfeign- "edly, well known to the world. Follow their steps, with the 279 "remembrance of the noble house out of the which you "are descended by your honourable mother, [daughter of "John duke of Northumberland;] and then you cannot do "amiss.

"Labour, by the example of your father, to discover and "bring to light the actions of the famous men of elder "times; who, with conference of the state and government "of all ages, will bring you to the perfect experience of the "things which you have learned out of Aristotle, Plato, and "Cicero, by your travail in philosophy."

Emanuel Demetrius.

I must add the mention of one person more of note, viz. Emanuel Demetrius, or De Meteren, a Dutchman by nation, born at Antwerp, but lived in England, and was a member of the Dutch church, London: a worthy person, and excellent historian, who writ the history of the Netherlands, called, *Belgica Historia;* and whose name and family remained long afterwards here, merchants of good repute, even to these times. He was dear to our historian Camden. The custom in those times, and since too, was,

that learned men commonly kept an *album*, as they called it, being a pocket paper-book: in which their friends wrote their names, with the addition of some motto or other, or sentence, in token of friendship, and loving remembrance. This gentleman's album is still preserved (or lately was there) in the strangers' church in St. Austin Friars. And therein Camden writ, dated this year, 1584, (any thing of Camden being worth recording,) these verses, and what followed.

Jussit amor; scribam: sed amorem claudere versu
Nescio: scribo tamen, quod mihi dictat amor.
Demetri, tuus est Camdenus amicus amico.
Nec magis esse suus, quam tuus esse potest.

τὸ μηδὲν, ἄγαν, ἄγαν με τέρπει.

On the page facing the other page is a pair of scales, held by a hand out of the clouds, with this motto;

Pondere non numero.

And these words by him written underneath:

Amicitiæ sacrum,
Domino Emanueli Demetrio, viro cum virtute, tum eruditione ornatissimo, amico optimo et bene merentissimo, in perpetuum amicitiæ inchoatæ monumentum,
Guilielmus Camdenus Londinensis
L. M.
Posuit.
LONDINI KALENDIS SEPTEMBRI.
M. D. LXXXIIII.

This I transcribed from the said MS. many years ago, shewn me by the Dutch minister, and an elder of that church.

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CHAP. XXIII.

Anno 1584. 210

Account of the quarter sessions at London. Books. A Defence of the English Catholics' Execution of Justice in the Land. A Declaration of Parry's Treasons. Bullinger's Decads in English. An Answer to the Abstract. A Declaration of ecclesiastical Discipline. The ancient History of Wales; by David Powel, D. D. Description of Lincoln; by Lambard. Guevara's Epistles; translated out of Spanish. A Sermon of Wimbledon, anno 1388.

Quarter sessions at London. Criminals.

THIS paper following was sent in to the lord treasurer by Mr. Fleetwood, recorder of London, being a short account of their sessions about Michaelmas. Which may serve for a specimen, what wickedness and crimes were committed even in those days; and that there were criminals then of all sorts, as well as afterwards; clergy as well as laity; and of both sexes. A transcript of the paper follows.

" At Bridewell, on Saturday, [the recorder sitting there,] " we had a minister's wife of Cardiganshire; who confessed, " that she was greatly sought unto by young women, (maid- " servants she meant,) when they were gotten with child. " She confessed, that she gave them *saven*, &c.

" One Higham, an old fellow, that is both an excommu- " nicate for putting away his wife; and also for such other " like part: he hath this year gotten three of the laundry " maids with child in the Fleet, being there a prisoner. He " stowteth out the matter with us, and will not find the chil- " dren; but writeth lewd letters unto us.

" *Sessions of goale were of livery the Monday after:*

" Mr. Dockwray's son, of Chamber-house in Barkshire, " was arraigned for stealing of a portmanton, with 84*l.* in " the same; taken out of an inn in London. But he was " acquitted.

" There was one Heton, a preacher, who contended to be " parson of St. Andrew's, Holbourn, (being maintained by " some of the parish,) did confront Mr. Vice-chamberlain " [sir Christopher Hatton] therein: was brought to us for

" sodomy; a lewd vice; which he hath been often accused " of before this time. We bailed him. For my part, I was " loath to have that vice openly spoken of, until further " consideration were had thereof. This Heton's father was " at Newgate arraigned and convicted for incest with his " own daughter: and stood upon the pillory for the same."

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Now lastly, for the books that came forth this year, these that follow are some of them.

A defence of English catholics that suffer for their faith. 281 Made by Dr. Allen, called cardinal Allen; in favour of those papists, Jesuits, and seminary priests, that had been executed for treason. This book was answered by Dr. Bilson; as we shall hear the next year.

Books set forth this year.

There came forth also *A declaration of the favourable dealings of her majesty's commissioners*, &c. This book was published against slanderous reports and libels, to defame her majesty and her subjects: this Declaration is extant in Holinshed's Chronicle. In this tract it is said, that Campion the Jesuit affirmed at the bench where he was tried, saying, " This place hath no power to inquire or judge of " the holy fathers' authority." And other answer he and other seminaries would not make.

This was occasioned by a popish book, set forth the year before, viz. 1583, called, *A treatise of schism.* And was printed by Will. Carter, of the city of London; being a seditious and traitorous book, in English. For which he was indicted, and condemned of high treason, and executed at Tyburn, January the 10th. This book was written by Gregory Martin, some time of St. John's college, Oxon, and contemporary with Campion. In that book the women at court were exhorted to act the same against the queen, as Judith had done, with commendation, against Holophernes.

These aforesaid commissioners were appointed for the examination of certain traitors; and of *tortures*, unjustly reported to have been done upon them for matters of religion. The reports were, that *heathenish and unnatural tyranny, and cruel tortures, were executed upon them that lately suf-*

Commissioners for examination of traitors.

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fered for their treason; who were Campion, Alex. Briant, and some more.

Anno 1584.

A book called Execution of Justice.

Another book came forth about this time, which likewise is preserved in Stow's Annals; entitled, *Execution of justice in the land, for maintenance of public and Christian peace; against certain stirrers of sedition, and adherents to the traitors and enemies of the realm; without any persecution of them for questions of religion, as is falsely reported and published by their fautors, and fosterers of treason.* Beginning, "It hath been in all ages and in all countries," &c. This whole tract is preserved also in Holinshed's Chronicle. This discourse is the more to be regarded, because I esteem it to have been composed by the lord treasurer Burghley. The minutes whereof, being his own hand, I have seen among his papers. Wherein, among other things, remarks were made of two of the queen's great rebels. One was Charles Nevyl, earl of Westmerland, the traitor who, after the rebellion in the north, fled abroad. "That he was "a person utterly wasted by looseness of life, and by God's "punishment, even in the time of his rebellion, bereaved of "his children, that should have succeeded him in the earl-"dom; and his body now eaten with ulcers of lewd causes, "as his companions did say. The other was Tho. Steuk-"ley; who ran out of Ireland: a defamed person almost "throughout all Christendom: a faithless beast, rather than "a man: fleeing first out of England for notable piracies, "and then out of Ireland for treachery not pardonable.
282 "Which two were the ringleaders of the rest of the re-"bels: the one for England, the other for Ireland."

Nevil, earl of Westmerland.

Tho. Stewkley.

A declaration of Parry's treason.

Another book was now published in vindication of English justice, executed against Parry; which bore this title: *A true and plain declaration of the horrible treasons practised by William Parry, the traitor, against the queen's majesty: the manner of his arraignment, conviction, and execution. Together with the copies of sundry letters of his and others, tending to divers purposes, for the proofs of his treasons. Also an addition not impertinent thereunto; con-*

taining a short collection of his birth, education, and course of life. Moreover, a few observations, gathered out of his own words and writings, for the further manifestation of his most disloyal, devilish, and desperate purpose. Anno 1584.

This year also, The Decads of Bullinger, chief minister of Zuric, or Tigur, in Switzerland, being translated into the English tongue, was printed: *for the use of ministers, to instruct them, and to read, as occasion served, in the church, for the better edification of the people. Being that reverend man's sermons, in five decads:* a bulky large quarto: entitled, *Fifty godly and learned sermons, divided into five decads: containing the chief and principal points of Christian religion.* In which volume are contained explications of the Apostles' Creed, and Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer, and the Sacraments. This was, as it seems, a second edition. The writer of the preface observed, "That many, dedicated to the service of God in the minis- "try, were far behind in those gifts which were necessary "for their function. And small likelihood there was, as yet, "that the church should be served with better, but rather "with worse. For it seemed not that *patrons* [of livings] "hereafter would bate one penny; but rather more raise "the market: [and so ability, not in parts, but in purse, "procured the preferments.] The case standing thus, their "labour surely is not worst bestowed; neither do they pro- "mote the glory of God or profit the church least, who to "that end employ their endeavours, that the ministry which "now is in place may come forward, and be better able to "do their duty. He meant either such as set godly and "learned treatises or expositions of the holy scriptures by "themselves in our mother tongue, or else such as trans- "lated the worthy works of the famous divines of our time. "That both these, no doubt, did much edify the godly, and "did greatly help forward all those ministers, which either "not at all, or very meanly, understood the Latin tongue." Bullinger's Decads.

And whereas the works of many of the learnedest foreign divines were already translated into the English tongue, for the supply of the ignorance and inability of many in holy

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orders, and that had cures; this work had much the advantage, as the writer of the preface proceeded: "Inasmuch

Anno 1584.

"as Bullinger, in those his Decads, amended much of Cal-

The usefulness of these Decads.

"vin's obscurity, [in his Institutions,] by his singular perspicuity, or clearness; and Musculus his scholastical subtil-
"ties, [in his Common Places,] by his great plainness, and
"even popular facility. All those points of Christian doc-
"trine, which were not to be found in one, but handled in
283 "all, Bullinger packed up all, and that in good order, in
"this one book, but of small bulk. And whereas divers of
"the ministers which lacked knowledge, and some also who
"had knowledge, but lacked order, discretion, memory, or
"audacity, could not, by reason of these wants, either ex-
"pound, or exhort, or otherwise preach, but only read the
"order of service, Mr. Bullinger's Decads might do more
"good in this respect, than perhaps at the first could be
"conceived. For in very deed this book is a book of *ser-*
"*mons; sermons* in number and in nature; fit to be read
"out of a pulpit unto the simplest and rudest people of this
"land. The doctrine of them very plain, without ostenta-
"tion, curiosity, perplexity, vanity, or superfluity; [the
"qualities of some sermons;] very sound also. In number
"fifty: every *Decad* containing, as the word signifies, ten.
"So that they easily may be divided; as there may be every
"Sunday in the year one of them read: for that it would
"not yet be, (as he added,) that every parish should have a
"learned preacher resident and abiding in it. And in the
"mean time it could not be denied, but that a homily or
"sermon, penned by some excellent clerk, being read plain-
"ly, orderly, and distinctly, did much move the hearers;
"teach, confirm, confute, comfort, &c. even as the same
"pronounced without our book."

Other books in Latin set forth in English.

For these good ends, in this deficiency of able and learned ministers, care was taken that there were already (before this book) translated into English the Latin works of divers foreign divines, for the use of our unlearned or learned ministers: as, Calvin's Institutions, Musculus his Common Places, the Comment of Marlorate upon St. John's Gospel; Peter

Martyr upon the Book of Judges; Gualter upon the Small Prophets. "All which (as the abovesaid prefacer writes) "handled most points of Christian doctrine excellently well. "But no writer yet, in the hands of men, could fit them "better than these Decads of Bullinger." CHAP. XXIII. Anno 1584.

In this book also knowledge is given of the four general councils; and of the first creeds in the primitive ages of the church. Of this book notice is taken in vol. ii.

An answer to a book called *An Abstract* now came forth, namely, to the two first and principal treatises (as the title ran) *of a certain factious libel, put forth without name of the author or printer; and without approbation of authority: under the title of An Abstract of certain acts of parliament, of certain her majesty's injunctions, of certain canons*, &c. And this sentence of St. Hieron in the title-page, *Ep. ad Pammochium;* (to countenance the subject of the book;) *Facile abjicitur quod hæret extrinsecus, intestinum bellum periculosius est. Conjuncta disglutinamus: unita dissuimus.* Printed by Henry Denham, 1584, in quarto. An account whereof, and the answer, is given before. It begins with the title of the book, viz. *The Abstract:* then takes into consideration the epistle: and then proceeds to the book itself. The main scope of this Abstract was to bring the governors and government ecclesiastical of this church into contempt and hatred. Answer to the Abstract. Chap. xix.

But the author's fair pretence (as the answerer shews) was, "to have advertised the governors of this church of "some wholesome laws in force, to them, as he pretended, "*unknown;* and therefore necessarily by them *unpractised:* "to the intent his admonition might have been profitable "hereafter *for the peaceable government of the church.* But "that, whatsoever was pretended, it was not of good zeal "and conscience, (whereof in every page he gave evident "proof to the contrary,) savouring so strongly of rancour "and contention." The pretence of the Abstract. 284

In this Abstract, the excellent Catechism of Noel, dean of St. Paul's, in Greek and Latin, printed 1573, is brought in, in one place, to prove their discipline: where it is said; "In Noel's Catechism vindicated.

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" well ordered churches a certain form of government was " instituted and observed. Certain elders, that is to say, " ecclesiastical magistrates, were chosen; which should re- " tain and practise ecclesiastical discipline. But, saith the " answerer, doth our author think, that this man here doth " mean their *lay-presbyteries*, never heard nor read of, from " the beginning of the world, till within these forty years, " or little more; because he [Noel] nameth them *ecclesias- " tical magistrates?* A fool thinks that bells do ring, and al- " most speak any thing, wherewith he is delighted. Or " could he gather that master Noel here condemneth our " church's discipline, as not agreeable to that which Christ " hath commanded? If he had directly said, that in some " well ordered churches an order of discipline differing from " ours is observed, doth this follow: Some well ordered " churches differ in some points of external discipline from " our church; *ergo*, Ours is not the discipline of Christ? " Then by this reason should no reformed churches be said " to retain the discipline of Christ, or be well ordered: " many of them, upon diversity of occasions, differing even " from themselves; and every one, in some point or other, " differing among themselves," &c. And then concluding concerning that reverend dean; " I do verily persuade my- " self, that he, being a man yet living, and well known to be " far from any unreverend opinion of the state and policy of " the church, whereof he is no inferior member himself, and " being best able to interpret his own meaning, would, if he " were demanded, quickly convince this man of factious and " slanderous wresting and wrecking of his words."

No form of discipline prescribed.

And thus I have given a taste of this applauded Abstract, with answers to several positions of it. To which I add only one more, that it was urged against them, that no *forms were ever prescribed*, in these words: " It cannot be " proved that any set and exact particular form of disci- " pline is recommended to us from the word of God," &c. The contrary to which they asserted. The answer given was this: " Are all the churches of Denmark, Swedeland, " Poland, Germany, Rhetia, Vallis, Telina, the nine can-

" tons of Switzerland reformed, with their confederates of " Geneva, of France, of the Low Countries, and of Scot- " land, in all points, either of substance or circumstance, " disciplined alike? Nay, they neither are, can be, neither " yet need so to be, &c. Seeing he objecteth to us the pre- " cedent of the reformed churches in matter of discipline, " let him first, by some proof out of scripture or ancient " writers, approve unto us, if he can, the debarring of the " civil magistrate from all government in ecclesiastical 285 " causes; and a presbytery or seigniory, consisting most " of lay persons: yet both of them practised by some " churches, which he and his clients most admire."

These collections I have made from these books, as they occur; to let in some knowledge of the matters argued and debated in them; and to give some light into the books of these times.

A brief and plain Declaration of Discipline.

Another book, that seemed to condemn the government of the church, came out this year, 1584; called, *A brief and plain declaration of the ecclesiastical discipline.* Now to shew some account of this book; because it was highly esteemed by many, and printed first in the year 1574, in Latin, and now reprinted in English. And being one of the chief stays the disciplinarians built their doctrine of church government upon, I will give some short notes of it. It bore this title: *A full and plain declaration of ecclesiastical discipline out of the word of God, and of the declining of the church of England from the same.* It seemed to be printed beyond sea, by the character. Travers, I think, was the author. The epistle to the reader will give some farther account of the book and author.

Account of the author and book.

The author is said to be one who executed some time the public ministry; and afterwards was laid aside. That the book was translated out of Latin: in which language it was first writ. The writer of the epistle gave the reason; namely, " It being conceived the queen would be the readier " to read it, because it was writ in that language: who, ac- " cording to her excellent learning was delighted with things

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" that were written in Latin. And that they conceived great " hopes, that this cause, which hitherto she had tasted here " and there, out of the false rumours of those that dealt " unjustly with them, [of the discipline], should be more " fully drawn out of their own books, as it were out of the " fountains."

And concerning the author, the writer of the epistle " gives this comfortable hope, that the *discipline* would at " length take place, in that our merciful Father had pro- " vided a notable workman; whose breast he had filled " with all kind of treasures, both of arts and tongues: and " that he had framed a Bezaleel for them; to make the ves- " sels and the instruments of the tabernacle, &c. For *dis-* " *cipline* here shewed herself, and came forth openly in " sight of all men; not only with good words and excellent " sentences, as it were arrayed with costly garments, but " also the same as it were with method comely and seemly " girded."

He added; " That *Discipline* had been twice repulsed " before, and now came the third time, [now at a parlia- " ment,] the same that she was before; but with greater " train and ornaments, as was meet for a most beautiful " daughter of the noblest king."

Tho. Cartwright the publisher.

The writer of this commendatory epistle appears to be Thomas Cartwright, the head puritan; who, as he said, had done his endeavour to bring to light so excellent a jewel, committed to his custody, being persuaded, that he could not, without the heinous sin of sacrilege, have buried in silence, as it were in the grave, so notable a treasure.

286 The book began with a table or short view of all ecclesiastical discipline ordained by the word of God. The first running title is, *The necessity of discipline.*

I have set down all this, gathered from that book, shewing the high estimation the party had of it. But some years after, it received an answer by Dr. Bridges, dean of Sarum, (which provoked the party exceedingly;) entitled, *A defence of the government established in the church of England.* But

this defence would not be endured without a reply, nay, and abusive replies too; as will be shewed under the year 1588.

Anno 1584. The History of Cambria.

There came out also this year a book concerning the ancient history of Wales; collected out of some old Welsh MSS. translated into the English tongue: the history reaching from Cadwallader, anno 680, to Llewellyn ap Gruffith; contemporary with king Edward I. of England. And accounts are given of the princes of Wales, of the blood royal of England; and of the lords president of Wales, from Rowland Lee, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, the first. There is also contained in this book a description of Wales, drawn by sir John Price, knt. It is entitled, *The history of Cambria, now called Wales.* It was writ in the British language about two hundred years past; and translated into English by Humphrey Lloyd, gent. Corrected and augmented, and continued out of records and the best approved authors; by David Powel, D. D. who dedicated his book to sir Philip Sydney, knt. The remarkable contents of which dedication are shewed before.

Description of Lincoln by Lambard.

William Lambard, of Lincoln's-inn, that learned antiquarian, (who set forth divers pieces savouring of ancient learning, as, among the rest, the Perambulation of Kent, anno 1576,) had also collected a description of the city of Lincoln and the town of Stamford: which the lord treasurer hearing of, desired to see, especially that being his native country. I think however this description was never printed: but I find Lambard sent it to that lord with a letter; which, coming from so eminent a person, deserves to be transcribed and preserved. It ran to this tenor:

His letter concerning it.

" Where it pleased you, right honourable, this last term " to demand of me, Whether I had written a *description* " of Lincoln, by occasion that you had found somewhat of " mine vouched by another touching that town; I an- " swered, that I had not much travailed therein; but had, " as I thought, collected some few notes out of history con- " cerning it: which also I promised to search out, and to " send you. Upon my return therefore from London, I " found among my papers these few things of Lincoln,

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" which I had observed in history; so rudely tumbled to-
" gether, as if my promise had not bound me, and your
" honourable acceptation (of things savouring of learning)
" emboldened me, I durst not have directed them towards
" you. Notwithstanding, such as they be, I send them to-
Stanford. " gether; with a few others concerning Stanford, your
" lordship's own town, forged in the same shop, as by the
" workmanship it will appear: most humbly beseeching
" your good lordship to receive them, and to pardon me.
" And so with unfeigned prayer to God for the long and
287 " prosperous health of your good lordship, I take my leave.
" From the bishop's place at Halling in Kent, the 2d of
" December, 1584.

" Your lordship's most humble,
" W. Lambard."

Guevara's Epistles.

Familiar Epistles of sir Anthony de Guevara, preacher, chronicler and counsellor to the emperor Charles V. translated out of the Spanish tongue, by Edward Hellows, groom of the leash; and now newly imprinted and corrected, 1584. Dedicated to sir Henry Lee, knt. master of the leash.

A sermon of Wimbleton, anno 1388.

A sermon preached by R. Wimbleton, at Paul's Cross, in the reign of king Henry IV. 1388, and found out hid in a wall: which sermon was set forth by the old copy, without adding or diminishing; save the old and rude English here and there amended. Printed by J. Charlewood, 1584. The text, Luke xvi. *Redde rationem villicationis tuæ.* This sermon I once saw in a volume of sermons in the Lambeth library. This sermon, long before, John Fox had entered in his Book of Martyrs, vol. i. which he found in an old parchment book, with other writings, and transcribed: which was entitled, *A godly and most fruitful sermon, preached by a certain learned clerk at St. Paul's Cross.* Fox had also seen another old worn copy of it in the register and record of the archbishops of Canterbury: the sermon having afterwards been exhibited to an archbishop of that province; of such fame in those times it was. In which sermon, in pursuance of the text, (*Give an account of thy stewardship,*) was a

conjecture of the world's end drawing near, and an interpretation to that purpose of Daniel and the Apocalypse. A period of the preacher's sermon ran in this tenor: "If thou "see the sun so low, that darkness is upon the hills, thou "wilt say, doubtless, that it is night: right so, if thou see "first in the seculars, and the lewd Christen men, begin- "neth darkness of sins, and to have mystery, it is token "that the world endeth. But when thou seest in priests, "that be put on the highest top of spiritual dignities, which "shoulden be aboven the common people in perfect learn- "ing, that darkness of sin hath taken them, who doubteth "that the world is at the end?" Anno 1584.

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The queen moved to assist the Netherlanders. Saravia's letter. The earl of Leicester goes over. Orders to the vice-admirals of the queen's fleet with respect to the king of Spain seizing English ships: for reprisals. A parliament. They enter into an association for the queen's safety. Laws made against seminaries and papists. The speaker's speech to the queen. A book of petitions from the papists. Shelly the presenter of it: his examination. The parliament consult concerning the Scots queen: her case propounded. The queen's concern at the yielding up of Antwerp. She takes the protection of the Netherlands hereupon. Her instructions to her ambassador.

TWO main political points were upon the wheel this year, 1585. One was concerning assistance of the Low Countries, oppressed by the king of Spain, and his officers placed there. The other concerning Mary the Scots queen; there being apprehensions and new fears arising of no safety for England while she lived; and therefore to put her to death; which howsoever queen Elizabeth could not be brought to. Anno 1585. Matters now in consultation.

Concerning the former of these, there was a serious deliberation about assisting them; as a people grievously per- Deliberation about assisting the Netherlanders.

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secuted for their religion; and also their privileges (being a free people) violated. Great application had been made to the queen, to afford them aid on both accounts; and for her own interest and safety of her kingdom likewise. This was urged by a notable letter from Adrian Saravia, writ from Leyden in Holland to the lord treasurer, brought by some ambassadors then coming to the queen: exhorting, from the danger of England, to stand by the Hollanders; and using arguments to persuade the queen to take the government of that people. The letter was dated June the 9th, 1585.

Saravia's letter to the treasurer.

"That he was now the more moved to write to him, "since he always had a compassion for the affliction of that "people, which then suffered for the cause of religion. And "at that time was more need of his [that lord's] favour, "since the queen's safety and life, and the security of this "kingdom of England, seemed to be joined with their dan- "ger. That their enemies were no friends to us. That the "counsels of the common enemies were daily more and "more manifest; and that we might see whither they "tended: and from what they were about we ought to "judge what we were to expect; for the misfortune of
289 "those provinces would draw with it the ruin of England. "We must not expect and wait till they were lost. That if "we save them, we should confirm our own peace and "safety. And therefore that it was necessary to enter into "a society with all who professed the gospel of Christ, un- "less we would resolve certainly to perish. And as those pro- "vinces were nearer to us, so to be the straiter joined with "us: which might be done two ways; either by receiving "them into a most strict league of society, or of rule and "dominion. The latter whereof would be safest and most "profitable to both. And then he went on to prove what "he had propounded." All this, and the rest of this well-penned Latin epistle, is worth preserving; and (as I transcribed it from the original) may be read in the Appendix. N°. L.

A great sum offered the queen if she would assist the States.

During this negociation, that it might take the desired effect, in behalf of these foreigners, there was great advantage of monies in prospect to the queen, as well as gratifica-

tions to one, if not more, of her counsellors: and what it was is more fully explained in a letter from an unknown friend to the lord treasurer, and in that lord's answer, dated June 24: "That whereas it was moved, how the court "might be tempted by allowing a device to gain her ma- "jesty 10,000*l.* monthly, and himself [viz. the lord treasurer] "one other thousand pound, so as her majesty would help "the States: that he knew the matter very well, having "heard thereof seven months past; and had within a few "days seen and read the project: but what thereof to "think, he could not but pronounce doubtfully, until he "should speak with the party that offered it." Adding these words, shewing how well affected he was to that cause, for the public good, in his judgment. "That in his opi- "nion, if the matter might appear feasible, (which he must "doubt of,) and reasonable, as being feasible, he thought it "[worthy accepting; and with] correction of some points, "he should be to blame, if he should not consent to her "majesty's profit thereby, to enter into the defence of the "Low Countries: since, as he subjoined, he was persuaded, "and did maintain it, that her majesty, for her own safety, "ought to charge herself with the defence of them against "the common enemy. Without which attempt her majesty "should not be able, with expense of thousands, to defend "herself, that now she might, with God's assistance, do with "hundreds.

Anno 1585.

The treasurer's judgment for aiding them.

"But for any offer to himself, (shewing how he con- "temned any thing that looked like bribery,) he did utterly "refuse either such or any less sum: thinking it more "charity to yield his own to the common cause, than to re- "ceive a penny."

When the queen, after a long and serious consideration, resolved to give aid to these provinces of the Netherlands, to justify her doings, she set forth *A declaration of the causes moving her to give aid to the defence of the people oppressed in the Low Countries.* It began; "Although "kings and princes sovereign," &c. I shall not repeat it,

The queen's declaration for assisting them.

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but refer the reader to Holinshed's Chronicle; where, under the year 1585, it is set down at length: and I believe it drawn up by the head and pen of the lord treasurer.

A deliberation about the charge and forces to be sent.

290 I find another paper relating to this important affair, framed, as by the writing it seems to be, by the warlike earl of Leicester; and who was soon after sent the queen's general lieutenant there. It is a *deliberation*, "What forces and charges it would cost to enter into this "business. As, what support was needful for those Low "Countries. What her majesty of herself, and by her "people, was able to contribute towards them. What secu- "rity might be convenient for her majesty to ask of them. "What forces England might spare to help them, and leave "itself supplied. What forces on both sides must be kept, "by sea as well as by land. Whether it be probable that "her majesty might be able by herself and people, to give "sufficient assistance to those countries, or no. If not, then "with what princes it were most fit for her majesty to join "withal."

The earl of Leicester goes over.

When the queen was now engaged with the States, she had sent in October Mr. Davison (who was clerk of her council) in quality of her ambassador to them. The earl of Leicester was now gone her general thither: by whose going the queen's expenses were enhanced; as the lord treasurer wrote in his letter to the said Davison, how the queen began already to grudge at the charges. "That they "saw her charges daily to increase beyond her majesty's "good allowance; specially by the coming of my lord of "Leicester, with a great company of gentlemen, but not "yet experimented in the wars: although they were such "as, having good hearts and reputation, would prove men "quickly able to serve." And then he acquainteth Davison with the gentlemen whom the queen had appointed to govern two towns granted her by the States; viz. "That "she had determined sir Philip Sidney her governor of "Flushing, and his own son, Tho. Cecil, the Brill. And "praying him, if he should tarry until his son should come

The queen's grudges at his expenses.

Anno 1585.

"over, to give him his advice how to use himself: and "also his [Davison] letters to the townsmen of Brill, to use "him with the favour that he should reasonably require."

Laws and ordinances for the army under the earl of Leicester.

But the earl of Leicester, as became a wise and careful captain-general, for the better discipline, good order, and regard of him and his commands, upon his entrance into his government, set forth divers good laws and ordinances to be observed by his army, under penalties of loss of wages, of imprisonment, nay, and life, according to the quality of the crimes. What they were is too large to be set down here. For them therefore I refer the reader to the Appendix. [N°. L.]

The Netherlanders vindicated in defending themselves.

There is a remark made by Bedel, an Irish bishop, in his answer to James Waddesworth, a Jesuit, concerning this assistance of the queen given to the Netherlanders against the king of Spain: upon occasion of a great blame laid by the said Jesuit against the protestants upon this account, concerning subjects defending themselves against the tyranny of their princes. "Do you think," said he, "subjects "are bound to give their throats to be cut by their fellow-"subjects, [set over them by their prince,] or by their "princes, at their mere will, against their own laws and "edicts? You would know *quo jure* the protestants' wars, "and France and Holland, are justified. First, The law of "*nature;* which not only alloweth, but inclineth and en-"forceth every living thing to defend itself from violence. "Secondly, That of *nations;* which permitteth those that "are in the protection of others, to whom they owe no "more but an honourable acknowledgment, in case they "go about to make themselves absolute sovereigns, and "usurp their liberty, to resist and stand for the same: "and if any lawful prince, (which is not yet lord of his sub-"jects' lives and goods,) in this attempt to spoil them of "the same, under colour of reducing them to his own reli-"gion, after all humble remonstrances, they may stand "upon their own guard; and being assailed, repel force "with force. As did the Maccabees under Antiochus. In "which case, notwithstanding, the person of the prince him-

Bishop Bedel's answer to Wadsworth. Printed 1685.

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" self ought always to be sacred and inviolable, as was Saul " to David.

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" Lastly, if the enraged minister of a lawful prince " [such as duke d'Alva was in Holland] will abuse his au- " thority against the fundamental laws of the country, it is " no rebellion to defend themselves against force; reserv- " ing still their obedience to their sovereign inviolate."

All preparations were now making for war, and the queen's fleet was setting forth. I meet with orders, which accordingly were sent to the vice-admirals from the admiral; occasioned by the king of Spain's stopping all English vessels, and seizing their goods. These orders will give some account of the state of things at this time between the queen and Spain, and therefore fit to be entered here; especially since our historians, Stow, Camden, and Holinshed, are silent of them. The title they bore was,

Orders to the vice-admirals of the fleet.

Orders to be published and put in execution by the vice-admirals of the realm: set down by the lord admiral, with the assent of the lords of her majesty's privy-council, the 12th of March, 1585.

" Whereas the king of Spain in May last did command " very suddenly arrest to be made of all the ships, vessels, " and goods of her majesty's subjects then being in all the " ports of Spain, without any token of suspicion there- " of conceived by any her majesty's subjects aforehand, " either in England, Spain, or Portingal; as also to be put " in prison all such merchants, factors, and mariners as " they could apprehend, being her majesty's subjects, " there only trading the use of merchandises; and in July " following the same king did by his ministers take to his " own use a great part of the said ships and goods of her " majesty's subjects: the queen's majesty, upon the pitiful " complaints of her subjects for these so great injuries of- " fered unto them by the king of Spain and his ministers, " (with whom she conceived for her own part to be in " peace,) finding no other ordinary means of withstanding " or remedying so general a wrong and loss to her sub-

The king of Spain's rigour.

" jects; especially when there was no access left for any " safety to seek remedy in Spain by petition in way of jus- " tice; did therefore, after good deliberation of council, Anno 1585 " grant unto all such merchants, or any others which had 292 " their ships or goods so spoiled or detained, upon their " earnest and importunate requests, ordinary letters of re- Letters of " prisal, in lawful form and manner, for recovering of reprisal. " their losses, (which was inseparable,) or else some part " thereof.

" Whereupon an order was devised and decreed by the " lords of her majesty's privy-council, to be executed with " divers good provisions in cautions and bonds, to avoid all " other inconveniences: and so delivered the same unto " the lord admiral. Wherein was contained, among other " things, that such as should make good and due proof, in " the court of admiralty, of their losses and imprisonments " of their servants by occasion of the said arrest, should " have warrant to pass unto the seas in warlike manner; " for no other purpose, but only for the seizing either of " their own or of any other ships of Spain, for or towards " the recovery of their losses, as far forth as conveniently " they might, according to the articles by their lordships so " set down.

" Since which time it is understood, that divers went " to the seas by virtue of those grants, whereof many had " taken some prizes warrantable, but far off to answer their " losses. And some others which did linger about the nar- " row seas, and never went further to the southward than to " the coast of France; and many of them no further than " within one day they might see England: which sort of " men made spoil of divers with whom they met; not spar- " ing in some part her majesty's good friends, both of " France and Denmark, and the east parts; (whereof French and " restitution nevertheless hath been made, as far forth as Danish ves- " possibly might:) for colouring whereof they have al- sels seized. " leged, that the ships by them so taken should be laden " with Spanish goods: as among some that they have so " stayed, part have so proved. Whereby it is evident that

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"there might hereafter ensue a great disturbance among "her majesty's good friends, if remedy should not be pro- "vided; and is most earnestly commanded by her majesty "to be performed.

Remedy.

"Therefore it is ordered, that, from the 12th of March, "all such as have or shall have warrant for reprisal, shall "repair with all possible speed, after they shall depart from "any harbour in this realm, into the coast of Spain, or to "the islands, or to such other remote places where the Spa- "niards or Portingals do most use their traffic: and that "none, upon the peril to be judged a pirate, shall take any "vessel that shall not belong to a Spaniard or a Portingal. "And whoever shall under a colour meddle wittingly, or "take or assault any vessel appertaining unto any of the "subjects of any other prince or state, than the king of "Spain or of the kingdom of Portingal, shall be reputed "or taken as a pirate; and shall be tried, and suffer by or- "der of the laws as a pirate.

"And furthermore, it shall not be lawful for any subject "of the crown of England to serve with any ship of war,
293 "by virtue of any commission to be granted by any other "foreign prince or person, without special licence of the "queen's majesty.

Special licence.

"Lastly, it is ordered, that all vice-admirals shall publish "these orders in every principal port of the realm within "his jurisdiction; and cause true copies thereof to be an- "nexed in some peculiar places near the shipping places "in the said port. And to the intent the offenders here-

Judge civil.

"after may be speedily punished, the judge civil, that "is appointed within every jurisdiction of the admiralty, "shall have from time to time regard, to proceed to the in- "quisition and indictment of every offender in these cases "abovementioned, or against any part of the former orders "prescribed in this behalf.

"Finally, charge to be given by the vice-admirals to all "persons that shall repair to the seas, by virtue of any war- "rant abovementioned, for recovery of recompense for "their losses against any subjects of the king of Spain, that

" they observe all other former orders prescribed to them, " not only upon pain of bonds, acknowledged in the admi- " ral court, but also upon pain to be taken and used as " pirates, according to the nature of their offences." This was printed by Chr. Barker, at the commandment of the queen's privy-council. Anno 1585.

A parliament sat not before November, and continued some months after. They were chiefly employed in securing the kingdom against papists; who were busy in hatching conspiracies against the queen's throne and life, which caused a severe statute against Jesuits and seminary priests, or any others that grounded any villanous plots upon the bull of pope Pius V. and against any subjects of England that should go abroad for education in any popish schools. And in this parliament's zeal for the queen's safety, they voluntarily entered into an association, to revenge her death, if that should happen by any violence; and confirmed it by a statute: which the queen took very well at their hands. A parliament: their business. They enter into an association for the queen's safety.

I shall not need to mention the labours of the disaffected party to episcopacy and the practice of the church established, by bills brought into the house, preferred against the bishops, and which struck deep at the ecclesiastical state: as, against the bishops' jurisdictions, in giving *faculties*, in giving holy orders; their ecclesiastical censures, and the oath *ex officio:* and proposing a new oath to be taken by the bishops in chancery, and the king's bench; viz. that they should act nothing contrary to the laws of the land. Which petitions, and the success thereof, may be found at large in the Life of Archbishop Whitgift. Bills against the ecclesiastical state. Book iii. ch. 10.

But that which I chiefly mind to shew is, the speech of the speaker, sergeant Puckring, to the queen at the conclusion of the parliament: which is no where set down in our histories, and will let in a great deal of light into the present state of affairs. And I must add, that the speech is the more remarkable, being all methodised by a form drawn up by the head and pen of the lord treasurer Burghley: from whose minutes I transcribed it. The speaker's speech to the queen.

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The sum whereof was, "That after the speaker (in the "name of the whole parliament) had bespoke her majesty "in most humble sort, he begged her to give life not to the "work of their hands, but of their minds, cogitations, and "hearts: which otherwise, being not enlivened by the "beams of her favour, would be vain and dead. Then "acknowledging the great benefit she had granted both "houses to meet and consult freely, and at great leisure: "first, what were meet for the furtherance and advancement "of God's service, by whom we had our beings: and what "were also necessary for the preservation of her majesty's "person, by whose long life and continuance they were "free of all tyranny and subjection of foreign oppression: "and lastly, to consult among themselves, and provide "not only what should be good and profitable for their "own estates, but to foresee how to avoid things hurtful to "the same. To which good ends they acknowledge, by her "majesty's goodness and permission, their assembly had "now tended."

And among other things, thus the queen was addressed concerning their association; "That they offered to her "majesty, with their whole hearts, their bodies and lives, to "be serviceable to the safety of her majesty's most royal "person, for defence thereof, and for revenge of any act "or imagination against her majesty; and by a form of law "had given a testimony to the whole world, how dear the "safety of her life was to them. And assured her, that they "were willing to have extended this ordinance to a straiter "course, as they thought the same meet for her safety, and "for terrifying of all persons not well willing to her; if "otherwise they had not understood, that it was her ma-"jesty's pleasure, that it should not be extended to any "straiter point than it was." But I refer the whole speech to be read in the Appendix. The queen herself gave a very gracious answer to the house, with a thankful acknowledgment to both houses; which is preserved by Holinshed.

N°. LI.

The speaker's own speech was different, though grounded

upon and directed by that form; and consisted of divers heads. He began, "In beseeching her highness to vouch-
"safe by his mouth only to accept the most willing and
"ready, humble and hearty thanks of a multitude, repre-
"senting the whole state of the commons of her realm, of-
"fered unto her in the greatest measure of their most loyal
"and bounden duties, that her highness might be best
"pleased to comprehend in that most rare and singular wis-
"dom, wherewith the Lord had beautified and blessed her.

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Oration of sergeant Puckring to the queen.

"And first, for that it had liked her majesty with great
"care of mind to take so good and seasonable opportunity
"for the summoning of that assembly: whereby they had
"gained the commodity to deliberate of matters tending
"no less to the glory of God, and preservation of her ma-
"jesty, than to the common utility and welfare of them-
"selves and all their fellow-subjects. Secondly, for that it
"had pleased her majesty to cheer them therein with the
"presence of her most royal and gladsome person: than
"the which nothing under God could be more comfortable
"unto them, and without the which all their consultations
"would have been heavy and displeasant. Thirdly, for
"her majesty's most gracious, free, and general pardon: 295
"whereby they both did feel themselves delivered of sun-
"dry pains that her highness might have justly inflicted
"upon them; and were all most graciously incited by this
"her clemency to a more diligent and careful observation
"of her highness' laws, than heretofore they had been ac-
"customed.

Thanks for summoning them at that time so seasonably.

"Howbeit, he besought her majesty to suffer him to
"crave some enlargement in this behalf, as well for him-
"self particularly, as also generally for all the whole com-
"pany of her commons, that kneeled before her highness.
"For himself he said, who, beside a ready obedience, faith-
"ful mind, and willing endeavour, had performed nothing
"that belonged to his place; and therefore great need of her
"majesty for pardon: which also he most earnestly craved
"and desired, and hoped her majesty would the rather
"grant him, because of the conscience of his own inability;

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" and foresaw and foretold his wants..... And for that " whole company he besought her majesty also to pardon " and remit whatsoever had, during that session of parlia- " ment, fallen out to her majesty's discontentment: assur- " ing her highness, in the obligation of that faith and alle- " giance which he bare unto her highness, that, however " some things had escaped, through human infirmity, he " had seen nothing either wilfully and contemptuously " committed to any purpose of offence to her majesty; " yea, rather, the truth drew him to report, that they had, " with all zealous and dutiful mind toward her majesty, " and with great moderation and wisdom, diligence and " pains-taking, spent the whole session in devising laws, " which (if it should like her majesty to ratify them) would, " as he supposed, greatly avail towards the honour and " glory of God, the safety of her majesty's most royal per- " son and estate, and the public commodity and benefit of " her highness' people and country: the chief and only " mark whereat all good and Christian laws ought to aim " and level.

" In which part also he added, that he was most humbly " to recommend unto her princely consideration and judg- " ment these, whereupon her nobles and commons had, " after great and mature deliberation, condescended. First,

Acts prepared by the parliament for the queen.

" An act for the more reverend and better observation of " the Lord's-day. Secondly, An act devised for the safety " of her majesty's most royal person, and the preservation " of the realm in peace. Also, An act to rid and keep out " of her majesty's dominion all Jesuits, seminary priests, &c. " being utter enemies to the realm, seducers of souls from " the true faith and due obedience, &c. And divers other " acts, which, to avoid tediousness he would forbear men- " tioning particularities, leaving the same to be read unto " her highness. The reasons moving them he suggested.

" First, Being persuaded that all good laws of men " ought to be grounded upon the eternal law of God, ex- " pressed in the two tables of the Ten Commandments; " and calling to their remembrance what godly and Chris-

" tian laws her majesty had already published in former
" parliaments; first, for the worshipping of the only true
" God, and the worshipping him aright, as himself hath
" prescribed; and also for the abolishing and punishment 296
" of all devilish conjuration, popish idolatry and superstiti-
" tion, fantastical prophesying, and falsehood in forswear-
" ing: offences against the first, second, and third com-
" mandments of the first table: they had thought it their
" parts to go forward, and providing for the *rest* and right
" use of the *sabbath-day*, to provoke her majesty to give
" law concerning the fourth and last commandment of the
" same table also."

The bill for the sabbath dashed by the queen.

Let me insert here concerning this bill, which was entitled, *For the better and more reverend observing of the sabbath-day*, that it was not signed by the queen. The account given of it was this: It was argued several days: in all which it hardly and difficultly passed both houses: and at last, when it was agreed on by both houses, it was dashed by her majesty at the last day of this parliament, upon that prejudicated principle, (said D'Ewes, as might be conjectured,) that she would suffer nothing to be altered in matter of religion or ecclesiastical government. But now to go on with the speaker's speech.

D'Ewes' Journal, p. 322.

" Secondly, Those her highness's nobles and commons,
" knowing that next after the service of God himself, the
" *honour* of parent is commanded, being the first precept
" of the law, being both the first and foremost of the se-
" cond table, as having a promise annexed to the same;
" and considering on the one side, that all the bliss, joy, and
" security of this most happy estate of the realm is laid and
" reposed, next under God, in the life and safety of her
" majesty's royal and most precious person, (under which
" he prayed God to grant them many more years to en-
" joy;) and beholding on the other side the malicious plots
" practised, &c. abroad and at home, both by the pro-
" fessed enemies of her majesty and the realm, ... and
" also by the ambitious friends and favourers of some that
" pretended title to her majesty's most undoubted title of the

Friends of the Scots queen.

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" crown, &c. they had thought it the most bounden duty of " them all, being [the subjects] of her majesty, (their na- " tural prince and common parent,) to honour her royal " person, [and consulting] the most provident means of Act for the queen's safety. " preservation that their wits could devise. And that they " had therefore laid down a most prudent and politic form " of law, which they entitled, *An act for the safety of the " queen's majesty's most royal person, and continuance " of the realm in peace.* By the which they did mean to " cut off all hardiness of any wicked attempts against her " majesty, by or for any pretended successor: shewing " thereby their most bounden and loyal duty and affection " toward her majesty.

" Thirdly, That her majesty's nobles and commons, per- " ceiving well that all the evils intended against the religion " of God, the royal person of her majesty, and the welfare " of her highness's realms and dominions, were meant to be " prepared and set on foot by a certain sort of Romish pre- " lates, calling themselves Jesuits and seminary men, had " thought it therefore most expedient to offer unto her ma- " jesty some mean of a law for the banishment of these " seeds of sedition forth of her highness's dominions; en- " titled, *An act against Jesuits, seminary priests, and such* 297 " *other like disobedient persons:* besides divers other forms " of law for the politic benefits, &c.: which, to avoid tedi- " ousness, he forebore to recite, leaving the same to be read " to her highness.

" And then he prayed, that by her breath the life of law " might be inspired unto them. And furthermore, that it " might please her majesty to give in charge to her judges " and justices, that the same might diligently be put in ex- " ecution; the only nutriment of all laws; and without the " which they must starve at the last, what life of authority " soever was at first bestowed upon them.

" And then that her majesty, he said, might receive some " signification of their grateful hearts towards her highness, " as they had innumerable marks of her most loving and " careful government over them, he was lastly, with all hu-

" mility, to present her with the gift of a subsidy, and " two fifteens and tenths, most willingly granted, and as " readily agreed upon, by all her highness's nobles and com- " mons in that present parliament: who seeing, not only the " viperous natures of some unnatural subjects, who strove " to make their way through the very belly of the realm, " their own country and mother, but also the envious dis- " position of some foreign popish potentates, that awaited " all advantages, to undermine her most godly, happy, and " blessed state, had thought it most expedient and neces- " sary, that her majesty, beforehand, should have some " mass of treasure in a readiness against all necessities and " events. To the end that, by the favourable protection of " God, her highness might the rather thereby prevent the " mischief of the one sort, and countermine the malice of " the other."

Foreign popish potentates.

And then subjoining further these very cordial and most endearing words: " And this we offer unto your majesty, not " as any sufficiency, to serve for so changeable and weighty " turns, but [as an earnest] penny and pledge of all the rest " that remaineth with ourselves. Which also, together [with " our faithful service] of body and mind, to the end of our " lives, we devote and dedicate to your highness: [throughly " sensible,] by a long and assured experience of your majes- " ty's most frugal and thrifty disposition and care, that " whatsoever is by us committed into your highness's hands " will be laid out for ourselves, and laid up in a most sure " and safe treasure for best advantage."

The speaker's prayer.

And then piously concluding all with a prayer for her; viz. " May the King of kings and God of glory, that so " brightly shineth and sheweth himself your most gracious " governor, as well by the presence of his holy word, as by " the full fruition of all earthly blessings, assist your majes- " ty's counsels, continue his favourable Spirit with you; " establish your royal seat and estate; preserve you from all " your enemies; reveal and frustrate all their wicked prac- " tices and devices; and grant you long to live and reign

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" over us and ours here; and take you late, but at length, " from us forth of this mortal kingdom unto himself, into " his heavenly kingdom; there to reign with him in glory " for ever. Amen."

298 I have thought fit to set down this speech, to shew what a good understanding there was between the queen and her people, and how dear she was to them; and what a value they had in those times for the religion rescued from popery.

It must be related here, that while this parliament was busy upon the bill against papists and Jesuits, those of that religion, or the favourers of them, bestirred themselves all that possibly they could against its taking effect, or to render it more favourable towards them. And for that purpose they drew up and preferred a petition to the house, consisting of ten pages. The conclusion thereof consisted in three things. " The first was, That they should be deemed " void of suspicion for refraining from public places of " prayer; which they do for fear of falling into damnable " sin. The second was, To have pitiful consideration of " their calamities. The third was, That they require, not " to suffer any law to be made, to banish the catholic priests " of this realm."

A petition in behalf of papists to the parliament.

The presenter of this petition was Richard Shelly, esq. of Michael Grove in Sussex, a gentleman of an ancient family: whom it was thought fit afterwards to be taken up. And Apr. 9, I find him examined before the privy-council in these points following; being matters contained in that book of petitions, in several pages.

Richard Shelly presents the petition to the parliament.

" Who were the authors of the book. In whose names " and for whose causes are the contents of the book to be " understood. Why they do make themselves to be touched " in a book writ by John Stubbs.

Examined in certain points.

" Where they do deny the pope or cardinals may com- " mand a subject to seek the blood of his sovereign, they " ought more particularly to answer the opinions in a book " of Allen's against the *Justice of England:* where he

" plainly setteth down the pope's authority to be sufficient " to depose any king or prince. And so consequently the " same is to be applied against her majesty.

" To know, who be the persons learned in the catholic P. 5. " church, that should hear the proofs of the learned men in " the convocation; that these professors of the catholic re- " ligion may, without offence of mortal sin, resort to the " churches.

" Who they be that have been famined in a prison. [In P. 1. " answer to which he named one Temple, famined in Bride- " well.] And who they be that have been whipped. Who " they be that by paying 20*l.* a month are brought to ex- " treme poverty.

" Who be the priests that have conversed with the peti- P. 6. " tioners; and have recognised her majesty to be lawful " prince, *tam de jure quam de facto.*

" Who be they that came to their doors, craving suste- P. 7. " nance for their bodies; and proffering ghostly food to the " petitioners' souls."

After Shelly's examination upon the articles above specified before the lords of the council, and because the petition ran so loyally to the queen, they put these words in writing for him to subscribe: viz. " Whosoever being a born " subject of this realm doth allow, that the pope hath any " authority to deprive queen Elizabeth that now is of her " estate and crown, is a traitor."

Then follows in the MS. written by the pen of the lord 299
treasurer; " Richard Shelly being examined, whether he Shelly refuseth to subscribe a writing drawn up to try his loyalty. " will subscribe the sentence aforesaid or no, he saith, that " it is very hard for him to discuss what authority the pope " hath. And therefore can answer no further." And then the counsellors subscribed their names, viz.

" Before us, Tho. Bromley, canc.

F. Knollys.
" W. Burghley. C. Howard.
" R. Leycester. Chr. Hatton."

Then follow these names of eminent papists, set down by

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the said lord Burghley's hand, and seem to be named by Shelly in his examination, as chiefly concerned in drawing up and presenting the foresaid book, and subscribing it; viz. lord Vaux, sir John Arundel, sir Thomas Tresham, sir William Catesby, Will. Tirwhit, Wilford, Price, Fitton. This Richard Shelly was nephew of sir Richard Shelly, sometime lord prior of St. John's of Jerusalem; of whom we have said many things before.

Petitioners.

The parliament consult concerning the Scots queen.

The consideration of Mary queen of Scots came before the house of parliament: and apprehending she was concerned in the dangerous conspiracies with Spain and the pope, and others, against the queen and kingdom, moved for the taking her off; as the surest way to prevent imminent dangers. And a discourse came out now concerning the lawfulness of putting her to death. It consisted of two or three sheets of paper. The case there put is this:

"A sovereign prince, acknowledging no superior, in dis-
"tress at home, flieth to the kingdom of his confederate,
"being likewise a sovereign prince, and is by him received
"into protection; yet kept in safe custody, as having been
"a competitor afore of that kingdom, where he practised by
"open fact against the life and the kingdom of that prince;
"whether may such the practiser be therefore justly put to
"death?" The discourse is in Latin.

She is under the custody of sir Amias Pawlet.

This queen, being now at Tutbury, was under the custody of sir Amias Paulet; who was very careful and watchful of her. But being often troubled with the gout, and so might not personally be always present in his charge, (which was now very earnestly required of him,) he sent a letter to the lord treasurer, that he might be permitted to take a certain faithful person, whom he well knew, and his friend, to supply his place, and to be always with some servants about him. He was tender in propounding this matter: but the reason of it was, as he wrote, his gout; considering the nature of that disease, he must look for fresh assaults in the accustomed season. At which time the importance of this service, he said, required the assistance of some honest and faithful gentleman; which no doubt might be easily found,

both in the court and in the country. But the resolutions at the court were not always speedy, and that his assistance might be found wanting before such an one came. He, presuming upon his lordship's favour, recommended one Mr. Colles, who would be content to come thither unto him; a gentleman known to the treasurer for his good discretion, and so well known to him [Paulet], that he would answer for his fidelity, and that he was sufficient to take the charge during his sickness. He seemed the more earnest for the assistance of this gentleman, rather than some person to be sent from the court, using these words to the lord to whom he wrote: "That he feared there would be some cunning in "the choice of his supply, if he should come from thence, "[meaning some friends that queen had then at the court.] "And so left it to his lordship to make the motion as he "should find it reasonable and likely." But the whole letter I reposit in the Appendix; knowing that these state-letters are valuable, and tend much to let into a true knowledge of matters transacted. Anno 1585. 300 No. LII.

The Spaniard had now gotten success against the great and flourishing city of Antwerp. It was yielded unto the prince of Parma, governor of the Netherlands, by some treachery of certain of that place; particularly by S. Aldegonde, a burgomaster there. At which the queen was so concerned, that she presently took upon her the protection of the States; (which she was long unwilling to do;) observing well in how dangerous a case she and her kingdoms were hereby: knowing also whatever conditions were made between the Spaniards and that city, how little trust was to be given thereunto. And how awakened she was hereby may appear by the instructions given her ambassador, Davison, despatched now to the United States. And not being inserted, as I find, in any of our histories, may well deserve to be here entered, being an original; and drawn up, I suppose, by the lord Burghley, it being the hand of his secretary, Mainard. All that Camden, in his History of Queen Elizabeth, writes of this matter, was, that Antwerp being closely pressed by the prince of Parma, and the queen, for

The queen's concern at the taking of Antwerp.

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raising the siege, was sending 4000 men, they surrendered. But mentioneth not a word of an agent sent to the States upon the loss of Antwerp; but only that soon afterwards she took the States into her protection.

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The queen's fear and care of the States.

She prefaced her instructions with her fears of some alteration in the rest of those United Provinces upon the yielding of Antwerp: and especially she was apprehensive of Zeeland, where Aldegonde was in most credit; and doing all he could to withdraw them from depending upon her favour and assistance. That she sent him, her ambassador, thither, as well to comfort such as had received discouragement by the loss of that place, as also to give countenance against such persons as the said S. Aldegonde and his associates might use, to draw the people to subject themselves under the king of Spain's obedience, without sufficient caution for the preservation of religion and their liberties, to be free from the government of strangers. Without the terms of which security some had treacherously delivered up that city. Then follow the instructions given Davison, when he should have access to the States; to let them understand, how sorry she was for the loss of the said town. And that the care she took for the preservation thereof was not accompanied with those good effects she desired. But I leave the whole to the reader; which will open much of the affairs between those countries and the queen. At the same time she gave them notice, that for lack of some good head and director, the government grew into contempt, she sent them over the earl of Leicester, a person of nobility, to assist them with advice and authority, for the better direction both of their civil and martial causes, with 5000 foot and 1000 horse with him.

No. LIII.

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A book set forth of the yielding up of Antwerp.

I only add, that, upon this loss of Antwerp, a book was set forth, printed at Amsterdam, called, *A true report of the yielding up of the city of Antwerp unto the prince of Parma: which was on the 7th of August last past*, 1585. On which day he was received with a garrison of soldiers into the said city by the said inhabitants with great pomp and triumph. Whereunto are adjoined the articles of agreement

sent before by the prince of Parma to the burgomaster. The book shewed at large how that prince was received with all the pomp the citizens could devise; having vowed to maintain the articles he sent them, and no violence to be offered to them. There were bonfires and ringing of bells. But the writer addeth, "What treacherous dealing was to "be expected at the hand of the Spaniard, I fear themselves "will find shortly. That all these offers are but in truth "words, meaning nothing less than the performance of the "same." Anno 1585.

CHAP. XXV.

The queen endeavours a league between the king of Scots and her. Occurrences in Scotland. Instructions to her ambassadors sent to that king. The French ambassador's intercession for the Scots queen. Her letter to the lord treasurer. A diligent search at the seaports for dangerous persons now coming into the realm. Letters from the privy-council. Young gentlemen to be trained in the musters; and made officers. Colleges for popish seminaries: Dr. Bilson concerning them. Alfield arraigned for bringing in Dr. Allen's book: some contents of that book. John Prestal, a conjurer. Philip, earl of Arundel. Edmund Nevyl, alias lord Latymer. Prisoners in the Tower; their case and letters. Robert Turner, professor of divinity in Ingolstade. His letters to cardinal Allen: and to Hilliard.

To add a few more notices concerning matters of state. It was now the general sense of the court, to keep a strict friendship with the king of Scots. And so was the particular judgment of that wise and great counsellor, the lord treasurer Burghley. And for the faster tie of that prince to this crown, he advised it should be done by large liberality, both to that king and to some of the great men about him: though such back-friends had that worthy statesman, that they had blown about reports of him to the quite contrary. A fast friendship to be maintained with the king of Scots. The lord treasurer's advice therein, falsified.

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And this spread as far as Scotland, even to the king himself. Which not long after coming to that lord's ears, by some letters, he thus in some concern declared himself, in a private letter to a friend, concerning this malicious lie: "That "as he was used here for matters at home, so but the day "before, he saw a letter out of Scotland, declaring, that the "king was informed from this court that he had no greater "enemy in this [English] court than he: and the like was "written to the master of Grey of him." And then that lord proceeded in his own vindication against this vile false report: "If you knew how earnest a course I hold with her "majesty, both privately or openly, for her to retain the "king of Scots with friendship and liberality; yea, and to "retain the master of Grey, and the justice Clerke, [two "great men near that king,] with some rewards, to continue "their offices, [which indeed were to some known to be very "good,] you would think there were no more shameful lies "made by Satan himself, than these be." And then that lord concluded his letter with this resentment; "That find-"ing himself thus maliciously bitten with the tongues and "letters of courtiers here, if God did not comfort him, he "had cause to fear murdering hands or poisoning spirits. "But God, (saith he,) is my keeper."

But excusing my inserting this more private matter falling in the way, I proceed in this Scotch affair.

Wotton, ambassador to the king of Scots.

The queen's ambassador now in Scotland was sir Edward Wotton; who had instructions of matters to be spoken to the king of Scots. And what answer the said king made him, the letters he had sent to the secretary shewed: which matter seemed chiefly to be concerning a pension to be granted him by the queen, in order to the entering into a league with him, and to keep all fair that way. For other letters by Wotton, wrote to the lord treasurer, imported, that as her majesty had willed him, before he should speak to his majesty touching the queen's offer of 4000*l.* by the year, to feel upon that point the master of Gray's mind; he had done so: and the said Gray assured him the king would take it in very ill part; since it had already been told

him, that it should be 5000*l.* English. He added, that his lordship in his great wisdom was best able to consider what in this case was fittest to be done; and so to advise her majesty. And that he for his part did long to receive from his lordship some instructions. And so offering his lordship his best service, took his leave. From Edenburgh, ult. of May, 1585. Anno 1585. A yearly pension to that king.

By another gentleman, Henry Woodrington, from Barwick, the said lord treasurer, in December, had an account of the then present affairs of the said kingdom of Scotland, after great hubbubs and disturbances there. That such occurrences as he was credibly informed of out of Scotland, upon the opening of a parliament, he thought good to signify the same to his lordship. Which were as follow: Occurrences in Scotland. 303

" The 4th of this present, the king passed into the great " hall in the castle at Litch, accompanied with such a num- " ber of nobility, as the like had not been since king James " the First's days: where the parliament was fenced; the " lords of the articles chosen; and all other solemnities " used, according to the custom. Which parliament began " the 6th of this instant. A parliament there.

" The duke of Lenox bore the crown: the earl of Hunt- " ley his sceptre: the earl of Athol his sword.

" The king made an oration, expressing in presence of his " nobility, how many alterations and changes had been, since " the beginning of his reign, during his minority, in his " realm; and how miraculously God had preserved him " and his estate unto that present time, not without ex- " pected subversion, as daily by civil seditions he was in " danger of. And now understanding that upright govern- " ment was the means to quench the passed dangers, he " would determine with himself to follow that life, that con- " cord and obedience might follow thereupon without par- " tiality. And whereas the estate and country these many " years by-past hath been so troubled by civil dissensions, " that the noblemen, who were lately distressed, have by " their good and peaceable behaviour declared their good " affection to his majesty's welfare and service; so that he The king's speech.

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" clearly understandeth their adversaries to have reported " otherwise of them than they have merited: therefore his " highness is not only minded to settle his estate, and the " estate of his country; but also to extend his favour and " good-will towards them in particular; and to restore them " to their livings, honours, offices, and goods, and all that " belonged unto them, as if they had never been forfeited, " nor declared rebels.

" The lords of the articles their names, of the ecclesiasti- " cal state, are these.

" *Bishops.*

" The bishop of St. Androe's, Constine.
" The bishop of Brechin, Cambel.
" The bishop of Dunkeld, Rollocke.
" The bishop of Orkney, Bodwale.
" The bishop of Glascoe, Montgomerie.

" *Abbots.*

" The abbot of Dunfermiling, master of Grey.
" The abbot of Newbottle, Ker.
" The prior of Pluscardin, Seton; with some others.

" *Temporal lords.*

" The lord Sincler, the lord of Karkathe, the lord Oly- " phante, with some others.

" *Earls.*

" Of Athel, Huntley, with some others of that rank. " And the sundry commissioners of the boroughs, the third " estate.

304 " *The form of the noblemen's restitution, that were banished,* " *and their adherents, is in this sort, viz.*

" That all things since the king's coronation, that have " happened by civil sedition, shall be annulled and put out " of memory, as if such a thing had never been. So that all " men shall be restored into that place as they were at that " time.

" The king gave commission to the lord Hamilton and " the earl of Huntley to pursue and apprehend the late " earl of Arran. Who made a secret journey to that effect; Anno 1585. " and came in the night to that part where he was lying in " his ship, beside the town of Ayre. But he perceiving " that, escaped out of his ship into a small pink, or pinnace, " and so passed to the sea. They caused to take his ship; " and have sent in her XXIIII. to chase him. For there is but " five with him in the pinnace, beside the mariners. He " hath stolen away, as is said, of his majesty's jewels, to " the value of 200,000 crowns. His wife is still in prison in " Blackness, with the universal hatred of the people; and " as yet uncertain what shall become of her.

" The earls of Montros and Crayford are still kept " straitly in Kinsalle. Against whom it is thought some " order shall be taken after this parliament.

" The lord Hamilton is captain of Dunbarton and pro- " vost of Glasco. Colding Knowles, captain of Edenburgh " castle. Justice Clark, captain of Blackness. The earl of " Gozing's lady and children shall be restored to their " living, honour, and estate. The earl of Angus shall have " Dawkenease and Aberdour; and shall pay the king 10,000 " mar-scots. The matter between him and the lord Max- " well for the earl of Morton is referred to friends. The " master of Glames is made chief treasurer, and captain of " his guard. The earl of Athol provost and sheriff of St. " Johnston's and Perth, until the young earl of Goury come " to full age. And this is the state of the country at this " present. Barwick, the 8th of December, 1585.

" Your honour's most humbly,

" Hen. Woodrington."

Randolph sent ambassador to Scotland.

The queen being minded to create and keep up a good understanding between the king of Scots and herself, sent Randolph, another ambassador, this year to him. The particulars of his message I leave to be read, taken from a short abstract of his instructions, from his own pen; viz.

" Her majesty's joy to hear of the king's good acceptation

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" of the noblemen's obedience, that were in England; re-
" ported both by Mr. William Knowles and Mr. Keethe."
[Who, it seems, from that king had brought such word to her.]

" 2. Her majesty's affection towards the king; and care,
" that nothing shall be attempted against him with her will,
" that may be hurtful unto him.

305 " 3. The league, [between her and the king,] hindered by
" the death of the lord Russel, [treacherously slain by the
" Scots, upon the borders, at a treaty between them and the
" English, the earl of Arran being the chief instrument,]
" now to be renewed, being the special cause of his coming.

" 4. The fear her majesty hath, lest the king should give
" ear to the league in France against the gospel. Carsolles,
" a dangerous party; and full of practices. Morton's at-
" tempt not to be suffered uncorrected. Necessary concur-
" rence of both the princes, to suppress the danger that may
" fall out in both the realms by the practice of papists.

" 5. That somewhat be done before the league, for satis-
" faction of the shameful murder of the lord Russel. The
" delivery of Pharnihurst, [in that treacherous fact of the
" Scots against the said Russel,] or such as were of counsel
" with him.

" 6. The league being agreed upon, some persons of qua-
" lity of both the realms to meet at Barwick.

" 7. Assurance to be made of a yearly *benevolence, at her* " *majesty's hands.*" [*Support*, so writ at the first; but that crossed out, and *benevolence*, &c. added by another hand.]

" 8. Find, before the offer of a support, whether the
" king's mind be alienated by the French king's persuasion,
" or no.

" 9. Deal roundly in prosecuting of Arran.

" 10. Holt and Brereton, practisers against both the
" realms, to be delivered, or banished out of his majesty's
" country.

" 11. Nothing shall be done prejudicial to the king's ti-
" tle; but the same to pass by private assurance from her
" majesty to the king.

" 12. Orders for redress upon the borders. And causes " put in a readiness against the commissioners meeting."

And then follow in the same paper,

" *Anno* 1585. *Articles offered to the king, March* 11, *in the* " *name of her majesty.*

" 1. How necessary it is their majesties to have inter- " course by writing between themselves, or their secretaries, " and personages of greatest credit about them; until their " majesties appoint ambassadors to remain in each other's " countries; to entertain mutual amity, and do all good " offices of love between their majesties.

" 2. Reconciliation of noblemen for their particularities; " and ending feuds between the subjects.

" 3. The league being concluded, persons of quality of " both realms to meet at Barwick, to confirm the same.

" 4. The delivery of Phernihurst, or such or some of " those that were of counsel of the lord Russel's death.

" 5. Beware of the dangerous practices of Cursolls; put " away by Malvasier [the French ambassador] for the same.

" 6. Holt to be delivered, or sent out of the country.

" 7. Orders for redress upon the borders. Speedy justice. " The wardens oft to meet," &c.

The French ambassador, Mauvesier, was now employed 306
by his king, in behalf of the Scots queen's deliverance. She also now made her intercession at the English court with the lord treasurer, to second the said ambassador's endeavour, by a letter in French to him written from Sheffield, where she was in durance; importing, " That she had writ- " ten a few days before to the queen, to testify the sincerity " of her intention to the queen; and the great need she was " in of having her request granted by her majesty. And " that she thought fit to pray him to be favourable to her " in this affair. And that she had required that ambassador " of the most Christain king, to communicate the whole mat- " ter to him, and to obtain his aid and support to the said " queen, his sister. She would not trouble him with long " discourse; unless only to pray him to have regard of her

The French king intercedes by his ambassador for the Scots queen.

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"long captivity; and leaving it to his wisdom to judge "easily, how she deserved not to be so suspected as she "was." But this being the letter of so remarkable as well as unhappy a queen in this reign, I have placed in the Appendix, as I transcribed it from the original.

See this letter at N°. XLI.

The lords' letters to search for dangerous persons coming over by sea.

It was high time for such laws to be made as the parliament lately had done, against seminaries, and others disaffected, privily coming into the realm. For I find the lords in the month of May this year issuing out their letters for the searching for persons coming into the realm; occasioned by an information concerning some persons that were to be sent over, to practise some great mischief. The letter was as follows.

"After our hearty commendations. Forasmuch as it is "understood, that certain wicked persons in sundry parts on "the other side of the seas have intention to continue their "devilish malice against her majesty and this realm, and "mean to come secretly into the realm in covert sort, with "some purpose to attempt some great mischief; which ne-"vertheless we hope God will of his goodness withstand: "we have for this purpose thought it very necessary, that "good regard be had in every port, and other creeks of the "sea, as well in that country as in other, where persons, "either strangers or English, shall seek to land; and of "what condition they are, so as none be suffered to come on "land in any port or creek, that be not notorious merchants, "and those of honest and sound condition, or otherwise "persons exercising fishing. For which purpose we have "made choice of you, as persons dwelling near to the sea-"coast. Requiring you, when these our letters shall first "come to you, to impart them to such of the others next "unto you; and thereupon, according to your dwellings, "to join two or three together; and with that speed you "can, to make choice of some special, honest persons, that "either dwell within any the port towns, or upon any creek, "where landing may be, or near to the same; and to direct "them daily to see what persons shall come in any vessels, "either into any port or creek near to the same. And to

" suffer none to come on land, until they be seen, searched,
" and duly examined of what condition they are, and for
" what purpose any of them do come.

" And if any shall appear worthy of suspicion, as being 307
" not a known honest merchant, or trading in fishing, or
" that shall not shew a just cause of coming hither, void of
" suspicion; the same to be stayed, and kept either on ship-
" board, or in some house in safety, until you or some of
" you may be certified from some, as you have deputed, of
" the condition of the party so stayed. And thereupon also
" we desire you to advertise us; that upon further consi-
" deration of the matter we may direct our opinions what
" shall be done with such persons.

" We wish that you would make choice of such persons
" to look to this charge in every port or creek, as are known
" to be well affected in matter of religion. And for that the
" searchers and all officers of the customhouses, and their
" deputies, in all the ports within that county, shall also do
" their duties herein:

" I, the treasurer, do send my several letters to all the
" officers in every such port, to charge them to use them-
" selves in this service as you shall direct them; upon pain
" of loss of their offices, and to be straitly punished accord-
" ing to their deserts.

" We do further consider, that kind of lewd persons, as
" we mean to have apprehended and stayed, hearing of this
" order taken for search of all vessels coming to any ports
" or usual creeks, will, to avoid their apprehension, procure
" the passage-boats, wherein they shall be, to set them a-
" land in some places upon the coasts, not being ports nor
" creeks: and so the same persons will secretly repair by
" night further off into the land; and so seek to escape from
" search. Wherefore we require your lordship and the rest,
" to consider among yourselves how this may be remedied.
" Which in our opinion cannot be better met withal, than
" that in such places, where it may be thought likely or
" probable that any such persons may be set on land, dis-

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" tant from any port or creek, or from any town, that there " be a watch set; to be made of some honest people of the " towns next adjoining. Whom we would have to be ap- " pointed to watch those parts of the seacoast now these " summer nights. Directing them how to use themselves in " their watches secretly; to apprehend any persons that shall " be set on land in that suspicious sort; and to bring the " same to such places as you shall direct them, until they " may be searched and examined; and as yourselves thereof " advertised, as in the other cases above mentioned we have " prescribed."

The lord treasurer's letter, specified above, will not be amiss to be added, further to illustrate this matter, so carefully searched into; which probably concerned the queen's life. It was directed to the officers of the ports, to this purport: " That whereas the lords of the council had by her " majesty's commandment directed their letters to certain " special persons in the country of the maritime counties of " this realm, to have a care for examining of all such per- " sons as should come into this realm at any port or creek " of the same, being not known to be notorious merchants " or fishermen; for that her majesty was given to under- " stand, that divers bad persons had and did purpose to " come in for bad and lewd purposes: to which persons, as 308 " the lords had, to the effect aforesaid, directed their letters, " with authority given unto them to appoint in every port, " creek, or other place, such persons as they should think " fit to have the daily viewing of such persons as should ar- " rive; and should advertise them thereof, upon any occa- " sion of suspicion, or their apprehension of any such bad " persons; and to proceed with them according to their di- " rections: so also do I require you to be aiding and assist- " ing herein, as you shall be required, as you will answer " for the contrary at your uttermost peril."

Lord treasurer to the officers of the ports on the same occasion.

How justly grounded this suspicion was, our historian informeth us; namely, that about this time Savage was sent to assassinate the queen, and that Throgmorton, Paget, and

other refugees were creeping into England; joining with the Guises in the holy league, and, by bringing in war into this kingdom, to depose or murder queen Elizabeth, and to place Mary the Scots queen in her room. CHAP. XXV. Anno 1585.

And foreseeing how necessary it was to be ready against any invasion, general musters were made. And the council, in this month of May, sent abroad their letters, for employing young gentlemen in those musters in the several or in some of the counties more especially. Which letters ran to this tenor: "That whereas, at the last year's training of "soldiers in that county, they that were appointed principal "captains made choice of sundry persons to be their petty "captains or lieutenants, and other necessary officers of their "bands in martial service, whereof some were mere strangers "in that country; whereby, now upon the like occasion of "service to be renewed, it might happen, that some of them "should not be found ready to supply their former places: "it was therefore thought fit, that three or four at the least "of the commissioners of the musters, together with the "former principal captains of each division within that "county, should assemble themselves together, and consider of all such young gentlemen, being the sons of men "of ability, as were within each of the said divisions, as "might be thought meet to supply the former places of "petty captains and other officers in the bands; and to appoint the most sufficient of them, according to their abilities, to take charge of those necessary offices within and "under every captain's charge; that is, so as they were not "retained to serve any of them, as being of her majesty's "privy-council. That hereby both the said young gentlemen might be trained and exercised in the service of the "country; and so also as, in time coming, the country might "not be destitute of towardly men to serve in such places." Young gentlemen to be employed in musters.

Something now concerning these busy English emissaries of Rome, so dangerous to the English common weal. Colleges were erected for them at Rome and Rheimes. Concerning which, Bilson, warden of Winchester college, takes this notice. That they were set up at the pope's charge, Colleges for seminaries.

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(which they call *seminaries*,) with purpose to draw thither the best wits out of England, as well from both the universities as from other grammar schools: there to train them to their fancies and factions: and then to direct them back into this realm, for the reconciling of poor souls, as they say, to the catholic church; or, in truer terms, (saith that learned man,) for the perverting of simple and ignorant persons from the duty which they owed to God and the queen. This attempt being truly looked into (saith the same author) by the queen, and others of the queen's privy-council, they thought very dangerous, and pernicious to the realm; that the capital envier of this state, disturber of the queen's peace, and pursuer of her person, should allure and abuse so great a number of her subjects with a show of liberality, and have them in such bondage by the rules of their society, that they must obey the will of their superior (the pope's agent among them) no otherwise than they would the voice of Christ from heaven: for so themselves profess. Thereupon proclamation was given out, that none should depart the realm without licence; and a time prefixed for those that were abroad to return home, upon some pain there specified. And further threats, if the queen were thereunto provoked.

True Difference between Christian Subjects and unchristian Rebels. Pref. to the Queen.

As Campion wrote in his second article.

The guiders of these ungodly societies, instead of obeying the queen's edict, fell to defend their own act in departing this land and resorting to Rome; and also the pope's intent in erecting those seminaries, and appointing a number of them to be sent into England, to reduce the realm to Romish obedience; which they call the *faith of their fathers*, in a book entitled, *An apology and true declaration of the institution and endeavour of the two English colleges:* whereof Dr. Allen was the author: which received a learned answer this year by the abovesaid Dr. Thomas Bilson, warden of Winchester college.

Hawfield, a Jesuit, brings in Dr. Allen's book.

Among other Jesuits now in Newgate, and brought to their trial, one of them was Hawfield, or Alfield. The chief crime laid against him was, the bringing into the realm Dr. Allen's book, writ in defence of the English catholics:

which was full of very bold accusations of our laws, and a vindication of some traitors that had been executed; as Campion and others. The process of the trial of that man I shall set down as I find it in an authentic manuscript. Anno 1585.

The effect and substance of the matter that was done and spoken at the arraignment of Tho. Alfield, a Jesuit priest, at Newgate, upon Monday, the 3d of July, 1585.

His arraignment at the bar.

First, he and his fellows were brought from Newgate, and placed at the bar. My lord mayor, my lord Buckhurst, the master of the rolls, my lord Anderson, Mr. Sackforth, sir Rowland Haywood, Mr. Owen, Mr. Yong, and the recorder. These sate upon the bench. Mr. Townclerk read the commission of oyer and terminer. After this, a substantial jury of the best commoners, to the number of twenty, or thereabouts, sworn to inquire, &c. Then the recorder gave the special charge that belonged to the commission. After that done, the inquest of inquiry went up into the council-chamber at the sessions-hall, &c. Alfield's indictment was read. He was demanded, whether he was guilty of the matter contained in that indictment. To which he would make no answer; and prayed that he might be 310
heard speak. And thereupon he used a certain frivolous speech, containing no matter. The effect whereof was, that the cause in question was such, that the same ought to be tried before learned men in divinity, and not before laymen. And after, with much ado, he pleaded, *Not guilty*. And being asked how he would be tried; and also being told, he ought to be tried by God and the country; he made a long stay; and said, that it was no reason that twelve ignorant men should try a matter of religion, but that it ought to be tried by learned men. And then was it told him, that a matter in fact was laid to his charge; viz. for bringing into the realm and uttering of a certain slanderous and lewd book against her majesty and the realm, devised by one Dr. Allen.

Allen's book vindicated.

To which Alfield answered; and said expressly, that the same book was a loyal book, a lawful book, a good and a true

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book; and that the same was printed in Paris, under the king's privilege there; and was allowed for a good and a lawful book throughout all the universities in Christendom beyond the seas; and that it touched nothing but matter of religion. And being asked, whether it were a matter of religion, that the pope hath authority to deprive the queen of England; he answered, that in generality it was a matter of religion, that the pope had authority to deprive any king, if he see cause; for that the pope was a regal king and prince; and that he might take arms in hand as well as other kings might do. It was answered him, that the court sat not to try matters of religion, but a matter *de facto;* that is, whether he brought the said slanderous books into the realm; and whether he had dispersed them. To the which he answered, that he had brought five or six hundred of the same books into the realm; and that he had dispersed them as he saw occasion. And further, he affirmed expressly, that the book was a good book, and lawful; he declared, as he had before done, how the same was allowed, &c.

And after, he was urged to put himself upon his trial; and was put in remembrance what the punishment of the law was, if judgment were given against him, *de pain* [*peine*] *forte et dure.* And thereupon it was asked him how he would be tried; and he answered, *By God and the country*, &c.

The indictment was read. The which contained divers false, lewd, and slanderous parts of Dr. Allen's book: tending plainly by express words, not only the treasons, but most manifest and shameful slanders against her majesty. Yet did Alfield not stick to say, that it touched not the queen any more than it did the French king or Spanish king. He travailed very much to make the commissioners believe, that they understood not that slanderous book. Adding this withal, that the same book was especially devised and written by Dr. Allen, to answer him who had written the book of *Justice of England;* and not to slander the queen, &c.

There was delivered to the jury one of the books, to compare the words of the indictment with the book and the examination: and finding them to agree, and hearing him so stoutly to justify the same to be a loyal book, they returned after a competent time to the bar. They were then asked, whether he were guilty of the offence that was contained in the indictment. The foreman answered, *Guilty.*

Found guilty.

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He then pleaded a pardon. Then his pardon was read. And it was found that his offence was excepted out of the pardon. Then the recorder called him forth, and recited the effect of the indictment; and how that he was found *guilty;* and told him, that he wondered, that his father in king Henry's days, being an usher of Eaton, and of a good religion, and had brought up many learned divines, and others that served the queen in temporal causes; where, of hundreds, the recorder himself was one of the meanest, (as he modestly said:) and that the same prisoner passed through the same college, and so to the King's college; being both of the queen's highness' foundation; and now had so unnaturally and beastly behaved himself: though he was the first that ever was arraigned of felony, of any that ever passed through those colleges, by the space of these fifty years and more.

The recorder's speech to the prisoner.

Then further said the recorder; Ye know that Christ paid tribute to Cæsar, and commanded that Cæsar should be obeyed; and that each man should yield to Cæsar his duties: and that St. Paul, in the end of the Acts, was accused for religion by the Jews; and it was told him, that he should be sent to Jerusalem, to be tried before the priest there. And he answered, that he stood before the tribunal or judgment-seat of Cæsar; and there he ought to be tried. And so he appealed to Cæsar; where his cause was heard, and he dismissed. Here, quoth the recorder, ye see that Christ commanded that Cæsar should be obeyed; he said not, *deposed*, [as the pope taught his proselytes.] And St. Paul did appeal to Cæsar, and not to Peter; because he took Cæsar to be his lawful king. And all men know that Cæsar was not of the faith of Christ; nor yet did he believe

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as St. Paul did. And after a few words more, he gave judgment, and commanded the sheriff to do execution.

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Alfield ignorant, but bold.

This Alfield (as my MS. goes on) appeared to have no skill at all either in the Old or New Testament. There appeared no manner of learning in him. He was bold, stout, and arrogant. He behaved himself more arrogantly than any that ever the commissioners had heard or seen in their times. His words were such against her majesty, that all the people fell into a murmur. He never used one word of reverence towards her highness. And at his passage to execution, the people offered to pray with him; and he refused their offer, and said, that if there were any catholics there, he would be glad to have their assistance.

Traitorous sentences in Allen's book.

It is worth reading the several sentences taken out of Allen's book, which were entered into Alfield's indictment; which the jury were directed to see in the book itself. As this for one: "That if Campion and his company might "have spoken their minds boldly, they would, at their pas- "sage out of this world, have done as Leyborn, a gentle- "man, did: who protested, at his arraignment and death, "that her majesty was not lawful queen for two reasons; "for her *birth*, and for her *excommunication:* and that she "sought neither *dispensation* for the first, nor *absolution* 312 "for the second." Another of the assertions in Allen's book was; "That by the fall of the king from the faith, "the case is so dangerous and inevitable, that God had not "sufficiently provided for our salvation, and the preserva- "tion of his church, if there were no ways to deprive or re- "strain apostate princes." But I choose to refer all these and the rest of the passages of this book (mentioned in the said indictment) to the Appendix.

No. LIV.

I have a few notices more to insert concerning some other Romanists now in hold.

John Prestal, prisoner, sues for liberty.

John Prestal, a papist and conjurer, (who had been divers years in the Tower,) now solicited for his liberty in an humble letter to the lord treasurer; having been in some combination against the queen; and seems to be the same Prestal that was concerned divers years before in casting a figure

by the art of astrology upon the queen's life, and foretelling her death, and a party among some popish plotters, among whom the Poles were concerned. I find this man now writing to the said treasurer, upon a letter from that lord to sir Owen Hopton, lieutenant of the Tower; intimating some compassion towards him, who had lain there so long under restraint. In his letter, which on this occasion he sent to that lord, " He acknowledged himself greatly " bound to his lordship, especially for that his honour had " said, that his displeasure was not bent towards him: and " in all humbleness of heart he prayed to God to increase " his favour towards him. And for his lordship's favour- " able advertisement, viz. that some of the lords of the " council took offence at his writings, he made answer, " That if God had bestowed any benefit upon him, he " should think himself a most happy man therewith to " serve him." [This *benefit* seems to be his pretended deep skill in astrology.] " Humbly desiring his honour to ap- " pease their [those lords] displeasure; and favourably to " remember his obedience; and in his pity to consider the " time past; for that it had pleased him to say to his " daughter, that he had received twelve years' imprison- " ment," [speaking it in compassion.] And then adding, " For truth is, I was between six and nine months close pri- " soner in Beast's [a] house. And then a small time in her " majesty's porter's lodge. One year and more in the Mar- " shalsea. In her majesty's bench about two years. And, as " he remembered, seven years upon bonds. And in that " house now [viz. the Tower, wherein he was] eight years " and more. Most humbly desiring his honour, for God's " cause, not to take those his writings, nor any other, to " have in them any thought of contempt; but of his la- " mentable intercession with humbleness to move his pity " towards him. And that if he might, with God's assistance, " receive his lordship's favour, and his own liberty, he " should not only, in all dutiful fear of heart and mind, live " in all obedience unto her majesty, but dutifully and dili- " gently at all times prest with any benefit that God had

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His letter.

[a] Beal's house perhaps, who was clerk of the council.

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" bestowed upon him, to serve and pleasure his honour: " and further, he trusted, that God would move the minds " of some men to stand bound, not only for his dutiful- " ness unto her majesty and their honours, but also, that " his solitary life (if not otherwise appointed by her ma- " jesty and their honours) should be such, as wittingly not " to give offence, by word or deed, to any her majesty's " subjects; no, nor to the least child that lived," &c.

How far these fair promises and protestations might prevail upon the lords to grant liberty to this man, so long under confinement, I know not; who, by his pretended art of foretelling things to come, might suggest encouragement and success to the busy enemies of the queen.

Philip earl of Arundel flies.

A person of greater figure, even Philip earl of Arundel, comes next under my pen; who was taken up upon meddling in these dangerous courses against the queen and realm; at least great jealousies were now conceived of him in the court. He was eldest son to Thomas duke of Norfolk, (that was beheaded in the business of the queen of Scots,) by his first wife, who was daughter and heiress to Henry Fitz Allan, earl of Arundel. This Philip the queen restored in blood; and obtained the title of earl of Arundel, and sate in parliament. But was taken up upon suspicion, and committed to the Tower; and restored after a while to liberty again. But being devoted to the Romish religion, and apprehending future danger, took a resolution to fly abroad: but thought fit to leave a letter to the queen, giving in plain language the reason of his departure.

Camd. Eliz. p. 310.

Which letter, (briefly mentioned in Camden's History,) from an exact copy in the Cotton library, I shall here exemplify at large, as a further account of this earl's troubles: though he was disappointed, and seized before he took ship. His letter follows:

His letter to the queen. Cotton libr.

" Your majesty never charged me with the least fault or " offence to you: and those adversaries of mine which did " bark behind my back, durst never accuse me, nor once " open their mouths, to my face: so that I counted my hap " very ill, that was wrongfully accused: but much worse,

" because I could at no time be charged: whereby I might
" have had fit occasion both to have shewed my innocency,
" and to have satisfied your majesty's suspicion: for first,
" seeing your majesty to countenance my adversaries, who
" did seek of purpose to disgrace me; and that you would
" not, many times in their presence, once so much as bend
" your eyes to the place where I stood. Secondly, I find-
" ing them encouraged to my injury many ways, by the
" help of your favour; and that I was unable to defend
" myself any way, by reason of your displeasure. Lastly,
" perceiving by your majesty's disgrace, which all men did
" note by your bitter speeches, which most men did know,
" that I was generally accounted, nay, that I was in a man-
" ner pointed at, as one whom your majesty least favoured;
" and in most disgrace, as a person whom you did deeply sus-
" pect, and especially mislike. I knew that this smoke did
" beware a fire; and I saw that these clouds did foretell a
" storm. And therefore prepared myself with patience to
" endure whatsoever it was the will of God, by means of
" your majesty's indignation, to lay upon me; being as-
" sured, that my faults towards you were none, though by
" offence towards others were many. And thus having re-
" solved myself to endure whatsoever shall happen, I con-
" tinued some months in this deep disgrace, without either 3 1 4
" knowing what was the ground of your majesty's displea-
" sure, or hearing what should be, in the depth of mine
" own misfortune: till at the last I was called, by your
" majesty's commandment, before the council at two sundry
" times: where many things were objected to me; and
" some of them such trifles, as they were ridiculous; others
" of them, as unlikely as they were incredible; but all of
" them so untrue, as none of them could be justified. And
" yet, notwithstanding that my innocency did so evidently
" appear by my answers, as my greatest enemies could not
" reprove me of the smallest offence of undutifulness to your
" majesty, I was commanded to keep my house.

" Wherefore I saw it was resolved by the course of this
" dealing, that how clear and manifest soever my innocence

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" was, yet my adversaries should receive those triumphs of " their victory, having what they would; and I feel the " disgrace of my own misfortune, in enduring that which I " no way deserved; and my enemies, to maintain their do- " ings by some colourable show, (seeing they could not jus- " tify the accusation by no just proof,) after this, they pro- " cured your majesty to send some of your council, four " days after my restraint, to examine me of no matters " which were of greater weight and importance; but as im- " probable as the former: and I did discharge myself as " clearly as of the others before mentioned: so as my inno- " cency did more plainly appear, although my restraint did " continue still.

" From after this, which was my last examination, I re- " mained in the same state fifteen weeks at the least, no " man charging me with the least offence; and my con- " science not being able to accuse me of the smallest fault. " And at the last, when either my enemies could not for " shame longer continue in their unconscionable proceed- " ings, or that your majesty was informed, by some of my " friends, that I had too long endured this undeserved pu- " nishment, I was restored to my former liberty, without " hearing any just cause of your majesty's hard conceit, " or any good colour why I was committed, or but the sha- " dow of a fault wherewith I might be touched.

" Wherefore, after I had escaped these storms, and when " I was clearly delivered from all my troubles, I began to " remember the heavy sentence which had lighted upon " three of my ancestors which immediately went before me. " The first being my great grandfather; who was so free " from all suspicion of any fault, as because they had no " colour to bring him to his trial, they attainted him by act " of parliament, without ever calling him to his answer. " The second, being my grandfather, was brought to his " trial, and condemned for such trifles, as it amazed the " standers by at that time; and is ridiculous at this day to " all that hear the same. Nay, he was so faultless in all re- " spects, as the earl of Southampton that then was, being

" one of his greatest adversaries, fearing lest his innocence CHAP.
" should be a means to save his life, told sir Christopher XXV.
" Heydon, one of the jury, beforehand, that though they Anno 1585.
" saw other matter weighty enough to condemn him, yet it 315
" was a sufficient cause to make him guilty, for that he
" was an unmeet man to live in a commonwealth.

" The last, being my father, was arraigned according to the
" law, and condemned by peers. God forbid that I should
" think but that his triers did whereto their consciences
" did lead them. And yet give me leave, I most humbly
" beseech your majesty, to say thus much, that howsoever
" he might be unwittingly or unwillingly drawn into greater
" danger than himself did either see or imagine, yet all
" his actions did plainly declare, and his greatest enemies
" must needs confess, that he never carried any disloyal
" mind to your majesty, nor intending any undutiful act to
" his country.

" And when I had in this sort both fully and strongly
" considered the fortune of these three, which was past, I
" called to mind my own danger, which was present; and did
" think it [not] impossible, by the show of this rough begin-
" ning, but that I might as well follow them in their for-
" tune, as I had succeeded them in their place: for I con-
" sidered the greatness of my enemies' power to overthrow,
" and the weakness of my ability to defend myself; I per-
" ceived, by my last trouble, how narrowly my life was
" sought, and how easily your majesty was drawn to a
" suspicion and hard opinion of my ancestors; and by my
" past danger, how my innocency was not sufficient warrant
" to protect me in safety, I know myself. And besides, was
" charged by your council to be of the religion which is
" accounted odious, and dangerous to your estates. Lastly,
" but principally, I weighed, in what miserable, doubtful
" case my soul had remained, if my life had been taken (as
" it was not unlikely) in my former troubles: for I protest
" the greatest burden that rested in my conscience at that
" time was, because I had not lived according to the pre-
" script rule of that which I undoubtedly believed, and as-

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" suredly do persuade myself to be that truth," &c. This letter goes no further. It was writ when he was just ready to depart, and go abroad beyond sea, being in Sussex, ready to embark; and betrayed by his own followers and the master of the vessel; seized and brought to the Tower. And some years after was arraigned and condemned for holding a correspondence with cardinal Allen, and Jesuits, and other traitors, that plotted the destruction of the prince and realm, as our history of queen Elizabeth's reign shews at large.

Edm. Nevyl, his letters from the Tower.

Edmund Nevyl was another of these popish gentlemen now under restraint, who was in the plot with Parry to take away the queen's life; and had the good fortune to save his by the first discovery of it: but he was still kept in the Tower. He pretended to be lord Latimer, as next heir in descent from the lord of that name deceased, and so styled himself. Some of his letters I have seen, as well of that affair, as pleading for his liberty; and particularly that he might not be banished; which was the queen's purpose concerning him. Thus in one of his letters to the lord treasurer Burghley, he thus mentions his case. First in respect of a lie that the said Parry had told of him, while they were fellows in the conspiracy; which came out after Parry's
316 execution. He pretended to be much acquainted with the said treasurer; and had told Nevyl privately, that that lord mortally hated him. Sir Tho. Cecil, that lord's eldest son, (who had married one of the heiresses of the lord Latymer,) told his father, how Nevyl was informed that he mortally hated him: and soon after told Nevyl, that he had acquainted his father with it; and that his father had answered, that he was so far from that, that he bore him a good will, and was honourably affected towards him. This occasioned Nevyl to write to that lord:

Telling him, that it was Dr. Parry that had assured him of the contrary, and that upon his credit and knowledge; willing him never to trust the said lord: Parry adding, that he [Nevyl] should not demand of him how he knew it; for that he might not tell it him. And for the truth of it, Nevyl added; " It were sin to belie the dead. God forgive him,

" and grant us grace that live, to do that we ought. And " that he must now needs believe that he [Parry] dealt " unjustly with all men, seeing he had sought so much " to abuse him, [the said lord treasurer,] unto whom the " world thought him so much beholden. And then he did " humbly beseech his honour, to believe those malicious re- " ports, that Parry made of him unto his lordship and " others of the lords, to be of like credit."

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I will continue Nevil's letter to the same lord, though the next period is more private, concerning some differences between sir Tho. Cecil and his house, as heir of the lord Latymer. " That he protested he ever held him for so ho- " nourable and worthy a magistrate, as he was contented to " have put them unto his lordship's own compremise; and " which he had offered at several times unto his honour; " and that he would rather have lost his portions [which he " claimed by his descent from the Latymers] than his lord- " ship's favour. Whereby it appeared, that he never had " so unreverend a thought of him, as wilfully to hinder " him of justice: but yet that he [Nevyl] must needs know, " that by his lordship's power and authority his friends " forbare to favour and assist him, and the lawyers them- " selves to take his fee, or advise him." Adding these close words; " Herein, my good lord, do I blame your might, " and not your malice; your power, and not your will. " Which power, when it shall please your honour to turn " to my good, being joined with will, may profit me much " more than I have been damnified by it."

The suit between sir Tho. Cecil and him.

And then in his letter he descends to take notice of his lordship's sending to him some divine, (as it seems,) to satisfy his conscience in point of religion or allegiance, viz. " That his honour's wisdom and virtue did well appear, in " that charitable course he had taken for the quieting his " conscience, wherein that lord, he said, had bound him " more to do him honour and service, than if he had given " him twice so much lands as he had lost of his ancestors: " for that it appeared to proceed from the integrity of a true " Christian conscience. That the crosses of his house, and

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"these his troubles, he must needs esteem to proceed from "the secret judgment of God, for forefathers' offences, "his own, or both: since he found in his conscience that "he had not deserved them at the hands of his prince or "country."

Vindicates his innocency.

And then he vindicates his innocency in Parry's plot: "That if her majesty knew how much he hated the name "of a traitor, even in the secret of his soul, and with what "zeal he left the world abroad, to repair the fault of the "chief of his house, [viz. Nevyl, earl of Westmerland,] by "his loyal service to her majesty at home; her highness "would not hold him there, in her majesty's Tower, pri-"soner; and much less command him out of his country

His exile appointed.

"in banishment. And then, humbly beseeching his honour "to weigh his cause, which in itself was lamentable, in hav-"ing lost his living abroad," [having been a pensioner, as it seems, to king Philip of Spain,] "the favour of all foreign "princes, the liberties of their countries; and lastly, which "troubled him most of all, the poor gentlewoman his wife, "who was dead by his absence." [Yet not so dead, but I find her alive some years after.] "And all this he had done "to obey the queen his mistress: whose favour notwith-"standing he could not have, &c. That her highness had "commanded him to exile; where, he said, he should rest "a prey unto her enemies, who had sought his life in many "sorts. But that yet he had rather her majesty should "take it here, or permit him here a perpetual prisoner; "where he should infallibly pray for her highness's most "gracious, long, and prosperous reign in the fear and ser-"vice of God. And so concludes, referring his cause and "self to his honourable consideration. From his undesired "and less deserved lodging in the Tower. Where I kiss (as "he concluded) most humbly your honourable hands." It was dated the 13th of Octob. 1585, and subscribed,

"Edmund Latymer."

I find his banishment, according to his desire, was dispensed withal; but he remained a prisoner in the Tower

some years after. Whence, in the year 1588, I meet with another of his letters to the same lord, writ in a very lamentable strain. Which that I may at once finish what occurs concerning this unhappy man, I shall also here (being but short) subjoin. Anno 1585.

" He complained of his intolerable and bitter distresses. Another letter of Nevyl's from the Tower.
" And that he suffered, he might justly say, for the queen's
" sake. Since only to do her service, he left all foreign
" princes, their countries, and such abilities as he there
" possessed. And that this was not unto her majesty un-
" known, though peradventure for the time forgotten, &c.
" What he wanted, he needed not to express, it was so
" well known to him; save his wife's free access to him,
" after her so many troubles endured for his sake, together
" with his other pension, for their better relief and mainte-
" nance," &c. Dating his letter thus: " From my purga-
" tory, or rather earthly hell, where, tormented with ten
" thousand melancholies, humbly kiss your hands. From
" whence hoping to receive a drop of favour to abolish
" them all." Dated in June, 1588.

I have another popish zealot to mention here; and the 318
rather, because there will fall in some remarks of cardinal Allen, that great busy *boutefeu* and incendiary of mischief for the pope's quarrel.

Robert Turner, a native of Devonshire, was about this time public professor of divinity at Ingolstade in Germany, preferred to that place by the interest of Dr. Allen, the cardinal, with prince William of Bavaria, a zealous adversary to Luther and the reformation; and that had received several English fugitives into that university. From his letters, which were printed at Ingolstade, anno MDCII. we may gather divers matters worthy of note, relating to the affairs of England, especially respecting religion. How himself stood affected, those words of his do shew, concerning the wars in France between the Guises and the Hugonots: *Spero pacem nostris, et pestem Hugonoticis rebus*, &c. There were letters of his to cardinal Allen at Rome, directing them with this title, *Guilielmo Alano sanctissimo, doctissimo*, &c. Robert Turner, professor of divinity at Ingolstad. His letters to cardinal Allen at Rome.

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Therein he mentions the cardinal's commending of him to prince William of Bavaria, for his place of professor at Ingolstad: that he being an exile Englishman, that prince had embraced him with both arms of his charity and elemency: and that the said prince in all his speeches remembered Allen, and talked much of his glory and virtue: and that that prince had sent one George Brand, his messenger, to obtain somewhat of the pope; which he prayed Allan to forward, and to recommend him to the pope, to despatch his business. And as an argument to excite the said cardinal Allan, or Allen, he highly commended this his prince for his life, not only without blot, but without suspicion; and that he was a great assertor of the see of Rome; and who had erected a seminary in Germany, according to the prescription of the council of Trent: and that he had wholly rooted out of his jurisdiction whatsoever ill plants Luther had set. And concluded his letter with this wish, "That God might restore the most illustrious [meaning the "cardinal] to England, and England to the most illustrious."

In another letter to the same, giving him the title of the *most reverend and most illustrious*, he recommended an Englishman, one Edward Coffin, ready at his service, to be admitted into the English college at Rome, (where Allen was chief,) being a young man, a catholic and an exile. This person he recommendeth to him, "whom (as he flat-"tereth him) England loved, Rome adorned, banishment "hath as it were ratified [*sanxit*] the patron and father of "Englishmen, catholics and exiles. That this man had de-"sired Turner's letters to him, and that his request was, "that he might be chosen into the said college; having "consecrated himself to God, to England and Rome; and "that he was a fit young man, of no ill note, and prepared "*inire palæstram, juvenis feroculus;* ready to enter upon "action, a fierce youth:" very good qualifications for a Romish emissary.

One Coffin seeks to be admitted into the college at Rome.

Another letter of Turner to the cardinal.

And before this, (that we trace this Turner a little backwards,) it appears by another letter of his to Dr. Allen, now at Doway, before he went to Rome, writing to him from

CHAP. XXV.

Anno 1585.

Paris, he calleth him his patron; who was to take care of him; and to fix him somewhere, (having been invited over privately, as it seems, by him,) styling himself a catholic, poor, and his client. In which letter he speaks also of the bi- 319 shop of Ross, (the queen of Scots' agent abroad,) and of his assistance of him at Paris; and who had such an inclination to him, that he chose him into the number of those that were shortly to go thence with him to Rome. Upon the mention of this bishop of Ross, and his friendship to Turner, I do but hint a consolatory letter to the said Mary queen of Scots; which was drawn up by this Turner; being master of an elegant Latin style, mentioned before, under the year 1583.

Bishop of Ross.

I cannot but relate something out of another letter of the same man, of like strain of zeal, to one Hilliard, his countryman, and his former acquaintance in the university, though of another opinion in religion: whom he tried by his oratory to reduce. He tells him, he was "so sincerely "his, as the gospel, Christ, and Rome suffered him to be." Where it is worth observing the argument he used to bring him over to the popish religion, and his hatred that religion begat in him to his native country. Thus writing concerning England; "Whatsoever bears but the name of Eng- "land, is hated by heaven, and persecuted by earth." And again; "That England would be to him but a bait to sin, "to ruin, and to death." And comparing his countryman, the said Hilliard, to the prodigal son, he exhorted him to return to his Father's house, "where was *poculum gratiæ*, "*osculum pacis*, &c. the cup of grace, the kiss of peace, "the music of a good act, and the fatted calf, Christ him- "self: then he should be filled and satisfied from Rome, "satisfied in himself; and well satisfied, too well: that is, "by the prescription of antiquity, by the prescription of "tradition, by the sense of the church, and the consent of "the world." And then going on in his argument: "But "among the [i. e. protestants,] said he, what is there of "*antiquity?* No more than from Luther to the present age. "What is there of *tradition?* Their foundation is, that

Turner endeavours to pervert one Hilliard.

Tam sincere tuus, quam evangelium, Christus, Roma patitur.

Cælum odit, terra persequitur, quicquid est nominis Anglicani.

Angliam fore escam tibi ad peccatum, ad ruinam, ad mortem.

BOOK I. Anno 1585. Timent hoc nomen et numen.

" there was no tradition at all. What do they say of the " sense of the CHURCH? O! they are afraid of this name " and deity. What of the consent of the *world?* A part of " it, and that the worst of all, is in England; a very little " part of it in Germany; a most seditious part in France: " and in all places of the world the most unlearned; all but " dregs; and how little a portion in comparison of our " world," &c. And thus this unnatural Romish Englishman went on, to bring off his countryman both from his religion and from a love of his native country, by his empty, but malicious oratory.

320 CHAP. XXVI.

Usury practised in York. The archbishop brings it before the commission ecclesiastical: his letter to the lord treasurer about it. The dean of York openly dissents. Articles against him in the star-chamber by the archbishop. The dean's submission to the archbishop. This archbishop preaches at Paul's Cross. Scory, bishop of Hereford, dies. Exercises in the diocese of Chester. That bishop prescribes rules to the clergy for them. Scambler translated to Norwich: his complaint of his predecessor. Curtess, bishop of Chichester, dies poor. Complaint made by the bishop of Litchfield and Coventry: his letter to the lord treasurer. Cox, bishop of Ely, vindicates his liberties in Holborn against the city. The revenues of the dean and chapter of Norwich in danger, upon pretence of concealment: the case: the suit: referred.

NOW I proceed to make some relation of matters of the church, and of some of the bishops thereof, according as they occur to me this year.

Archbishop of York endeavours to reform usury practised there.

Sandys, archbishop of York, had observed a great crime prevailing in his diocese; and especially in the city of York. It was *usury*, in a most excessive degree; insomuch that such as had occasion to take up money paid a heavy consideration for it. The good archbishop was moved at it,

and brought the matter into the ecclesiastical commission. And, which was worst of all, one of his chief brethren of the clergy, even the dean of York, who was rich, was deeply touched in the same fault. And he, being one of the commissioners, endeavoured to interrupt it; and in fine, openly protested against it: which spoiled all the archbishop's good intentions, in punishing and redressing that great oppression. The archbishop had no help now, but by applying to those above. And as he had written to the queen and to the archbishop of Canterbury, so he also declared the matter more at large to the lord treasurer; which was to this tenor: (which I relate, that the thing before us may be the better understood.) Anno 1585.

His letter to the lord treasurer about it.

" That in his troubles he was forced to fly unto his lord-
" ship. That God would ever record with him how faith-
" fully and painfully he had travailed in his vocation, as
" well in preaching the gospel as in exercising discipline.
" But that now such was the malice of man, that his hands 321
" were closed up, and the rod of discipline taken from him.
" That biting and vile usury, forbidden by the law of God
" and man, the very bane of the commonwealth, was practised
" in that city of York more than elsewhere in the world, in
" his opinion; and that all other traffic and art was in a man-
" ner laid aside; and that only put in ure; even from the
" highest to the lowest, all in manner given to it: and that
" in most extreme sort, to take one hundred at the hun-
" dred. That this had eaten up the poor, and spoiled the
" gentlemen of their patrimony."

He proceeded; " That he had diligently laboured with
" others, by preaching, to reform this sin: *sed in vanum la-*
" *boravimus*. And therefore compelled even in conscience,
" by virtue of her majesty's commission ecclesiastical, to call
" the offenders herein to answer their fact: but that, as
" they were in the consistory, ministering oaths unto them,
" to answer unto certain articles, the dean of York, (who
" crossed all good proceedings,) with a full stomach, stood
" up protesting, that he dissented from them. And further,

The dean of York defends usury.

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" that he there publicly defended usury as lawful; and " threatened the witnesses, which were brought in to charge " the offenders, with *premunire:* the dean adding, that he " would clear his hands of it. Yet, as the archbishop sub- " joined, the report was, that his hands were deeply mired " in this matter: for otherwise he could hardly have " abounded in such wealth as he at that time presently did.

" And that thus his speech wonderfully encouraged the " offenders, as afterwards (added the archbishop) fell forth " in proof: for hardly would they be brought to any exa- " mination: and that one of the number utterly refused to " answer to the articles, although he had taken his oath to " do it: and that another of them utterly denied their [viz. " the ecclesiastical commissioners] authority and jurisdic- " tion; and that with big words and unseemly behaviour. " And that for this their great contempt they were com- " pelled to commit them to the castle: for the example " (said the archbishop) was not tolerable."

Council in the north complained of.

And which he further thought fit now to acquaint the treasurer with, that obstructed their good purpose, was the opposition that the council in the north gave thereto. For thus the archbishop went on. " That the second after the " vice-president, with the rest of the council there, by war- " rant sent for them, and set them at liberty; and that " chiefly provoked thereunto by Mr. Cheek," [who was son to that excellent man sir John Cheek, and was now a member of that council,] " who (said the archbishop) with- " out all cause did malice him, cross and hinder his proceed- " ings, what he could. That he thought the like had not " been done by any authority heretofore:" [namely, that a council in the north should annul or revoke what was done in an ecclesiastical commission, issuing from the queen.] " That her majesty's commission, by reason hereof, was dis- " credited, and made of no authority; and they, her majes- " ty's commissioners, defaced and contemned: and so forced " to surcease any further proceeding by that authority."

322 And then adding these words; " So that sin may now take

" his full course uncorrected; to the great offence of God, " and the great danger of the state. For this commission " was the only means to bridle sin withal." Anno 1585.

And then the archbishop shewed the treasurer, that there were but two that were brought into question for usury by the commission, and rescued after that manner: " That the " two persons thus privileged, that they might not be touch- " ed, were two serving men; the one, yeoman of the wood- " yard to the lord president; the other, a clerk to one Col- " thirst, an ordinary attorney at York."

And at last the archbishop laid their case before his lordship in these words: " Your lordship now seeth our case. " The cause is her majesty's; whose authority in cases ec- " clesiastical is too much contemned. I doubt not but that " your lordship, according to your great wisdom, will have " honourable consideration hereof; as well in respect of " God's cause, (for God hateth sin,) as for the maintenance " of her majesty's authority: which by reason hereof hath " received a great blow. And that he would have attended " himself, but presently he could not, being occupied about " the collecting of money of the clergy for her majesty's ser- " vice in the Low Countries."

And that such an affront might not be put up, he signified, " That he had written something touching this matter " to her majesty, as also to the archbishop of Canterbury; " well knowing that his lordship also would further so good " a cause. And thus he commended his good lordship to " the good direction of God's holy Spirit. Dated from Bi- " shopthorp, the 4th of March, 1585."

This matter of complaint was at length brought up to court. And now several articles were drawn up, and objected against the abovesaid dean of York by the archbishop, and laid against him, touching sundry misdemeanours, both in speech and action, as well against the authority of her majesty's commission ecclesiastical, as against the archbishop, and his lawful and dutiful proceedings; with other accusations. Articles against the dean of York.

I. The archbishop, at his first coming to the see, consi- His behaviour to-

BOOK I.

dering how much it imported the good success of that service which her majesty had laid upon him, to have the aid of such as were of countenance and in place, fit to further the service, dealt with the said dean to that end; requiring, that he would yield to join with him, the said archbishop, in dutiful care, to see to the government, which her majesty had committed unto him in the north parts. Whereto the answer of the said dean (though no way injured by the said archbishop, and without all cause of suspicion on his behalf offered, that he sought in that request to begin or maintain any partiality or faction) was, that he needed not the favour of him, the archbishop, nor yet the lord president. And therefore he would join with neither of them both.

Anno 1585. wards the archbishop. MSS. Burg.

II. Where it pleased her majesty to send her letters of commission to the archbishop, the lord lieutenant, the dean abovesaid, with others, for the hearing and determination of divers matters complained of against Mr. Whittingham, dean of Durham, the said dean of York did bear himself as a person greatly affected to the cause of the said Mr. Whittingham; and in no sort indifferent to the service committed to their trust: and question arising among the said commissioners touching the *orders* of the said Whittingham, being one matter, among many, for which he was thought not lawfully to hold his deanery, or at the least worthy of deprivation; the said dean of York maintained, that the said Whittingham was in better sort ordained minister than our ministers in England. Notwithstanding that he well knew, that the said Whittingham his ministry was not warranted by the law of the realm; as being made minister by a few mean men and lay persons in a private house at Geneva, without the knowledge or consent of Mr. Calvin, the chief minister there. And, upon further speech of that argument, he entered into an odious comparison of his own ministry and the archbishop's calling to the same; affirming, that his was much better than the archbishop's was.

Dean of Durham, Whittingham.

His orders questioned.

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III. The archbishop offering to visit the dean and chapter, and other members of the cathedral church of York, (as by law and duty he is bound to do,) the said dean hath

from time to time protested against the said visitation; of purpose that the case of the cathedral church should not come to any account, or examination; but remain in disorder, to the private profit and advantage of the said dean and his chapter; pretending only an old composition made by a pope; neither warranted by law, nor regarded by the predecessors of the said archbishop. Who, notwithstanding the same, have had actual visitations of the said dean and chapter; wherein the said archbishop taketh it, that the said dean hath broken a great part of his duty to her majesty, in vouching a privilege not known to have other warrant than the pope's grant. And so by statute in case of *premunire*.

IV. The said dean receiving letters from my lord treasurer and others, to examine the wife of Sysson, who had been used by sir Robert Stapleton as his instrument to slander the said archbishop, as in the case heard and debated before the lords of the star-chamber plainly appears; and also to examine other witnesses, that were to depose of the wicked life of the said sir Robert Stapleton with Sysson's wife; and received particular articles for his direction to examine as well the said Sysson's wife as the said witness: he first permitted the said Sysson's wife to take her scope to utter all the malice of her heart in maintenance of her wicked slander, altogether without the compass of the articles committed to his examination; as one delighted to hear the slanders of the said archbishop, and grieved that any thing in that examination should be discovered to the defence of his innocence: and that notwithstanding by some of his said commission he was charitably put in mind that he should, though not in regard of the archbishop's person, yet for the credit of religion, not seek to give way to so apparent malice; he held his course, and answered, that religion hanged not upon one man's back: and in the examination of the said witnesses, he travailed with some privately, to take heed of their danger, if they should depose any thing to the discredit of sir Ropert Stapleton. Some he terrified openly; 324
with others he trifled and cavilled, as it pleased him: giving them no further hearing, than he thought he might without

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the hurt of the said sir Robert. And in the end, where his commission was to proceed with Mr. Cheek and one Mr. Ramsden, to whom the letters were directed with himself, he made his certificate without calling the same and Mr. Ramsden to the same.

V. The archbishop perceiving the excessive and horrible usury practised in York, as well by merchants as by artificers, and men of all sorts, to the great offence of God and hurt of the commonwealth; he, with others, most earnestly, for the space of three years together, preached against the same. And perceiving that no reformation followed thereof, he, with his associates, by virtue of her majesty's commission ecclesiastical, (the dean of York being one,) called before them seven usurers, publicly defamed and detected of that offence; offering to them articles to answer unto upon their oaths. Which thing they did, being not encouraged to the contrary. And upon their confession and proof convinced for great and excessive usury, acknowledged the same, and submitted themselves to order. Which was, to enter into recognisance of one thousand marks apiece, never to commit the like, and to make restitution to the party grieved, of that which they had received, more than the principal.

Seven usurers called before the commission.

About a fortnight after this, viz. the 21st day of February, the archbishop, with his associates, called twenty mo, detected of usury; and offered to them like articles to answer unto, upon their oaths. While this was in doing, open in the consistory, in audience of a great many people, the dean of York (on purpose to hinder this good and lawful proceeding, well liked of all good men) upon the sudden stood up, and with great stomach uttered these words, or the like in effect; viz. "We must beware how we deal in this "matter of *usury*. For my part, I dissent from these pro- "ceedings, of mislike of them. So will clear my hands of "it. For many things are termed *usury* in the civil law, "which are not usury by the word of God:" alleging the authority of Calvin, Bullinger, Beza, Bucer, and Daneus, for that purpose. Adding further, that such as dealt therein

The dean of York's speech against the proceedings with the usurers.

did run into *premunire*. And he required the actuary to record this saying. The archbishop, in mild and temperate words, answered; "Mr. Dean, these speeches are out of sea- Anno 1585.
"son, and not fit for this place. For if you had misliked, The archbishop's
"you might privately have so told me this morning, we be- answer.
"ing both together. Or else you might have absented your-
"self from this place, or have been silent, and kept your
"voice and dissent unto yourself; and not thus have crossed
"these good proceedings, to the great derogation of the au-
"thority of her majesty's commission. As touching *usury*,
"I know, and shall be well able to prove, that it is manifest
"both against the laws of God and man, and condemned
"accordingly as wicked. And for matter of *premunire*, I
"answer that for all." "Nay," said the dean, "I will an-
"swer my doings for myself."

For these his speeches, it ensued that the offenders contemned the authority of the court; whose boldness the archbishop and others labouring to reform, by committing some 325
of them, for their great contempt, to prison, their order was eluded by a delivery procured from the council, [in those north parts,] as encouraged by the dean in his speech.

VI. The said dean is suspected to practise usury himself; and being reported to be thereof guilty, that opinion hath the rather increased, for that he, in open disputations and conferences, maintaineth it for a matter lawful. And being himself charged with that sin, hath in very trifling manner scorned the complaint, as worthy no blame: shifting off those which laid it to his charge, with this or like answer; "That we preachers are all usurers of God's gifts and ta-
"lents:" in a manner thereby acknowledging himself guilty of usury.

VII. At such time as the said archbishop certified the contempt of recusants into her majesty's court of exchequer, the said dean, and one Mr. Palmer, who were to concur in that certificate, refused to subscribe the same, as favouring the papists; and being loath to seem to offend them.

VIII. He hath given great suspicion, that he beareth se- Recusants.
cret favour to recusants and other papists; namely, that sun-

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dry of them being sent for to make their appearances before the archbishop, and others her majesty's commissioners, he hath given them secret warning of the processes that were to come out against them. By means whereof divers of them have conveyed themselves out of the compass of that commission; and so avoided examination.

IX. It appeareth, that touching religion he maketh none other reckoning thereof, than by that colour to take the benefit of that peace which it hath pleased God to bless the realm withal under her majesty's government. And so to grow in wealth, without purpose of holding his profession, in case God should for our sins cast us again into superstition or into affliction, for professing of his name. For being himself asked, not many years since, upon occasion of some men's fear that the realm was like to fall into that danger, what he meant to do in case of change of religion; he answered, he would live a private life, and as a layman, upon his lands, as other laymen do. Which answer implieth a purpose of apostasy.

X. Belike fearing such time of alteration, he hath made great purchases; as he is now able to spend thereby, in land and leases of long continuance, 500*l.* by the year. Which revenue is thought sufficient to defray all his charges of housekeeping, and otherwise, without diminishing his revenue of his ecclesiastical livings; which cometh, as is thought, clear to his purse.

XI. The said dean is possessed of five or six ecclesiastical livings; worth in all by estimation one thousand pounds yearly; or not much less: and two of them benefices with cure of souls, served with ignorant curates: a matter most lamentable in that country, where the number of preachers are fewer than in many other parts in the realm; and in his person a dangerous example to such as either have charge, or wait upon advantages, without conscience to spoil the livings of the church.

XII. And for further increase of his living, he was for a time sole residentiary of the cathedral church. In which time he reaped the whole commodity due to such as be resi-

dent. And for another space had but one to be partaker of that commodity, and now but two. So as his gain that way riseth yearly to a great sum.

XIII. Touching the care of his function, he preacheth not much above three times in the year; and at those times almost without fruit. For he spendeth the time in debating controversies with sentences of the doctors; neither reproving sin, nor exhorting the people to reformation of life, or to the true service of God. And at no time, as far as the said archbishop can learn, hath preached against *usury*, although usury doth most excessively abound in that country: some taking 50 upon the 100, some threescore, and some an 100 upon an 100. Which was the very cause the archbishop entered into this proceeding. 326

The complaint brought before the privy-council.

It seems the dean could not acquit himself. For the queen hearing this complaint of the archbishop against him, ordered it to be brought before certain of her privy-council; and he appearing before them, explained himself, and craved their pardon. And by them, in the month of June, he was ordered, besides his submission to them, to make his submission publicly before the commissioners at York. And accordingly this speech was drawn up for him by the lord treasurer, to pronounce there.

The dean of York's submission.

" Whereas, upon Monday, the first week of Lent last
" past, when my lord archbishop, with others, the queen's
" majesty's commissioners for causes ecclesiastical, set in
" their place, I uttered some speeches, which, as I perceive,
" did offend both his grace and some of the commissioners,
" and a part of the auditory; whereby they did conceive
" my speech to tend not only to the diminishing of the au-
" thority of the commission, as in misliking of the manner
" of proceeding by his grace and the commissioners, but
" also to the defence of such as were called thither, to be
" charged and corrected for great and corrupt usuries; and
" to the encouragement (as by some was then conceived) of
" other like offenders: for that I have been charged here-
" with by the queen's commandment, before certain of her
" majesty's chiefest counsellors; as the archbishop of Can-

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" terbury, the lord chancellor, the lord treasurer of Eng-
" land, sir Christopher Hatton, her majesty's vice-chamber-
" lain, and some others of her majesty's council, before
" whom I have declared my meaning never to have been to
" diminish the authority of her sacred majesty's commission,
" (which I reverence with all duty;) nor to have given just
" cause of offence to my lord archbishop's grace, (whom, as
" my ordinary and superior, I am bound to honour and
" obey;) neither yet to have by any means given cause to
" comfort or allow of the abominable vice of usury: and yet
" for that I perceive the censure of the said grave counsel-
" lors to be, that my speeches in this place, and all that
" time, were not (as their lordships thought) so advised as
" they might have been; in that the authority of her ma-
" jesty's commission hath been thereby, in opinion of some
" there present, somewhat touched; and no small offence
" also followed thereby to the mind of my lord archbishop
" and divers of the commissioners; and thereby also such
" others as were then charged with the crime of usury
327 " were thereby emboldened. Although I had no intention
" by my speeches at that time to give just cause of such of-
" fences; yet I have offered myself with all humility, as did
" become me to their lordships, for their better satisfaction,
" to make such declaration of my true meaning, as to their
" lordships might appear to be a due satisfaction to all such
" as took offence at my speeches; and might also serve to
" fortify the authority of her majesty's commission, and to
" dissuade all persons from the committing of the vice of
" usury: and hereafter with all good affection to forbear, in
" such places and times, to utter any speeches that may
" give offence to any person in such action or proceeding
" as this was.

" And for these purposes, here I do declare very will-
" ingly, that in my heart I do detest and condemn all kind
" of usury (adjudged by the laws of this realm to be usury)
" as unlawful, and contrary to the word of God. That I
" will endeavour myself, by all means I can, both by word
" and deed, to procure the punishment thereof. And as

" touching the said ecclesiastical commission, I think it to " have proceeded from her majesty by just authority, and " to be a very profitable and necessary kind of discipline, Anno 1585. " convenient to be executed and continued for this time and " state. The credit and maintenance whereof I will always " seek, to my power, to keep and further, as duty bindeth " me.

" Thus much, according to my humble submission made " to the lords of her majesty's council, I have uttered unto " them in this place at this present; for the satisfying of all " such as either have mistaken me, or were offended with " my manner of speaking and proceeding at that time. Re- " quiring most humbly my lord archbishop's grace, and " charitably all others, to give credit to this my present de- " claration, with all charity, as a thing proceeding from my " heart; and so to accept thereof accordingly: offering to " his grace, or to any other person that shall not be fully " satisfied herewith, upon any charitable motion, to give " them all good means of further satisfaction, to the remov- " ing of all kind of offence."

Archbishop of York preaches at Paul's Cross.

I pass from archbishop Sandys, after I have told, that he, being an excellent preacher, was appointed to preach at Paul's Cross upon a very solemn occasion; namely, God's wonderful deliverance of the queen from the conspiracy of Ballard and Babbington. His text was Psalm iv. 5. *Offer unto God the sacrifice of righteousness.* And he ended all with a large prayer of thanksgiving, (which may deserve remark,) proper to stir up in the auditors a thankful spirit, by his relation therein of the great mercies of God to the realm, in his often interposing his wonderful providence on the queen's behalf against her fatal enemies; his petitions to God for her; the happiness of the nation in her government; the blessing of the gospel by her means, &c. Beginning, " Thou knowest, O Lord, (who hast delivered our sovereign " lady out of all distress, from the rebellion of Absalom, " from the counsel of Achitophel, &c.) that she hath not de- " served this treachery at their hands, so mild and merci-

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" ful," &c. The whole prayer I have thought worthy preserving. See it in the Appendix.

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This year put a period to the life of Scory, bishop of Hereford, (formerly, in the reign of king Edward VI. bishop of Chichester,) an exile under queen Mary; and one of the bishops that assisted at the consecration of archbishop Parker. He was an ancient professor of the gospel, and belonged to the church of Canterbury, when Cranmer was archbishop there; and a great preacher in those times of king Henry VIII. and was one of the six preachers there. And for a farewell of this ancient reverend father, I shall repeat two or three passages of this preacher's sermons at Canterbury. Preaching at St. Ephie's on Ascension-day, anno 1541, he had this expression; " That there was none in heaven but " Christ only," [meaning, probably, as mediator there with God, in opposition to the popish doctrine of the intercession of *saints*.] And another time, in the chapter-house of Christ's church Canterbury; " That no man might pray in " this wise in Latin, or other tongue, unless he under- " standeth what he prayeth." And at another time, at the same church; " That the supper of the Lord, which is *sa-* " *crificium et hostia*, is not *hostia pro peccatis*, but *hostia* " *laudis*." Much more of his doctrines in his sermons, against the principles and practices then maintained, may be read in my Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer. On the seal, in hard wax, of one of this bishop's letters, (which I have seen,) appears his coat of arms; being on a bend three crescents; and round about it these words, *Meliora spero:* as if it had been his motto in his exile.

Bishop Scory dies.

Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 106. Print. 1694.

Ecclesiastical exercises in the diocese of Chester.

There were *exercises*, which were also called *prophecies*, not long before this time used among the clergy; set on foot and encouraged by the bishops in their dioceses, which were *conferences* held about religion; intended for the better improving of persons in holy orders, in the knowledge of scripture and learning in divinity: but, by reason of some abuses thereof, were, under archbishop Grindal, commanded to cease, by the queen's special order, as hath been shewn by

me in the Life of that archbishop. I find now they were used again, but with caution; at least in the diocese of Chester: where, and in other northern parts, the ministers were more ignorant, and so more care was required for their instruction. Such directions for every several *exercise* were given to the respective moderators by Chaderton, the bishop; now no more called *prophecies*, but *ecclesiastical exercises*. The directions follow:

Anno 1585. Print. 1710.

The bishop's directions for them. MSS. Ra. Thoresby.

" The *moderators* of every several exercise shall select " such parts of scripture to be handled amongst the minis- " ters that are to attend the same, as they in their discre- " tions shall think meet. So that they take, in every several " place of the exercises, divers parts of scripture.

" The *writers* shall be appointed to gather several *obser-* " *vations* upon every verse of that part of scripture which " shall be assigned unto them; and so proceed with the " whole, verse by verse.

" The *speakers* shall be appointed (every of them) in " order to treat upon so many verses of the same, as by an " equal distribution of the whole text amongst them all " shall be assigned to every one.

" *The manner of proceeding in the exercise.* 329

" Prayer shall be aptly conceived for the present occa- " sion, for the blessed estate of her majesty, of the church and " commonwealth, by one of the moderators. Who in order " shall every of them accomplish the same at every several " exercise.

" Then the first moderator shall propose and read the " first verse of the text which is to be handled.

" Upon which verse the writers shall in order read the " observations which they have gathered.

" After whom the speaker assigned to that part of the " text, shall in some larger manner discourse upon the same.

" After him, the rest of the speakers shall have liberty to " give any brief notes upon that verse.

" In all which action of the writers and speakers, the mo-

BOOK I. Anno 1585.

" derator's care, that proposed the verse, shall be to make " special observation of any error, negligence, or ignorance " in any of them; and the same to correct and reform with " as brief speech as may be. After which he shall further " add such observations as he shall gather upon the said " verse. And after him the rest of the moderators and " preachers, in due order, shall do the like; till as much " be said upon that verse as shall be thought conveni- " ent.

" All which time both the speakers and writers shall take " notes in writing of those observations which shall be " given by any the speakers, preachers, or moderators. " And so in due order shall all the moderators proceed with " the whole text, verse by verse.

" Then shall the moderators call before them those " whom by any information they are to admonish of any " misdemeanour or enormities of life. And if after such " admonition they shall again fall into the like offence, then " the moderators shall certify the bishop thereof; and crave " suspension of them.

" After, the moderators shall proceed against the absents " in this sort; viz. They shall, at the next exercise after " every such absence, call before them the said parties; " who, if they cannot be able to prove a sufficient cause of " their absence, and the same well approved by the mode- " rators, then the moderators shall exact the mulct imposed " by the order set down by the right reverend lord bi- " shop, without abating any part thereof in any respect; " lest any thereby learn to presume of favour in such case " to be shewed. Which mulct if any shall refuse to satisfy, " and not duly conform themselves in that behalf, or not " come in place to give accounts of their actions; then the " moderators shall without delay proceed to suspension, ac- " cording to the said orders. Which suspension they shall " forthwith certify unto the bishop according to the said " orders; and further with all instance prosecute the said " suspension with full effect.

"In fine, the whole action is to be concluded with prayer, "as it was begun."

Anno 1585.

And for the better establishing these exercises among this northern clergy, (who began to slacken their attendance thereon,) the said bishop sent a circulary letter to those 330 who, being persons of the better learning and dignity, he had appointed *moderators;* signifying his authority committed to them for holding these exercises. Wherein the bishop was backed by an order of the privy-council, for the better improving of the clergy there. And that it was in pursuance of instructions from the lords of the council. By virtue whereof he gave them power to admonish or suspend the parsons, vicars, curates, for absence or other misdemeanours.

The bishop's letters to the moderators.

The days for the holding these exercises were each Thursday in the month. The places were Prescot, Burie, Padian, and Preston; being towns in each of the four deaneries within that diocese. In the church of each town all the clergy of that deanery, with the schoolmasters, assembled together, to speak, if they were able, or otherwise write their minds upon the text of scripture given by the moderator. They met at eight o'clock in the morning; and a sermon was preached by the moderator upon the subject; and the exercises, which were first, and the sermon which followed, (where all the congregation of the people had liberty to be present,) lasted till eleven. And then the clergy met again at one in the afternoon, and broke up at three. Mulcts were laid upon such as were absent, of one, two, or three shillings, or more; and other penalties upon further neglects. What was writ by each clergyman was sent to the bishop, with his name subscribed, to review; that he might observe the abilities and proficiency of them, chiefly the younger divines, that were enjoined this task. And the bishop took notice what profit came to them hereby after the experience of some time, and how much good had accrued by means of this practice. But see the whole relation, with the bishop of Chester's letter to the moderators, as I transcribed it from the original, in the second volume of the Annals.

The days for these exercises.

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Of these exercises (which were all one with those called *prophecies* in archbishop Grindal's time) I cannot but observe the lord Bacon's approbation of them with some regulation, (in his Advertisement touching the controversies of the church of England.) "Is there no mean to trade and "nurse up ministers? (for the field of universities will not "serve, though they were never so well governed;) to train "them, I say, not to preach, (for that every man confi- "dently adventureth to do,) but to preach soundly, and to "handle the scriptures with wisdom and judgment? I know "*prophesying* was subject to great abuse, and would be "more abused now, because heat of contention is increased. "But I say, the only reason is, the abuse was, because "there was admitted to it a popular auditory; and it was not "contained within a private conference of ministers." Which inconveniences were remedied in these after-exercises.

Lord Bacon's judgment of the exercises. Advertisements, p. 137.

Scambler, bishop of Norwich, his complaint of his predecessor.

Edmund Scambler, D.D. a native of Lancashire, bred at Cambridge, was the last year translated from the episcopal see of Peterburgh to that of Norwich. Whom I observe this year finding great fault with his immediate predecessor, Freak, for passing away the judicial offices of the see; (to the weakening of his authority and safety;) by a patent to one Withipole. Of this he first made complaint to the queen's secretary, Walsingham. Who informed the lords of the council therewith. From whom certain letters were sent, to call the parties and the matter in question before them. And again, he, the said bishop, addressed to the lord treasurer, (to whose wisdom and impartiality the bishops used always to make their application;) "That if his complaint "at that time deserved relief, he most humbly besought his "accustomed favour towards him therein. For that if it "were not a cause that touched his public governance, "whereof he had charge, (as his letter imported,) he could "then forbear and conceal the wrongs; but that hereby his "course was hindered, his power weakened, that he could "neither place his own officers (of whose fidelities he rested "assured) in quiet state, nor command them that by his "predecessors were impatented, (unless they would them-

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"selves,) if they resisted. That all the private hurts of the "episcopal possessions (although they were in number "many, which never before his time were so suddenly "letten in lease, upon his departure) had not troubled him "so much as the passing of these judicial offices, no more "than all. On which stood the fall or rise of his succes- "sors." And then addressing his suit to the lord treasurer, used these words: "Having therefore, my very good lord, "a care to perform, as I am able, the duties to me apper- "taining in my function, you will, I trust, continue my "honourable lord, so far as your honour may; and I re- "quire only to reduce into its pristine state my jurisdiction. "So shall I have comfort in my actions, and rest fully pro- "tected under mine own officers in safety. In the mean "while I commit your lordship to the tuition of the Al- "mighty, long to continue your lordship's days, happy as "well by health, as with much increase of honour." It was dated from Ludham the 16th of August, 1585. I add only this, that as this bishop Scambler complained of his prede- cessor's wronging this his bishopric of Norwich, Scambler's successor had not less cause to complain of him, who had spoiled Petersburgh; impaired the honour, privileges, and revenues of it; if we may believe the author of the history of that church. And another author, in his History of Sa- crilege, tells us, That he did as much as well he might to impoverish the church, making a lease of most of the ma- nors and lands thereof; and among them two abbeys, Black- borough and Wrongy.

Anno 1585.

History of the Church of Peters- burgh, p. 73.

History of Sacrilege, by sir H. Spelman.

This year died Curtess, bishop of Chichester. He was chaplain to the queen, and a great court-preacher; but died poor, and left a widow. Tho. Bickley, D.D. and warden of Merton college, succeeded him in that see. Upon his death was sent up to the lord treasurer an account of the present state of the bishopric; as to the revenues and the deductions out of it, viz. fees, subsidies, reprisals, &c. This will be found, transcribed from the original, in the Appendix. At the end whereof were these few lines, added by him proba- bly that was sent to take the survey; viz.

Bishop of Chichester dies.

The state of the bishop- ric.

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"*Item*, No hope to recover any thing, the bishop's widow "being left very poor. So that the weight thereof is to fall "upon the next bishop.

"*Item*, The woods are so spoiled, as there is scarce suffi- "cient for firewood."

Inventory of his goods.

There was also an inventory taken of this bishop's goods and effects, by Tho. Bowyer, Richard Lewkener, and George Bynion, commissioners appointed, as it seems, from the lord treasurer. Which goods, furniture, books, cattle, plate, armour, were found at Alderborn and Chisworth, his two seats or manors. In which inventory are set down his books, (valued at 20*l.*) his parliament robes, one velvet cushion, embroidered with gold, and tasseled; one silk grograine gown, faced with velvet; a velvet cassock; another grograine gown, faced with velvet; a night-gown of buffin; one cloak loined with bages; one velvet hat. His plate, one basin and ewer; laid to pawn. One silver cup, laid to pawn. Two standing cups, gilt. His new-year's gifts, the number not certified. At Aldingham, besides cattle, (whereof were 88 oxen, kine 22, horses, geldings, nags, colts, and mares, 26, and calves, swine, wethers, lambs, corn, &c.) were certified in the inventory; of rough timber 30 ton; in plate, bowls gilt, great and small, 14. Basins and ewers, standing cups, silver spoons 24. Salts, and other plate, some pawned. And at Chisworth, his other house, (where his residence chiefly was,) were these goods noted in the same inventory; (besides six drawing oxen, four fat oxen, six weaners, sixty load of wood, ploughs with their furniture, carts:) his armour was reckoned; viz. six corslets, six head-pieces, twelve calivers, ten pikes, ten jacks, ten bows, twelve halberds, sheaf-arrows, powder and match, seventeen caps and skulls. His goods in both places and Chichester were valued at 199*l.* 17*s.* 4d. besides many more not valued. For the deceased bishop's relations, viz. Mrs. Courteis, Mr. Mervyn, and Mr. Turner, (perhaps his sons-in-law,) conveyed away several things, as some horses, &c.

This bishop seemed to overlive his incomes; affecting good housekeeping and hospitality, after the quality

of a lord bishop. And so died in great debt to the queen.

A grievance happened to another of our bishops, viz. Overton, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, occasioned about his collecting the queen's subsidy from the clergy of his diocese; which he was ordered to do. And had accordingly appointed some particular persons to receive. Whereof Mr. Fitzherbert, a gentleman of those parts, was one. But Dr. Beacon, a busy member and dignitary of that church, and an enemy to the bishop, had sent up an evil report; as though he, and some others, the collectors, were needy; and so might not duly return the money received. And accordingly some stop was put to the collection; and some others appointed to gather the said subsidy of the clergy. This disgrace nearly touched the good bishop. Insomuch that he despatched a letter to the lord treasurer, and made this just complaint, giving Beacon his due character, and vindicating himself and other his friends employed therein. Complaining of letters written to the clergy of that diocese to his disgrace: namely, not to pay their subsidies to the bishop, or at least his order. The copy of which letters the lord treasurer friendly sent to him. On which occasion he declared his mind to that lord in this pious manner. 333

Anno 1585. A complaint of the bishop of Litchfield and Coventry against one of his church, viz. Dr. Beacon.

"That surely the letters might have grieved him very "much; for they touched him in credit very near. But "he thanked God he had learned, by continual afflictions, "to despise the shame and contumelies of this world; and "to think any thing easy that should be laid upon him "without his just desert, though never so hard and heavy "to bear. He knew (as he went on) it was all of that let- "termonger, that notable lettermonger, Dr. Beacon [as he "styled him] his devising and working; who indeed glo- "ried always in this one point chiefly, that by his own let- "ters, and by procuring other men's letters, he could work "almost what he listed. But the Lord, (said he,) in his "time, shall judge the man, and no doubt of it, in the end, "will confound his devices, to his own shame: for that he "had abused both his lordship, and Mr. Fitzherbert, and

Writes to the treasurer in his own vindication.

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" him: his lordship, in giving him false information of Mr. " Fitzherbert, and crossing him, when he had done; and " him, [the bishop,] in making him a party in a matter " that touched him least of all. And that this was now the " third time that he had thus procured against him [the bi- " shop] about the same matter; and then using this asse- " veration, That, in good faith, it was altogether without " his just desert, as the country and clergy themselves, to " whom those letters were come down, could testify. For " that they knew well enough, that neither he [the bishop] " had meddled with any of the queen's money, nor was " about to meddle with any, but only (as he gathered his " lordship's own liking that way by his own letters) gave " his consent, that Mr. Beacon and Mr. Fitzherbert's agree- " ment to the collection of that first part of the subsidy " should take place, and none otherwise; leaving the rest " of the queen's money that should be hereafter collected " to his lordship's order and direction, to be disposed of as " he should think good, and as he [the said lord] should " conclude and determine at their meeting before him, " which was intended to be very shortly.

" And, as the bishop further added, that in very truth " he had somewhat a conscience also in the matter, to pre- " vent a greater mischief that was practised by Dr. Beacon " against the poor gentleman, Mr. Fitzherbert: whose " plainness and simplicity, if other his friends, that were " better acquainted with Dr. Beacon's cunning devices, had " not holpen him, the said doctor had notably abused to " the poor gentleman's undoing; as at their coming to his " lordship he should more particularly understand. In the " meantime they trusted that, however the doctor informed " his lordship, he would suspend his judgment: and, upon " the hearing, consider of every man's doing, as he de- " served." The good bishop seasonably concludes in be- half of himself and his friends against this talebearer; viz.

" For mine own part, I am content to put up all these " wrongs [those false informations in Beacon's letters to " that lord, the copies whereof he had sent the bishop to

" peruse] at the doctor's hands, and to wear them out as I " may. Only, I beseech your lordship, know the man here- " after, and take heed of this lettermonger, that he abuse " not your lordship's forwardness and good meaning in her " majesty's behalf, to the damage and discredit of their " poor friends without cause. And so, till I repair to your " lordship to London, I humbly take my leave. From Ec- " cleshal, the 7th of November, 1585.

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" Your lordship's always most dutiful to command,
" W. Coven. and Lich."

The bishop's troubles still remained upon the same matter of the queen's monies between the receivers and him in the next year. Several things were charged upon him about the receipt of these monies: but the receivers of some of the counties were too tardy, if not worse; and made shift to represent their case up to the officers of the exchequer, who favoured them. And for the letters, which were informations concerning them, they were shewn to their friends at court; and so the blame remained upon the bishop, and their doings passed over favourably. Upon these injuries, the poor dejected bishop opened again his mind by letter to the said lord treasurer, the common friend of the oppressed. And the bishop having been in London about the cause for many weeks, the said lord gave him answer to his letter by word of mouth. Which was,

The bishop's troubles by the receivers of the queen's subsidies.

That he should more particularly set down his griefs; because they were too general. To which the bishop soon answered thus, by letter. " That the truth was, particu- " larities had done him much hurt; especially when they " sent complaints, and touched divers men. And that he " had writ no letters almost, but they were seen, or shewed " to the parties. And that therefore he would rather put " up his griefs as they were, than make matter for his " enemies to scan upon his disadvantage. That it was " not many weeks ago, that some of the exchequer sent " him word, to take heed how he wrestled with exchequer " men; for they would be too hard for him. And, (he

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" added,) he found it true indeed: for that in the end he " bore away both the blows and the blame.

" In fine, then, (as he signified his request,) his humble " and only suit now therefore to his lordship was, that he " would call the receivers and him before his lordship, and " hear either party: both him, how he could charge them, " and answer for himself; and them, how they could an- " swer for themselves, and charge him. And this he trusted " his lordship would grant; being the service of her ma- " jesty, and the only cause why he had now attended there " eighteen weeks, or most part thereof. And so, with par- " don craved, he humbly took his leave. From his poor " lodging in Longditch, the 14th of June, 1586."

And then by way of postscript he addeth, That there was not so much cause to call the receivers of Darby, Leicester, and Northampton. For the greatest injuries that were offered, both to her majesty and him, were by the receivers
335 of Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and North Wales. That his lordship therefore might use his honourable wisdom and discretion in the matter, as he should think good. And he [the bishop] was ready to attend his pleasure. The reason I insert these passages and circumstances of the bishops in these days is, (as I meet with them,) that I might preserve memorials of them, and shew the hardships and difficulties they sometimes encountered, who were the leading men and stays of the church.

The liberty of Ely-house in Holbourn vindicated by the bishop against the city.

The bishop of Ely, Cox, had this year also (as well as some years before) his share of trouble, in vindicating the liberty of his manor-house and lands in Holbourn, and his jurisdiction, as exempt from the city of London, which that city had now pretended a right to. Formerly the city only kept the assize for weighing of bread, and no other thing; but afterwards encroached further. And here I shall first set down, from an authentic original paper, the proof made by the city of London concerning their pretensed liberties, claimed by them within the manors and rents of Ely-house in Holbourn. Which was as followeth:

Chart. Cox ep. Elien.

" First, The city hath to shew forth one record out of the

" Hustings, dated the 26th year of the reign of Edward I. " testifying the probat of bishop Kirton's [Kirkham] will; " who first purchased the said manor and house to the bi- " shopric: which was only proved there; but by the ex- " ecutors most likely not knowing what belonged thereunto. " And it may the rather so be thought, for that no such " like matter concerning the same manor-house and lands " besides that ever was seen, or put in use, before or since. " Which, if the same had been true and good, it would " have been used, or spoken of sometime since, there within " the said city.

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" *Item.* Secondly, The city hath to shew forth one order, " upon a joint arbitrement (as they term it) made before " the late lord keeper, the lord earl of Leicester, and others, " in the absence of the said lord of Leicester, being a chief " arbitrator in the cause. And the same being grounded " only on a surmised complaint of the said city; but by " words, without either bill, answer, or other orderly pro- " ceeding; or yet consent of the bishop, then being the ad- " versary party. And so thereupon every part void in law. " Which notwithstanding, as it is said, they do still perse- " vere and continue."

Proofs for the liberty of Ely-house in Holbourn.

Now did the bishop on his part vindicate the liberties and privileges of his church under three heads of arguments. First, From several ancient grants of kings. As a grant of king Edgar; another grant of Edward the Confessor, before the conquest. And those grants confirmed by William the Conqueror, king Henry I. king Stephen, king Richard I. and so down, till the grant of Holbourn, purchased to the bishopric of Ely by Kirkby, the bishop in the reign of king Edward I. Secondly, Proof of the liberties of the said Ely-house ever since that purchase, downward from age to age. Thirdly, Proofs of Holbourn-house, with the appendences, to have been a manor; and also a liberty, exempt from the city of London: as appeared by sundry records thereof, made in king Edward the Third's time; and several records besides, in other kings' reigns. And for further proof thereof, there had always been bailiffs and other 336

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officers appointed within the said manor and liberty, from time to time, for the due execution thereof. But it is worth perusing the whole argument, transcribed from an original paper, as a worthy record of antiquity.

Anno 1585. N°. LVII.

The revenues of the church of Norwich struck at.

From this year, and before, was a contest between the church of Norwich and sir Thomas Shirley, and other patentees, for the revenues of that cathedral, upon pretence of concealment. And the lawsuit managed by Dr. Gardiner, the dean, and the chapter, continued till anno 1590; in which year it was settled, I think, by act of parliament. I have met with several letters, papers, and notes about the case. Some whereof were these that follow.

In one of these is set down the condition of the church, the settlement of it by divers princes, and the troubles by reason of concealments, and patents granted thereupon. Again, in another paper the cause was drawn up in these words. "May the 2d, anno 30 Hen. VIII. The king of "his regal authority, as supreme head, did by his letters "patents translate the monastery, which was incorporate "by the name of prior and convent of the cathedral church "of the Holy Trinity of Norwich, to dean and chapter of "the cathedral church of the Holy Trinity of Norwich. "And by his letters patents gave to the said dean and "chapter all the lands, &c. which before they did enjoy. "The dean and chapter continuing possession of all the "premises the 3d of June, anno 1 Edw. VI. by the name "of *dean* and *chapter* of the cathedral church of the Holy "Trinity of Norwich, surrendered unto the king all their "possessions the 7th of November, anno 1 Edward VI. "The king did now incorporate the dean and chapter, and "made them *ex fundatione* Edw. VI. Nov. 9. Ann. 1 Ed- "ward VI. the king granted unto the said dean and chapter "their possessions, excepting certain lands to the yearly "value of 500*l.* And reserved to himself a yearly rent of "4 score and 19 pounds, 11 shil. 5 pence ob.

The case of the church. MSS. ecclesiast.

"The 7th of May, ann. 11 *regin.* her majesty did pardon "the same dean and chapter of 1970*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.* being the "arrearages of the rent before reserved: and remitted also

" unto them all the said reserved rents, saving 50*l.* 5*d.* per " annum; which is now paid unto the exchequer.

" By virtue of these several grants, the dean and chapter Anno 1585. " have quietly held and enjoyed all the said premises to " them granted, until the same were by letters patents, " dated the 24th July, ann. 25 of the queen's majesty, " [ann. 1583.] granted, as concealed lands, unto Theophilus " Adams and Robert Adams, and their heirs, for the yearly " rent of five shillings, by virtue of former letters patents, " made to the late lord Wentworth deceased, dated the " 24th of July, ann. 12 of the queen, [viz. 1570:] wherein " is a proviso, that if the lands, or any part thereof, were " not concealed ann. 12, then to be void.

" Upon consideration of these grants, for that there was " a yearly rent of 50*l.* reserved to the queen's majesty, " which is paid accordingly to her majesty; and for that " there was no other title accrued to her majesty touching " the premises at the time of this last grant, than was in " king Edward VI. at the time of his grant; unless the 337 " prior and all the covent had been dead the 24th of July, " ann. 12, which indeed they were not. Therefore the lands " could not be concealed. And so the patent made to The- " ophilus Adams and Rob. Adams is utterly void.

" Nevertheless, for that great suits in law may arise upon The petition of the dean and chapter. " some doubts, urged for these late purchasers; therefore " the humble petition of the dean and chapter, and also the " farmers of the premises, being above 1500 interessed " persons, with the rest, is, that an act of parliament may " be made, to ratify all the letters patents made by the " dean and chapter, according to the true meaning thereof. " For if the grant of concealed lands shall stand in force, " these new purchasers would claim land worth 2000*l.* per " annum, for five shillings by the year; and they would, for " the same five shillings rent by the year, defeat the queen's " majesty of 50*l.* per annum, reserved from the dean and " chapter, and of the manor of Martham, being in her ma- " jesty's possession, worth other 50*l.* per ann. And they " would likewise quite overthrow the foundation of the

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" dean and chapter: whereby many learned men are and " may be from time to time maintained. Besides, that all " those persons that heretofore have purchased any part of " the premises should be subject to the like loss.

" Lastly, Whereas sir Thomas Sharlow [Shirley] saith, " that the purchase of his lease from one Mr. Ryse hath " been very chargeable unto him, viz. to the sum of 11 or " 1200*l.* we do understand that he never paid for the same " above 300*l.*; which if sir Tho. Sharlow [Shirley] be de- " manded by your honours, [of the privy-council, to whom " the cause was referred,] we verily think he will not deny " the same. In consideration whereof he hath received of " Mr. Rob. Suckling, for one lease, the sum of 200*l.* And " hath nevertheless, by virtue of this pretended *conceal-* " *ment*, commenced suit against the said Mr. Rob. Suck- " ling, his fermour. What other sums of money he hath " received of any other person for his said lease we know " not.

" It is also to be noted, that there be former letters pa- " tents to sir John Parrot, of great part of the same pre- " tended concealed lands; which hath been of long time " sithence purchased by sir Edward Cleare."

So that Shirley's title to those lands depended upon their concealments. This controversy may deserve a little longer tarrying upon: since what I have further to add was the judgment of that great lawyer Popham, sometime after lord chief justice in this reign, as I find it under his own hand; viz.

Judgment of Popham in this cause.

" The priory of the Holy Trinity of Norwich was of the " foundation of the bishop of Norwich, by the king's li- " cence, as it appears of record. [The king was William " Rufus, the bishop was bishop Harbert.] This priory " was by king Henry VIII. translated from a priory to a " dean and chapter, without the assent of the bishop, for " any thing that yet appeared. And therefore that trans- " lation void. And so resolved by the judgment lately given " in the exchequer.

338 " Then the monks continuing in the house, as they did,

" the same remaineth a priory still, until it were utterly re- " linquished by themselves, or that they were all dead. " Without which no choice maketh a relinquishment of it- " self.

" Then the surrender made by the dean and chapter " *an.* 1*mo. Edward. Sexti*, being no dean and chapter in " law, is merely void.

" Then it follows, that notwithstanding the new founda- " tion of a dean and chapter there, the grant thereupon of " the priory lands to that dean and chapter, whereupon 50*l.* " rent was to be paid to her majesty and her successors for " ever, was merely void. For at that time divers of the " monks remained still in the house; and the priory there- " fore not then relinquished. And so the lands came not " to the crown until after that, when all the monks were " gone, or dead.

" Hereupon, all those lands in Norfolk and Suffolk were " granted away in one book of *concealments;* and after, the " rest of the lands belonging to the said priory were granted " away in another book of *concealments:* which second book " doth not concern sir Tho. Shirley.

The warrants for these two grants, as the particulars or parcels granted, are to be shewn. [This the lord treasurer's hand, before whom this case came.]

" And it follows, if these *concealments* stand perfect, and " not revoked, then her majesty hath lost her 50*l.* by the " year; and the dean and chapter have lost all their pos- " sessions; and the estates of the under-tenants, having " estates sithence the said translation, are merely void.

" Wherefore it cannot be but for the good of her ma- " jesty, and by her favour for the good of the church, and " a better relief for the tenants, to have the same conceal- " ments reassured to her majesty.

" And sithence the lease is to be made to Mr. Fanshaw " and Mr. Osborn, [that were officers of the exchequer,] " being persons chosen, of trust to deal reasonably with the " tenants, the tenants are in expectation to be in better " case, than to have it remain in patentees of concealments. " And the dean and chapter may, by her majesty's favour, " have assurance of the lands in better sort than now it " standeth; both for the value and for the excessive leases

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"already made by the dean and chapter, and the assigns "of the patentees reasonably dealt with.

"But admit the assurance upon the concealment be "doubtful or unperfect; yet to have that title of conceal- "ment reassured to her majesty, and by a lease to be made "to Mr. Fanshaw and Mr. Osborn, doth less prejudice to "the dean and chapter, and their tenants, than to leave it, "as it now standeth, in the hands of the patentees.

"Jo. Popham."

Articles of agreement propounded.

The next year, (viz. 1587,) there were articles of agreement propounded between the dean and chapter and the patentees, and drawn up by the queen's attorney and solicitor. And being offered to the dean, he, in certain words
339 and conditions, accorded: but some exceptions happened; so as it came as yet to no positive agreement.

The state of the cathedral church.

It will open this cause further, if we take the state of this cathedral church, as it was said to be truly set down by one on the side of the patentees: shewing also the effect of a warrant from the queen to the lord treasurer, authorizing him to procure a lease to be drawn up in trust to Fanshaw and Osborn, for making new leases to the tenants. Which paper being somewhat long, and letting in much light into this remarkable suit, I have disposed it in (No. LVII.) the Appendix.

The matter was depending till ann. 1588.

The business still hung for some years after. And the cause thus depending, the queen at length referred the ordering the whole matter to the lord treasurer, and to sir Walter Mildmay, chancellor of the exchequer, as two honourable persons most indifferent. But the business was not at an end, even in the year 1588, when we may hear more of it.

CHAP. XXVII.

A motion made by Travers to Hooker, now become master of the Temple, to stay for a call of the people. His answer. Cartwright returned home. Some university matters. One called before the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, for a sermon ad clerum *about keeping the sabbath. A new printing press at Oxford. A book of Ethics the first book printed there. Contest about the antiquity of the universities. Lord Lumley gives books to Cambridge. The want of an university in Ireland. Slanders raised of the lord treasurer. Some variance between the earl of Leicester and him. Letters between them. Philip earl of Arundel fined. Edward lord Beauchamp. Davys finds out the north-west passage. His letter to sir Francis Drake.* Anno 1585.

SOMETHING occurred this year concerning puritans and schismatics. When Hooker was to be master of the Temple, Travers, the reader there, and two other gentlemen, the evening before he was to preach, came to him: the effect of their conference with him was, that he should change his purpose of preaching there the next day, and to stay till Travers had given notice of him to the congregation; that so their allowance might seal his [viz. Hooker's] calling. I set down this the rather, to shew how Travers endeavoured to insinuate his own principles slyly upon Hooker; viz. of the people's election of their minister. But that reverend man was aware of it, by the answer he made: "That as in place where such order was, he would not "break it; so here, where it never was, he would not of his "own head take upon him to begin it. But liking very well "the motion of the opinion which he had of his good mean-"ing who made it, he required him not to mislike of this "his answer."

A motion made to Hooker, when he first became master of the Temple.

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Answer to Travers's Supplicat. p. 470.

But this displeased. Some angry informations were daily sent out: intelligences given out, far and wide, what a dangerous enemy was crept in. This occasioned a second conference between Travers and him: when a common friend

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had requested him [Travers] to utter those things wherein he found himself any way grieved. Then he first renewed
Anno 1585. the memory of Hooker's entering into this charge by virtue only of a *human creature:* for so the want of the formality of popular allowance was then censured. To this was annexed a catalogue: partly of causeless surmises; as that Hooker had conspired against him, and sought superiority over him: and partly of faults; as praying in the entrance of his sermon only, and not in the end; naming bishops in his prayer; [that order being holden by the puritans as antichristian;] and kneeling when he received the communion; and such like. I take this out of Mr. Hooker's Answer to a Supplication made by Travers to the council, full of great supposed crimes laid to that learned man's charge, to note hence the opinions and principles so contested for by men called then the *new reformers.*

Faults found with Hooker.

I refer the reader to Mr. Hooker's own answers: only I observe by the way, concerning one of the faults laid to his charge, viz. that of praying for bishops, that it was a custom of the puritans many years after to omit the mention of the bishops in their prayers. Thus in the year 1595, the archdeacon of London visited the churches there: and when the churchwardens' answers to the articles concerning the ministers were given in, the churchwardens of Aldermary church informed, concerning the prayer of their minister, one Jolliff, M. A. "That he prayed for the queen's ma-
"jesty, but left out the title of *supremacy;* and that he re-
"fused to pray for archbishops and bishops, *nomine.*"

Cartwright returned home.

I find Tho. Cartwright, the chief of the puritan sect, (of whom many things have been said before,) was now returned home from beyond sea; whither he had retired, and abode for divers years. For his troubles that he had created in the church, by his writings and readings in the university and elsewhere, made him liable to danger here at home: insomuch that he was informed officers were appointed to apprehend him, as a promoter of sedition. Whereupon, in an elegant Latin epistle to the lord treasurer, apologizing for himself, he prayed that lord to use his interest with the queen for his safety, giving some account of his behaviour

when abroad. This was writ in April. And he wrote also to the privy-council: *Quod in me juvandi voluntate animum non omnino adversum et alienum esse confiderem:* i. e. "That he trusted that the lord treasurer's mind was 341 "not so averse, nor alienated from him, but that there was "in him a will to be helpful to him: *quinque jam annos "peregre a patria agens:* i. e. that he had now lived five "years from his own country. And that almost all those "years he spent in the ministry of the church of England, "which remained in the parts beyond sea. And in which "time he laboured under a very doubtful disease. And "that by much shaking and agitation [which seemed to be "an ague] he fell into a *tabes*, (perhaps a consumption, or, "as they called it, an *hectic*,) so that by the physicians he "was advised to leave that air where he was, [Antwerp, I "think,] an enemy to him, and to return to his own coun-"try. But that being now come necessarily for the recovery "of his health, that there were such as watched to appre-"hend him, that they might cast him into prison, when "he laboured all he could abroad to shew himself peace-"able." And the good success Cartwright obtained appears in a letter of thanks, wrote in June following, to the aforesaid nobleman, in representing him favourably to the parliament, as he acknowledged; speaking of his quiet behaviour abroad, *in clarissimo regni consessu de me dixisti*, whereby his peace was obtained. And how his business was referred to the archbishop of Canterbury, and how friendly and favourably he was dealt with by him, appeared by a letter of the earl of Leicester's to the archbishop, by thankfully acknowledging the same, set down in the Life of Archbishop Whitgift.

Book iii. chap. 13.

Now something concerning the universities, and matters relating to learning.

University matters.

The Sundays, set apart for the public and solemn worship of God, were nowadays much profaned in riot and intemperance; chiefly caused by interludes and sports, practised on the eves of those days, and the afternoons also. Insomuch that in a sessions of parliament, an. 27. *regin.* a bill was put up for the better observation of that day. And a

Sundays profaned; reproved in a clerum.

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Asserting Jewish sabbath.

sermon was now preached at Cambridge *ad clerum* by one John Smith, M. A. venting therein a doctrine for keeping the Christian sabbath according to the law and practice of the Jews. Which being new to many of the scholars that heard him, he was informed against to the vice-chancellor and heads. And for which the preacher was cited before them: when divers questions concerning that holy day were put to him, and others likewise. But take the whole account thereof from the university register.

In causa Jo. Smith in artibus mri. acta quædam.

The preacher cited before the vice-chancellor. Regist. Rev. T. Baker.

Primo die Quadrages. 1585, *secundum*, &c. *præfatus magister concionatus est*, &c. " The first day of Lent, 1585, " the foresaid master of arts preached. In whose sermon " some things delivered by him gave occasion of offence. " Whereupon, Febr. 21, he appeared before Dr. Perne, de- " puty vice-chancellor, in the presence of Styll, Bell, Nor- " gate, Legge, and Hatcher, doctors of divinity, and Mr. " Barwel, heads of colleges; and confessed, by the subscrip- " tion of his hand, that he had spoke the following words; " viz. *Si illud verum sit, quod auditione accepi, istiusmodi* 342 " *certe ludos diris devoveo, et actores et spectatores; si eos* " *metirer pede, arbitrarer, certe, vel quod essent dii nati,* " *vel Satanæ futuri. O tempora! O mores! O magis-* His words. " *tratus!*" Adding further these words; " That the plays " at Saturday and Sunday at night were breaches of the " Christian sabbath. On Sunday, for that they were at it " before the sun was set. On Saturday, for disabling of " their bodies for the sabbath duties. 2do. For that by the " equity of the Jews' sabbath, we are *feriari ab occasu pri-* " *diano ab ordinariis vitæ muneribus per 24 horas: in sab-* " *bato feriandum, jure divino.*

" *Febr.* 26, *ann. Dom. secundum*, &c. 1585, *in magna ca-* " *mera*, &c. The 26th of February, 1585, in the great " chamber of Humphrey Tyndal, S. T. P. vice-chancellor " of the university of Cambridge, in Queen's college. Pre- " sent the aforesaid vice-chancellor, doctors Styll, Goad, " Peter Baro, Norgate, and Legge, and masters Chader- " ton, Whitacre, and Barwel, S. Th. Bacc. the following

" questions were propounded by John Smith, M. A. col-
" lected from a certain sermon preached *ad clerum* by him,
" the first day of Lent the year aforesaid. To which the
" said Smith answered as followeth. And the said vice-
" chancellor, and the rest assessors, asserted their judgments
" concerning the aforesaid questions as followeth.

" I. Whether the Christian sabbath is to be kept, *jure*
" *divino*, from even to even? Smith and the rest answered
" negatively.

" II. Whether the time of the Lord's day is to be con-
" tinued, *jure divino*, by the space of 24 hours? Smith an-
" swered in the affirmative, all the rest negatively.

" III. Whether the Christian sabbath is broken, when
" some thing is done which is not necessary or religious?
" Smith answered affirmatively; so that *necessary* be not
" too strictly taken. All the rest negatively; so that those
" actions do not hinder religion, or are not an offence to the
" brethren.

" IV. Whether Christians are bound so strictly to the
" observation of the Lord's day, in respect of *works*, as the
" Jews to the observation of the sabbath? Smith and the
" rest answered negatively."

And in fine, the said Smith promised and undertook to interpret his opinion of those things, doubtfully and uncertainly delivered in his aforesaid sermon, more openly, largely, and plainly, in another sermon *ad clerum*, either in the end of that term, or in the beginning of the next. Yet on that condition, that what he shall say he shall first faithfully shew in writing to the vice-chancellor, and the same, in all approved by his judgment, teach the auditors in his sermon *ad clerum*.

Nothing appears further in the university register concerning this Smith. And so we may conclude in his next sermon he explained himself to satisfaction.

A contest between the university and sir Walter Rawley.

Another thing I have to relate concerning this university is a secular matter. Wherein a contest happened this year between them and sir Walter Rawley. Who having a patent for wine-licences, claimed a right, by that general grant

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from the crown, to appoint vintners for drawing wine in Cambridge, and setting the price thereof. And in some letters he spake big to that purpose; but taken down by the lord Burghley, that university's chancellor, in smoother language. And in the issue gave an account of this business in a letter to Dr. Norgate, his vice-chancellor, and the rest of the heads. Which is as follows.

Lord Burghley's letter to the university thereupon.

" After my very hearty commendations. Whereas upon " the question grown to the infringing of your charter, " whereby you pretend to have authority by the same to " nominate such persons as should sell any wine in that " university, and for setting of prices upon the same wine; " I was bound to require my two lords, the chief justices, to " deliver their opinions in law, how far forth you might so " do. Which after the hearing of your counsel, and the ad- " verse parties, they have delivered their opinion to be such " as is expressed in this paper included; subscribed with " my hand, being a double of that which they sent unto " me, subscribed with both their hands. And therefore " you shall do well to acquaint your learned counsel here- " with: and according to their opinions, how far forth you " may proceed therein, by law, to maintain the same ac- " cordingly; and to impeach all others which shall go about " to impugn the same. So fare you well. From the court " this 26th of July, 1585.

" Your very loving friend,

" W. Burghley."

Vintners in Cambridge. An original.

The paper included follows: " *Primo Julii*, 1585. For " the matter touching the university of Cambridge and " Mr. Rawlie, for the nomination of vintners, and setting " price of wine there.

" First, touching the nomination of vintners there, we " think it appertaineth to the university by usage and char- " ters from her majesty, confirmed by parliament; and that " Mr. Rawlie can nominate none there.

" For the *price;* it seemeth they may set prices, so as it " be according to the statute, and not otherwise. And if the

" vintners set at higher prices, they are to be punished by
" law. Which penalty Mr. Rawlie may dispense withal.
" And yet cannot sue for the penalty by his patent, against Anno 1585.
" the statute laws. For therein all liberties to the university
" is excepted.
" Subscribed, W. Burghley. C. Wraye, Ed. Anderson."

A new printing press at Oxon.

In the other university of Oxford was a new printing press erected about this year, (whether any before, I know not,) given as a suitable present to that university by the earl of Leicester, their high chancellor. And the first book printed there was a book of Ethics, made by one Case, a learned man there, entitled, *Speculum quæstionum moralium*. Which book the author dedicated to the said earl of Leicester, and to the lord Burghley, chancellor of the other university.

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A book of Ethics first there printed.

In his address to the former, he gave three reasons why he dedicated this book to him. First, as a present to him from their new printing press, set up by his favour, in these words; *Novum hoc preli beneficium, quod, te auctore, nostra academia nuper recepit*, &c. *Prelum hoc novum (cui author existis) hunc novum de Moribus libellum pressit.* " That this new benefit of a press, their university acknow-
" ledged to have lately received of him, the donor; and
" that this new press of his gift impressed that new book of
" Morals. And that the author of this book might seem in-
" grateful, if he should not present this first fruits of the
" said press to him." Secondly, Another reason of this dedication was, that extraordinary love towards the university, which his coming to them had greatly confirmed. And thirdly, That golden spur, when he was there at Oxford, that he gave him, to excite him to those kind of studies. And then he bringeth the founders of the colleges making their congratulatory speeches to the earl, as the great restorer and preserver of their foundations; " Thanking him
" for his well deserving toward that university. That he
" had twice or thrice preserved all things there going to de-
" cay, immortal thanks for that: and that the same being

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" preserved, he had confirmed with many and great privi-
" leges obtained, they rendered him still greater thanks."

Anno 1585.

The contest between the universities for antiquity.

And then taking occasion from the hot contentions at that time between the two universities for precedency in regard of antiquity, the grave moralist applied to both the chancellors: shewing how childish and trifling this contest was; and that the students there had greater and more substantial matters to concern themselves about; proceeding in these words: *Non de nugis, non de antiquitatis titulis et umbris inanis gloriolæ contendimus. Quippe nunc utrinque in utriusque corpus numerose inserti, una, ut ita dicam, academia sumus, Oxonia Cantabrigiensis, et Cantabrigia Oxoniensis. Studio fortasse æmulationis ardemus, sed contentionis nulla facula incensi exardemus. Nam quæ causa litis, quæ bilis causa inter sorores esset? Præsertim cum unam matrem, Angliam dulcissimam, patres duos, eosdemque reges, [Alfridum et Cantabrum scilicet,] fundatores multos; eosdemque omnes, aut in ecclesia pontifices, aut in civitate proceres, habuerint.*

Contention about Aristotle and Ramus.

And whereas at this time and somewhat before, another great contest arose in both universities, concerning the two philosophers, Aristotle and Ramus, then chiefly read, and which of them was rather to be studied; he gave them both their commendations and characters in his said epistle: *Juvenilem ardorem animi in utraque academia decertasse; utrum in perdiscendis artibus plus Aristotelis magnum acumen quam Rami fluens ingenium prævaleret.*

Lord Lumley's library.

There was some struggle also about this time between the two universities for the lord Lumley's library, noted then for a choice collection of books, for his gift thereof to their libraries: both claiming an interest in him for that purpose; Cambridge, where he had been once a scholar; and Oxford, whereof he was now high steward. Wherefore Dr. Perne, one of the ancient heads of the university of Cam-
345 bridge, put the vice-chancellor and heads upon writing their letters to that lord, to grant them the favour of his books for the furnishing of their library. And that this epistle might have the better success, he communicated it to the

bishop of Canterbury; who so favourably espoused their request, that he delivered it himself at court to the lord Lumley. And the issue of it was, that he gave them a considerable portion of Greek and Latin books out of his store. Which still are, or lately were, in that university library. Anno 1585.

And what the numbers of books that lord gave on this address appears from a catalogue of the benefactors to that library, as it was taken by my learned and worthy friend, in these words: *Honorabilis dominus Lumley dedit libros* 89, *aut circiter*. To which was added what he found writ in another MS. *His accensendi sunt hon. vir dns. Nic. Bacon, magni sigilli custos, et dns. Guil. Cecil.* Who together gave 200 books, Latin and Greek; whereof sir Nic. Bacon gave 103. Benefactors to the Cambridge library. T. Baker, S. Th. B. Dr. Cosins MSS.

Of this affair thus Dr. Pern wrote to the lord Burghley, chancellor of that university: "I caused your honour's "vice-chancellor of Cambridge, and divers of the heads, to "write to my lord Lumley, for some of his books to be be-"stowed on your lordship's university of Cambridge. The "which letter I did shew to my lord of Canterbury. Who "did deliver the same to my good lord Lumley at the "court. I did also cause your vice-chancellor to write to "Mr. Watson, my lord Lumley's chaplain; that he might "solicit my lord his master to be good to the library of "your honour's university; where his lordship was a stu-"dent. For that I did know divers Oxford men were "greatly desirous that he should bestow all his books on the "university of Oxford, he being their steward." This was dated the 18th day of October, 1585.

There was no university as yet in Ireland; a thing much desired; since learning might produce a better effect, in order to peace, and submission to their lawful prince, than the wars in that unhappy kingdom. The character of the Irish was, that there were excellent wits among them. This was hinted by Case, the beforesaid learned man of Oxford, in his epistle dedicatory above-mentioned. "Where, in his "address to both the chancellors of our universities, he "wished for an university founded in that kingdom; where- No university yet in Ireland.

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Anno 1585.

" he spake (as he said) by experience, were many ripe wits,
" and which might be a great means of softening their
" manners, which in some parts of that land were very
" fierce: chiefly for this cause, *quod in tam beato solo nul-*
" *lum musarum collegium, nullum philosophiæ seminarium*
" *floreat. Arte enim, non Marte emolliuntur mores:* i. e.
" That in so blessed a soil no college of muses, no seminary
" of philosophy flourished. For men's manners are mollified
" by art, and not by war."

Now for a few remarks of some eminent men about these times, and such as were about the queen's person, and her counsellors. One whereof was that great and wise statesman, the lord treasurer Burghley, upon whom, notwithstanding his honour and integrity, many grievous misreports and slanders were raised, and carried about: as, that the suits of great men succeeded according to his will and pleasure; and his great interest with the queen was such, that he hindered certain profitable negociations: his great wealth gotten by his service: that he abused her majesty and the office that he held: that he was guilty of falsehood, injustice, bribery, of dissimulation, and double-dealing in advice, in counsel, either with her majesty or with her counsellors. All this came to his knowledge, and partly by secret intelligence from an intimate friend of his, unknown. These base slanders moved this worthy patriot to some heat; calling them, in his letters in answer, " *Vile, false, devilish excla-*
" *mations and execrations,* made by such as he knew not;
" and so could not judge of the degree of their malice. So
" that he might say truly, *Acuerunt linguas suas, sicut*
" *serpentes. Venenum aspidum sub labiis eorum.* Insomuch,
" that, as he added, if his own conscience did not ascertain
" him of God's favour and protection against these satanical
" and fanatical spirits, he should think himself in a most
" wretched state. But that he knew and had proved God's
" goodness so many years to defend his innocency, that he
" might boldly say with David, *Factus est mihi Dominus*
" *refugium.*" The letters out of which I have transcribed these sentences I shall preserve in the Appendix; because

Slanders raised of the lord treasurer.

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they will serve further to illustrate the history of that truly honest and wise counsellor, and great instrument of settling and consulting about the reformed religion in England, and of the wonderful success of the queen's affairs throughout her reign. These letters will shew how heavily he took it, that his good name should be so stained, and the main bent of his pains of body and mind for so many years should be so basely interpreted. And where you find him at last solemnly appealing to God and to his own conscience, and to some of the queen's counsellors, [but not to all; for he knew some others not so well affected to him,] for his integrity. And at last piously reposing himself and his trust in his God.

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But there happened another thing in this affair, that gave him offence, and displeased him; that these letters, secretly written and sent to his friend, as abovesaid, were by him shewn about to others in the city and court; nay, and to some of the queen's council. Which were done indeed out of a good intent, that my lord's innocency, and the falsehood of those reports of him, might be the more manifest, and that the raisers of these lies might be exposed. But when that lord understood this divulging of his private letters, he signified the same to him that had so done; and required they should be sent back to him again. "For that "he was friendly informed that he [to whom he had writ "those letters] had made ostentation of his greatness with "him, [the lord Burghley,] and had sent all his letters "abroad in the city. I am content, (added he,) that every "one should know that I like you; but to send and dis-"perse my letters in that sort, I cannot allow; being de-"sirous you would return them to me. And yet I will per-"form all therein written. And for that many would think "great levity in him, to have his private letters in that sort "spread abroad."

Of which by private letters he acquaints a friend of his.

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Between the said great courtier (of whom all this hath been told) and another as great, namely, the earl of Leicester, master of the horse to the queen, was some variance at this time. And it was justly to be suspected, that that

Some variance between the lord treasurer and the earl of Leicester.

BOOK I. haughty earl might be instrumental in those misreports mentioned above. It was certain this great favourite was Anno 1585. very jealous of the lord Burghley. Which at length caused him to write a plain letter to the earl; openly and freely to shew his mind, and, if possible, to beget a better understanding: for it appeareth, it was upon some ill-will that he bare the lord treasurer undeserved. To see the ground hereof, and the obliging address of the treasurer to the earl, the letter is worth the transcribing: it follows.

Lord treasurer to the earl. "My lord, I have been in diversity of mind, whether I "should write, as now I mean, or not. Though writing "may be misconstrued, yet silence sometimes may do more "harm. And therefore I adventure to write more briefly, "to avoid occasion of much mistaking.

"My lord, I have many times been informed, that your "lordship had misliking of me. But the informers would "never commonly make proof thereof, but rather dealt "doubtfully with me. On the other part, I know myself "without fault, or colour of fault. I also many times found "your lordship friendly disposed to me in many sorts, by "your honourable and courteous behaviour and treatment. "The like also of late times both my sons constantly do "many times report it to me. And the elder, within these "few days, hath told me, with great assurance, how favour-"ably your lordship did use him; and how, by other good "means of such as know inwardly your lordship's mind, he "accounteth himself assured of your constant favour.

"Now when your lordship's self doth not use me evil to "my understanding, as to knowledge of myself, and that "my children are so well used; yea, I judge hitherto my "daughter of Oxford, who always affirmeth the like of you; "it may seem strange that I should not so settle mine "opinion constantly to make sure account of your lord-"ship's favour upon these short proofs; notwithstanding "many tales brought me of late, during the time of "this treaty with the Hollanders, noting your lordship's "misliking of my doubtfulness or coldness therein. Where-"in I persuaded myself, that such odd reports were either

" conjectures of busy heads or jealous persons for good-will
" to the cause. But, good my lord, the freshness of a re-
" port, and the credit and good-will of the party, will not
" suffer me to smother up, and touch unto your lordship,
" and remit the answer hereof, for my better satisfaction, to
" your own disposition.

" Within these two days, a lady, a widow, your lord-
" ship's old familiar good friend, and my near ally, was, as
" she saith, with your lordship, to entreat you to be favour-
" able unto her, for herself and her two daughters, being
" by law in blood heirs to a great man, and of great liveli-
" hood: but yet to small or no part thereof. Your lord-
" ship, as she saith, answered her friendly. But that yet
" you said her friends did not deserve your friendship. And 348
" for proof your lordship named me not to be your friend,
" although you and yours had otherwise deserved of me:
" remembering that it was the duke your lordship's father,
" [viz. the duke of Northumberland,] and not the duke of So-
" merset, that brought me to be a counsellor; with other such
" speeches, which, as she saith, she was very sorry to hear.
" Whereby she found that your lordship was not my friend.

" Hereupon, my lord, as I was sorry to perceive it to be
" true of your own speech to my good friend, that your
" lordship had so ill opinion of me, to be unfriendly to you;
" where by desert of yourself, and my lord your father,
" (whom I cannot remember without conceit of his honour-
" able favours to me,) I was otherwise bound; so was I, in
" some part, glad to understand, the many reports, which I
" did not before credit, have had some ground from your
" lordship's self. And therefore knowing, in the sight of
" God, mine own innocency of any unhonest action against
" your lordship, or intention, I will quiet my heart, and
" arm myself against this wrong with patience; as I am
" sure no man of my sort hath abiden more this way in
" hearing evil, when I have done well. And so I shall re-
" main to do that good I can, however I am misused. And
" so will I live, by God's grace. As, for any man's ill-will, I

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" will not forget my duty, or stain my honesty. And if the " places I hold might be bestowed by her majesty upon any " other without condemnation of me for mine honesty, I " avow to Almighty God, I would be most glad. And " thereby should I be sure to be void of any ill-will, or " wrong interpretation of my poor actions. For I know my " place, not my deeds, procure me unfriendliness of many. " Which I beseech God to remedy. Who keep your good " lordship long in honour, health, and in his favour. From " the court at Nonsuch, the 11th of August, 1585. Your " lordship as you shall please to have me.

" W. B."

I have the answer the lord Leicester made to this friendly letter, which he wrote back the same month to the lord Burghley, endorsed thus by that lord's own hand, *The earl of Leicester in answer of my letter to him; written at Cornbury Park:* the earl justifying himself at large in some points wherein he was charged to have accused the lord treasurer. Beginning, " My lord, I perceive by your letter " you were doubtful to write; but that you would avoid " misconstruction, that it pleased him rather to write than " be silent, &c. He thanked his lordship, that he would " take that way; whereby those he [viz. the treasurer] " dealt and lived withal might rather know what he heard, " than to conceal what he misliked. That his lordship said, " [in his letter,] that he had been many times informed that " he [the earl] had misliking of him; but that the informers " would never bring forth their proofs, but rather dealt " doubtfully. The earl trusted, that, for such informers, he " should need little to stand in answering them. And that " his [the treasurer's] own wisdom would easily discharge " him, being so well acquainted with the devices and prac- " tices of those days, when men went about rather to sow " all discord between such as they [the queen's counsellors] " were, than to do good offices, &c." And thus that noble person proceeded in an honourable protestation, in divers

The earl of Leicester's answer to the lord treasurer.

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particulars, of his esteem of that worthy person he is writing to. Which being somewhat large, I rather recommend it to be read in the Appendix.

Another nobleman of note, remarked in our history of these times, was Philip earl of Arundel; who married Anne, daughter of Thomas lord Dacres. Unhappy he was in his father, the duke of Norfolk, beheaded upon account of the queen of Scots, and unhappy in his own, favouring the same queen, and endeavouring her escape; and unhappy also in contracting great debts; and being now in custody in the Tower after his trial in the star-chamber, for relieving popish priests, and holding correspondence with Jesuits abroad, the queen's enemies; and for writings of his, accusing the justice of the nation. For which he was fined 10,000*l.* saith our historian. And so he remained a prisoner in the Tower. I have a scheme before me of his debts, found among the lord treasurer's papers; which shew how unable he was to pay the fine. His debt to the queen, 5351*l.* and upwards. Owing to his creditors, upon specialties, 7641*l.* and upwards. Total of the earl's possessions and rents, 4987*l.* yearly. But they that are minded to see the particulars of the earl's debts and revenues may find them in the Appendix. He was some years after condemned for treason, for being instrumental in the Spanish invasion. But by the queen's mercy spared; and died a prisoner in the Tower. And no doubt it was his zeal for the Scottish queen and for popery (though the duke his father had bred him up in contrary principles of religion) that was the cause of all his personal misfortunes, and diminishing of his patrimony.

N°. LX.

Philip, earl of Arundel, fined.

His debts.

N°. LXI.

Edward, lord Beauchamp, was a person of great honour, being the eldest son of the earl of Hertford, by the lady Katharine Gray. He had privately married Honora, daughter of sir Richard Rogers, knight. This gave so high a disgust to the earl his father, as a match inferior, that he kept him from his wife, and his wife from him. And likewise he had made himself obnoxious to the displeasure of the queen and council, in marrying without her and their consent, he being of royal blood by his mother. This lord now laboured

Edward, lord Beauchamp, in trouble for his marriage.

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to make his peace with the queen as well as with his father; and that he might obtain permission to cohabit with his lady whom he had married. But coming out of the country (where, as it seems, he was enjoined to abide) with this purpose of address, his angry father caused him to be seized in his journey by one of his servants at Reading: where he was detained. Whence he applied himself by a submissive letter to the lord treasurer; declaring his case, and hoping by his intercession with the queen and council to obtain their favour; and that he might be sent for by their warrant. His request and case will more particularly appear by his letter; which coming from so noble a person, and upon such an occasion, may be acceptable from the original.

350 His letter on this occasion to the court, being seized by his father's order.

" My lord, having sought my lord my father's good-will " this long while, hoping by my dutiful means I might " have obtained his favour; and finding his lordship to deal " harder, to the end he might weary me; hoping thereby " in time to bring me not to care for my wife, whom I am " bound by conscience, as well by God, God and his law, " to love as myself; I was determined to come to your lord- " ship, whom I have found my good lord and honourable " friend: meaning so to submit myself to her majesty by " your honour's means, and also to the rest of her majesty's " council: hoping, that first her majesty, whose faithful " and loyal subject I am, to spend the best blood of my " body, as well in cause private as public, (if it should " please her majesty so to command me,) as also your lord- " ship, with the rest of her majesty's privy-council, would " grant me the benefit of the laws of the realm.

" Coming on the way, I was stayed at Reading by my " lord my father's man; desiring your honour's favour so far, " that it would please you by your warrant to send for me; " that I might not be injured by any my lord my father's " men, though hardly dealt with by his lordship himself; " considering how dutifully I have used myself. I hope " your honour will consider of my case, and suffer me to " take no wrong, so long as I am a faithful and true sub- " ject.

" I understand of certain, before I would attempt to de-
" part, that her majesty should say of me, I was no prisoner
" of hers; and also your lordship, with the rest of the coun-
" cil, should answer my wife, that you would impute it no
" offence if I sought to enjoy my wife's company. Most
" humbly craving to hear something from your honour, I
" commit your lordship to the tuition of the Almighty.
" From Reading, the 9th of August, 1585.

" Your honour's to command,

" Edward Beauchamp."

This gentleman died before his father. And by his said wife had issue Edward and Thomas. But his grandchild William succeeded in the honour, by letters patents of king James I.

Davys finds out the north-west passage.

I have one note more to make of one Davys, a mariner, sometime belonging to sir-Francis Drake. Who being employed to find out a north-west passage into those seas in that part of the world, came back this year. And upon his return, in a letter, acquainted the said Drake with some account of those seas, and how navigable they were. The letter, shewing the first discovery of that passage, and wrote to so eminent a seaman, may deserve to be preserved, and is, as I take it from the original, to this tenor.

His letter to sir Francis Drake.

" Right honourable, most dutifully craving pardon for
" this my rash boldness, I am hereby, according to my
" duty, to signify unto your honour, that the north-west
" passage is a matter nothing doubtful; but at any time
" almost to be passed by sea navigable, void of ice; the ice
" tolerable, the waters very deep. I have also found an isle 351
" of very great quantity, not in any globe or map discover-
" ed; yielding a sufficient trade of furs and leather. Al-
" though this passage hath been supposed very impossible,
" yet through God's mercy I am in experience an eyewitness
" to the contrary; yea, in the most desperate climates.
" Which by God's help I will very shortly more at large
" reveal unto your honour; so soon as I can possibly take
" order for my mariners and shipping. Thus depending

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" upon your honour's good favour, I most humbly commit
" you to God. This 3d of October.
" Your honour's for ever most dutiful
" John Davys."

Hence those straits in that passage are called Davis' Straits to this day.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Books set forth. The Great English Bible. A Declaration of the Causes of the Queen's giving Aid to the Low Countries. A summary Report of the Earl of Northumberland's Treason. The true and lawful Right and Title of Don Anthonio to the Kingdom of Portugal. The State of the English Fugitives under the King of Spain. The true Difference between Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion: by Dr. Bilson. An Apology and true Declaration of the Institution of the two English Colleges at Rome and Rhemes. A Defence of English Catholics. Pilkington's Exposition upon Nehemiah. Certain Prayers and other godly Exercises, for the seventeenth day of November. A godly and necessary Admonition concerning Neuters. Moral Questions in Latin: by Case. Exploits by the English in the Netherlands: by H. Archer. Leicester's Commonwealth.

BOOKS I find of most note printed this year were as follows:

The Great Bible printed.

The English Bible, of the last translation, in the great volume. Printed by Christopher Barker, the queen's printer, with this title; *The Holy Bible; containing the Old Testa-*
352 *ment and the New: and appointed to be read in churches.* Which was a third edition of the Bible, after the first set forth, new translated by archbishop Parker's care, oversight, and order, anno 1572, there being another edition anno 1578. This Bible hath, 1. A remarkable prologue, or preface, set before it; which was that made by Tho. Cranmer,

archbishop of Canterbury; and set before the first translation of the Bible in king Henry VIII. his reign, printed. 2. A table of genealogy, from Adam; and so passing through the patriarchs, judges, kings, &c. and so continuing in lineal descents to our Saviour Jesus Christ. It hath in several places two capital letters, being the two first letters of the names of the bishops or others that reviewed or corrected their several portions allotted them in this work: and therefore called *the Bishops' Bible.* Thus at the end of the Pentateuch are the letters W. E. At the end of the Second Book of Samuel, R. M. At the end of Chronicles, E. W. And at the end of Job, A. P. C. &c. And who these persons were, designed by these letters, are shewn in the Life of Archbishop Parker, under the year 1572. This Bible hath marginal notes. To give a specimen thereof. At Genesis, chap. i. ver. 2. *The earth was without form, and was void.* Here the note in the margin is; "The works of "God, both in his creation and in his spiritual operation in "man, seem rude and imperfect at the first; yet God, by "the working of his Holy Spirit, bringeth all things to a "perfection at the end." And at that clause, ver. 2. *The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters;* the note is, "The confused heap of heaven and earth was imperfect "and dark; yet not utterly dead; but was endued with the "power and strength of God's Spirit; and so made lively "to continue unto the world's end."

Anno 1585.

This Bible I saw some time in Sion college library.

Book iv. chap. 20.

Now to account for other books and discourses that came forth and were printed this year; both state-books and books about religion.

Other books.

A declaration of the causes moving the queen of England to give aid to the defence of the people, afflicted and oppressed in the Low Countries. Beginning; "Although "kings and princes sovereign," &c. This book I have mentioned before. "Given at Richmond the 1st of Octob. "27 *regin. Elizabeth.*" Which words conclude that book. And it is of the more remark, being drawn up by the head and pen of the lord treasurer Burghley. It is preserved to

BOOK I. us by John Stow; and inserted by him into Holinshed's Chronicle. As also this book that follows.

Anno 1585. *A true and summary report of the declaration of some part of the earl of Northumberland's treason:* delivered publicly at the court of the star-chamber. Together with the examination and depositions of sundry persons, touching the manner of his wicked and violent murder committed upon himself with his own hand in the Tower of London, the 20th of June, 1585. This man before was in the rebellion, 11 *regin. Elizab.* (being then sir Henry Percy, knight,) and undertook the conveying away of the Scottish queen, as appeared by a record the 14th year of the queen. This is shortly summed up in queen Elizabeth's History
P. 311. by Camden.

353 Another book now came forth in favour of don Anthonio: who claimed the right of possession to the kingdom of Portugal; which Philip king of Spain had actually possessed himself of. This prince came into England to crave assistance of the queen to recover his right; which she granted him. For the better understanding of his cause, this book was printed, translated from the French and Latin, and was entitled, *The examination of the true and lawful right and title of the excellent prince Anthony, the first of that name, king of Portugal. Concerning his wars against Philip, king of Castile, and against his subjects and adherents, for recovery of his kingdom.* Together with a brief history of all that had passed about that matter, until the year of our Lord 1583. Translated into English, and conferred with the French and Latin copies. At Leyden. The design of this tract appears in the end of it, viz. "That don Antho-
"nio having a rightful and just cause, that all Christian
"princes, or the more part of them, would on their own
"accord offer themselves to aid and succour him to recover
"his kingdom, whereof he is so unjustly and tyrannously
"spoiled by the king of Castile: as it appertaineth to all
"princes to help that be afflicted and oppressed by tyranny.
"And especially, it being the only way and means to deli-

" ver themselves and their posterity from the tyranny of the " Spaniards." CHAP. XXVIII.

Anno 1585.

The state of the English fugitives under the king of Spain and his ministers. For thither our zealous recusants fled for shelter and harbour. This book contained also a discourse of the said king's manner of government, and many of his late dishonourable practices. It was declared by the author to be written out of compassion to the English there; and to prevent any more of the catholics in England to leave their own country, to go to live in Spain or Flanders. For as he spake in his epistle to the reader, " That himself being five or six years past in these parts of " Flanders subject to the Spanish king, he saw a miserable " troop of his unhappy countrymen; some, gentlemen of " good houses in England, wandering in poor habits and " afflicted gestures, heavily groaning under the burden of " extreme and calamitous necessity: on the one side, by " their heedless demeanour there, debarred from return into " their country; and on the other, overlooked by the proud " eyes of disdainful Spaniards: and for want of due regard " in that comfortless service, perishing without either pity " or relief." State of the English Fugitives.

The ground of this book was a letter, privately sent from a gentleman, that had sometime served the king of Spain, [viz. the author,] to a catholic gentleman, his kin and friend, that had a great longing and desire to come into those parts: which letter is there set down.

As the Roman catholics of this nation made great complaints, and publicly clamoured against the severity used towards them, so it was necessary the state should as publicly be vindicated. Dr. Bilson, warden of Winchester college, was one of the learned defenders of this English cause: and this year set forth a book, in a large quarto, entitled, *The true difference between Christian subjection and unchristian rebellion.* " Wherein the prince's lawful power " to command for truth, and indeprivable right to bear the " sword, are defended against the pope's censures and the " Jesuits' sophisms, uttered in their apologies, and defence 354 True Difference between Christian Subjection, &c.

BOOK I. Anno 1585.

" of English catholics: with a demonstration, that the re-
" formed in the church of England, by the laws of this
" realm, are truly catholic," &c. Written by Tho. Bilson, warden of Winchester; printed at Oxford, 1585.

An Apology for the two English colleges at Rome and Rhemes.

This book seasonably met with Dr. Allen's *Apology and true declaration of the institution and endeavours of the two English colleges.* " Therein they charged the queen's
" Christian, mild, and advised regiment with no less crimes
" than heresy, tyranny, and blasphemy; [as the said Dr.
" Bilson, in his foresaid book, lays to the charge of the
" writer.] And that those were the only causes why they
" departed, and harboured themselves so long from their
" natural country; agnizing none of her ecclesiastical laws
Fol. 37, 38. " to be orderly or duly made; but calling them strange
" and unnatural dealings, violent disorders, which to all
" posterity must needs breed shame and rebuke; repug-
" nant to the laws of God, the church, and nature; and
" most of all spurning at the act and oath which abolished
" the pope's usurped power out of this realm, and declared
" her highness to be the supreme bearer of the sword, &c.
" And to make their matter the more saleable in the ears
" of the simple, they used all their Romish art and elo-
" quence to deface and traduce the right of her authority
" and band of our obedience, with cancelling sophisms and
" flourishing terms: as if the sovereignty used by her high-
" ness were a thing improbable, unreasonable, unnatural,
Fol. 10, 12. " impossible; and the oath [of allegiance] yielded by us
" intolerable, repugnant to God, the church, her majesty's
" honour, and all men's consciences: having, saith the an-
" swerer, besides much wasteful words and mighty brags,
" nothing in it that is worth the reading; as being rather a
" rhetorical declamation of an ungracious wit, than a sub-
" stantial confirmation of their acts and attempts against
" God and the magistrate."

A Defence of English Catholics.

Upon the execution of some of these priests and seminaries for maintaining the pope's authority over the queen in her dominions, they set forth another book near this time, called, *A defence of English catholics that suffer for their*

faith. This book also Dr. Bilson took notice of. Wherein he observed " many things stately and stoutly avouched; " but nothing attempted or intended to be proved, save " only the pope's power to deprive princes. Which with " all furniture of wit and words they laboured to infer. Not " shaming to say, that subjects bearing arms against their " natural princes, upon the pope's warrant, do a holy, just, " and honourable service; and that this hath been the faith " of this land ever since it was converted unto Christ." Anno 1585. Def. of Catholi. chap. 5.

To this book thus the said learned Dr. Bilson: " Against " this canker, consuming the very soul and conscience, " where it taketh hold, I thought it not amiss to oppose the " solemn salve of God's eternal law and commandment; and " to let it appear, that princes are placed by God, and so 355 " not to be displaced by man; and subjects threatened dam- " nation by God's own mouth, if they resist: from which " no pope's dispensation shall save them. And therefore " the Jesuits in that point to be wicked; as their proofs be " weak, having neither scripture, council, nor father, for a " thousand years, that ever allowed, mentioned, or ima- " gined any power in popes to deprive princes." And then he proceeded to set down the several subjects of his book, in four parts. The last whereof shewed the reformation of this church to be warranted by the word of God, and the ancient fathers of Christ's church; and the Jesuits to be, for all their crack, nothing less than *catholic*. Dr. Bilson's Answer. The reformation of this church.

Pilkington, an exile for religion under queen Mary, and bishop of Durham under queen Elizabeth, wrote a seasonable Exposition upon Nehemiah, suitable to those times; as after the Jews' sad captivity, they returned again to their own country, and enjoyed their religion at Jerusalem. Published this year by John Fox, with a preface to it, made by him. Which shewed the friendship between them, being fellow-exiles, and the reverence he had for his memory, who was dead now some years before. Pilkington's Exposition upon Nehemiah.

Now also came forth a book, entitled, *Certain prayers and other godly exercises, for the 17th day of November.* " Wherein (as the title ran) we solemnize the blessed reign Prayers for the 17th of Nov.

BOOK I. Anno 1585.

" of our gracious sovereign lady, queen Elizabeth, by the " providence and grace of God, of England, France, and " Ireland, queen," &c. This book was made by Edmund Bunny, and dedicated to John, archbishop of Canterbury. And about four or five years after came forth another book of prayers and thanksgivings and psalms, to be used in the queen's reign, upon various occasions. Beginning with a form of prayer to be said every seventeenth day of November; and that, as it seems, by public order. Which may not be amiss here to transcribe, that such a piece of solemn yearly devotion be not quite lost. It was entitled, *A prayer of thanksgiving for the queen.*

Prayer of thanksgiving on the queen's day.

" O! Lord God, most merciful Father; who, as upon " this day, placing on the throne thy servant, our sovereign " and gracious queen Elizabeth, didst deliver the people of " England from danger of war and oppression, both of body " by tyranny, and of conscience by superstition; restoring " peace and true religion, with liberty both of bodies and " minds; and hath continued the same to us, without all " desert on our part, now by the space of these two and " thirty years[a]: we, who are in memory of these thy great " benefits assembled here together, most humbly beseech " thy fatherly goodness to grant us grace, that we may, in " word, deed, and heart, shew ourselves thankful and obe- " dient unto thee for the same. And that our queen, through " thy grace, may in all honour, goodness, and godliness, " long and many years reign over us; and we obey and " enjoy her, with the continuance of thy great blessings, " that thou hast by her, thy minister, poured upon us. " This we beseech thee to grant unto us, for thy dear Son " Jesus Christ's sake, our Lord and Saviour. Amen."

[a] Increase this number according to the years of her majesty's reign.

356 Nor was it a single prayer that was all the solemnity of the day, but there was an anthem composed to be sung after the prayers were done, in two parts. The former collected out of divers places of the Book of Psalms: beginning,

Anthem after the prayer.

" Be light and glad, in God rejoice,
" Which is our strength and stay.
" Be joyful, and lift up your voice,
" For this most happy day."

In the second part are these lines:

" Lord, keep Elizabeth, our queen,
" Defend her in thy right:
" Shew forth thyself, as thou hast been,
" Her fortress and her might," &c.

After this was an anthem, or prayer, for the preservation of the church and the realm, to be sung at evening prayer. For the perusal of these anniversary psalms or anthems, I refer the reader to the Appendix. N°. LXII.

I adventure here to place another book, though the year exactly I cannot affirm, neither printer nor year in it specified. But hereabouts, I believe, is the properest place for it, conjectured by the kind of black letter it is printed in. It is called, *A godly and necessary admonition concerning neuters*, and such as deserve the gross name of *Jack of both sides*. In octavo. It was intended against such *neuters* as were indifferent between popery and the reformation. The running title is, *Neuter and Jack of both sides*. I am apt to think it was writ and printed privately at first, about the beginning of queen Mary's reign. For it speaks of the *late happy times* of king Edward, in regard of the profession of true religion: and now, as it seems, thought fit to be reprinted, for the better confirmation of protestants against wavering or indifferency. It began thus: " Men in all ages " have judged that the diversity of religions and doctrines " do cause alteration in men's minds, and sundry changes; " and bring discommodities unto realms:—it is the more un- " worthy and more noisome, that men count it a light tri- " fling matter, nay, merry. They reckon it a singular " witty part, that they can craftily cloak and dissemble re- " ligion, and handle themselves in all other affairs after such " sort, as if a man were familiarly linked to both parties: " not altogether gone from the papists, lest he be counted a " stubborn fellow; not altogether diverted from the gos- " pellers, lest he be called an apostate: and by that shift to " walk, as it were, in the middle and most safe way; to be " indifferent to both sides; to keep peace, substance, ho-

A godly and necessary Admonition.

BOOK I. Anno 1585.

"nour, and doctrine safe; and not altogether and sluttishly "to forsake religion; yet for all that to seem addict to what "religion a man will."

Neuters in religion described.

The *neuters* he further describes: "That when they "vary in their doctrines, assent openly to none of them all, "but abide in a mean, either defying both parties, or gap- "ing for a determination of doctrines in some general coun- "cil." Again, this character he gives of another sort of them: "They hang on both sides, and do what they can
357 "to be in favour with both parties. Their drift is to con- "tent the gospellers, lest it should be thought they do "against the truth that they had acknowledged. And "all this upon a wondrous forecast of peace and tranquil- "lity. Some popish toys they follow, to be in favour with "them, for fear of putting themselves and their pelf in ha- "zard."

Again, some of these he describes: "That they regarded "no doctrine at all: and so they tell every body, that they "defy both the papists part, and the gospellers, and live "after their own fashion and phantasy; either utterly with- "out religion; not passing whether they know the truth "or not; or else they imagine them opinions of their own, "and those they stick stoutly to: yea, when they have not "a word to say, yet they will not yield, nor change their "judgment." Towards the end of the book, the writer exhorts, "To embrace, and start not one inch from the "word of God, which by his benefit was most purely "preached in England, in blessed king Edward VI. his "days, so that nobody can be ignorant of it.... And to "endure persecution for the truth's sake; and not to put "away peril from us by our mother wit, with the injury of "God's word, and confessing of Christ."

Moral Questions.

Moral Questions, set forth this year at Oxford, by John Case, a learned philosopher there. The book bore this title; *Speculum quæstionum moralium in universam Aristotelis, philosophi summi, ethicen; M. Johanne Case, Oxoniensi, olim colleg. D. Johannis præcursoris socio, authore.* Printed first at Oxford, an. 1585, afterwards at Frankford, an. 1610.

The author dedicated it to the earl of Leicester, high chancellor of that university; as he had the last year printed a book of logic at London.

This piece of moral philosophy was of the more remark, being so highly approved by the university for its useful learning among the scholars there; abundance of the public professors and chief learned men setting their names thereto; and being the first book printed at their printing press at Oxford. The names subscribed in commendation of the book were these; *Tho. Bickley, Th. D. Arthur Weldardus, Th. D. Gulielmus Cole, Th. D. Martin Colepeper, Theol. D. Oliver Whithington, Med. D. Joan. Delaber, M. D. Anton. Alworth, publ. medicinæ professor. Fran. Wallis, præses coll. D. Joan. præcurs. Joan. Read, Nic. Balgay, Tho. Dochen, Rob. Crane, Baliol. quond. soc. Tho. Drop, Magdal. Rich. Eedes, æd. Christi; Barthol. Warner, Mich. Greene, Martin Read, Mira. Guarda, Rodulph. Ravens, Sabin. Chamber, J. Williams, Rich. Harley, Giffin Powel, ex coll. Jesu; Joann. Prime.* Besides several others of the most eminent members, that wrote verses in commendations of the author and his book; which are placed before it: whereof Underhill, the vice-chancellor, stands first. Whose two last verses were these:

Non dedit hoc seclo prelum Oxoniense priorem,
Doctrinamque dabunt secula nulla parem.

But the verses of Dr. Lawrence Humphrey, the king's professor of divinity there, being so elegant, and giving a more particular account of the book, the first fruits of that university press, I cannot wholly omit; but being somewhat long, I have rather placed them in my Appendix. 358 N°. LXIII.

Henry Archer writ accounts of the English exploits in Holland and the Low Countries against the Spaniards: whether printed or a manuscript, I cannot tell: but which Stow, in his Annals of these times, makes much use of; who, in one place of his book, thus tells his reader: "Thus far I "have received advertisement from my good friend and "near kinsman, Henry Archer, one of his excellency's

English Exploits in the Low Countries. By H. Archer. Stow's Annals, p. 1239. 4to.

BOOK I.

" guard;" meaning the earl of Leicester, the queen's lord lieutenant general in those parts.

Anno 1585. Leicester's Common-wealth.

And to all the rest I add a state-book, called *Leicester's commonwealth;* which made a great noise about these times, exposing the earl of Leicester, queen Elizabeth's great favourite, but not beloved by the people. It was entitled, *Leicester's commonwealth; conceived, spoken, and published with most earnest protestation of all dutiful good-will and affection towards this realm; for whose good only it is made common.* But neither author, printer, or date of year expressed. Which makes me add it under this year, or near it, upon some probable conjectures from passages in the book. It was writ dialogue-wise, between a gentleman, a lawyer, and a scholar. It is a notable book, not sparing that statesman, by relating a great many of his crimes, as of blood, covetousness, ambition, &c. But the reader must suspend his belief of every thing that he reads there charged upon him. The book makes him ambitious of sovereignty;

P. 83. and shews, " his methods of policy to obtain it, by marry-
" ing the queen. And in order to that, a besieging the
" prince's person, and by taking up the ways and passages
" about her: his insolency in court; his singularity in coun-
" cil; his violent preparations of strength abroad; his en-
" riching of his complices; the banding of his faction with
" abundance of friends every where." And then the author concludes, " What do all these things signify, but his in-
" tent and purpose of sovereignty?"

These are some of the passages; and a few more I shall add, as a specimen of the book, being collected thence. " That he hindered the queen's marriage with three princes
" successively, suitors to her, by protesting that he himself
" was contracted to her. That there were continual fears
" in her faithful subjects' hearts, while he was about her
" noble person. That he swore to her that he was not mar-
" ried to the lady Lettice, late wife of the earl of Essex,

P. 71. " though he was indeed twice married to her. That he
" always coveted to be furnished with certain chosen men

P. 69. " about him for divers affairs: as Baily and Culpepper,

" physicians, for his agents in the university of Oxford,
" where he was chancellor. That there was no one college,
" or other thing of commodity within that place, whence he
" had not pulled whatsoever was possibly to be gathered,
" either by art or violence."

Among other his chosen men about him were Dee and 359
Allen, two atheists, for figuring and conjuring: " Julio the
" Italian, and Lopez the Jew, for poisoning, and for the
" art of destroying children in women's bellies; Verneis, for
" murdering; Digbies, for bawds, and the like other occu-
" pations, which his lordship exercised."

But the queen, when she heard of this book, and divers clamours, and base, and no doubt many false, reports dispersed about this her counsellor, was provoked, and caused a severe proclamation to be set forth for calling in such libels, and rectifying such calumnies, together with another and better character of him. This very book was printed again in the year 1641; which was about the beginning of king Charles the I. his troubles; on purpose, as it may be thought, to make the court, or some of the council about that king, odious to the people.

ANNALS; 360

BEING AN

HISTORY

OF THE

AFFAIRS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND:

TOGETHER WITH

VARIOUS OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE STATE AND KINGDOM COINCIDENT; CHIEFLY WITH RELATION THEREUNTO: CONTINUED.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Matters about the queen of Scots. Resolution to bring her to her trial. Her removal. Sir Amyas Paulet, her keeper, faithful. The queen's letter to him. A commission preparing for the said trial. The judges consulted about it. Letters from Popham, attorney-general. Consultation about putting her to death; which the queen was against. Objections and answers for the queen's satisfaction. Dr. Dale's letter for that purpose. Considerations offered to the queen by parliament. Moved, to disable the Scots queen. Answered. What precedents might be found. Joan of Naples. Petition of both houses to the queen; and her answers. The queen of Scots executed. The queen highly provoked at it. The lord treasurer forbid her presence. His letters to her. Davison, the secretary, his character. Interrogatories put to him; with his answers.

THIS was the fatal year of the death and end of the unhappy Mary queen of Scots; of whom our histories are not Anno 1586.

BOOK II.

wanting. Yet some things I am able to relate, from authentic papers fallen under my hands, that may further illustrate this critical part of queen Elizabeth's reign.

Anno 1586.

Resolved to bring the Scots queen to her trial.

Upon Babington's desperate plot to murder queen Elizabeth, and to raise a rebellion, and to rescue the Scots queen, and set her upon the throne, the court came to a resolution to bring her to her trial. And in order to that, to put things into a method, there was a memorial drawn up by the council, dated September the 28th, of matters with the queen's majesty: which was thus endorsed by the lord treasurer's hand; *About removal of the Scots queen, in order to her trial; and for the better securing of her person. To be resolved by her majesty.* All that follows writ also by the said lord's hand.

361 " I. To what place the queen of Scots shall be removed:
" Fotheringay or Hertford castle.

" II. About what time the council and noblemen shall
" assemble, to hear the Scots queen's cause.

" III. At what time the judgment of the noblemen shall
" be affirmed by parliament.

" Hereupon order is to be given for the execution of the
" resolutions.

" So upon the first, sir Amyce Paulet [her keeper] is to
" be warned to put things in order for her remove; with-
" out giving to her, or to any of hers, any warning longer
" than two or three days: not shewing to her to what place
" certain she shall go, by the space of two or three days
" journey.

" Warning to be given to certain principal gentlemen to
" attend, with a number of servants for that purpose, from
" shire to shire.

" IV. To get letters sent severally to all noblemen that
" are absent, to come to London about a day certain, or
" rather to the court.

" V. According to the queen's resolution, to have either a
" new summons presently, or else to expect the 14th of No-
" vember for her remove out of Staffordshire the way to
" Hertfordshire."

Then are set down what gentlemen of quality of the counties were to attend, by Warwickshire, by Northamptonshire, by part of Buckingham, by Bedfordshire into Hertfordshire. Anno 1586.

Places of lodging from Chartley to Hertford: and from Chartley to Fotheringay.

To the latter of which strong places that queen was soon after safely brought, by the care and watchfulness of the abovesaid sir Amyas Paulet. At which the queen was somewhat easy: and in gratitude to him for his faithfulness in the managery of that remove; and still to encourage him to be steady in that great charge intrusted with him, she wrote him a letter subscribed by her own hand: which (as I transcribed from a copy thereof taken by Mich. Hickes, the lord treasurer's secretary) was as followeth:

"*To my faithful Amyas.*

The queen's kind letter to sir Amyas Paulet.

"Amyas, my most careful and faithful servant, God reward thee trebleſold in the double for thy most troublesome charge, so well discharged. If you knew, my Amyas, how kindly, besides dutifully, my grateful heart accepteth your double labours and faithful actions, your wise orders and safe conduct performed in so dangerous and crafty a charge, it would ease your travel, [*troubles* writ over head,] and rejoice your heart. And (which I charge you to carry this most just thought) that I cannot balance in any weight of my judgment the value I prize you at; and suppose no treasure to countervail such a faith: and condemn myself in that fault which I have committed, if I reward not such deserts. Yea, let me lack when I have most need, if I acknowledge not such a merit with a reward, *non omnibus datum.*

"But let your wicked mistress know, how with hearty 362
sorrow her vile deserts compel those orders; and bid her from me ask God forgiveness for her treacherous dealing toward the saver of her life many years, to the intolerable peril of her own. And yet not content with so many forgivenesses, must fall again so horribly, far passing a wo-

BOOK II.

Anno 1586.

" man, much more a princess. Instead of excusing where-
" of, not one can serve, it being so plainly confessed by the
" actors of my guiltless death. Let repentance take place;
" and let not the fiend possess so, as her best part be lost.
" Which I pray with hands lifted up to Him that may both
" save and spill. With my loving adieu, and prayer for thy
" long life,

" Your assured and loving sovereign in heart,
" by good desert induced,
" Elizabeth Regina."

Thus the queen was purposed to keep that Scots queen in safe custody under her *faithful* Amyas, (as she called him,) for the preservation of her own life: but further than that close restraint she could not be brought to grant. But when urged by continual solicitations of her counsellors, and generally of all her protestant subjects, she consented at last to grant a commission to many persons of chiefest rank and nobility, (besides her own council,) to go down and call her to her trial for high treason. Which trial, and how she was found guilty, is related at large by our historians; which I leave therefore to be read in them.

A commission to try the Scots queen.

Great care and consultation was had about drawing up this commission, being to remain a record to after-times, of the just and legal proceedings in this weighty cause. Some particulars whereof I shall relate from certain letters between the lord treasurer and Popham, the queen's attorney-general; who in a letter advertised the said lord, " That
" it was thought on by him and others learned in the law,
" whether it were convenient to make special mention of the
" Scottish queen, [dubious, as it seems, whether expressly
" to charge her with treason.] But that, as he added,
" sithence the matter had been so revealed already by the
" traitors themselves, he thought his lordship had conceived
" a very good course to have it so; if it might so seem good
" to her majesty. But that then there must be good con-
" sideration had by what name she was to be named in the
" commission."

Upon another letter writ a day or two after, by the lord treasurer to the said attorney-general, signifying her majesty's concern by what name the Scottish queen should be indicted, thus did the attorney answer: "That he gave order "to the clerk of the crown, that the commission should be "written in a set hand; in respect it was of great impor- "tance, and to continue in after-ages. That he had sent "him therewith a copy of the commission, with a space "when the name of the Scottish queen was to be put in. "Wherein it might please her majesty to have a great care, "and not upon any conceit to hazard the whole proceed- "ings; for that beside her Christian name, she might also 363 "have either the surname of her last husband, or the name "of her father, as was set down. For no name of dignity "(as he proceeded) is taken notice of by our law, but that "which is grown or created within her majesty's dominions, "or by her majesty or her progenitors' warrant. But in "the *alias dictus* any thing may be said that shall please "her majesty, being once surely named. Wherefore he "humbly beseeched his lordship, if any thing were so set "down therein, as might endanger the whole proceedings, "it might be so known to her majesty; and then to set off "the blame that hereafter might grow to them [the law- "yers] thereby. That it might be this without peril: "*Maria filia et hæres Jacobi Quinti, nuper regis Scoto-* "*rum, alias dict. Maria regina Scot. dotar. Franc.* For "it is not regarded what the *alias dict.* is. And then add- "ing, that if this might be resolved on by her majesty, so "that he [the attorney-general] might have knowledge "thereof by the next day, then his lordship should have "the commission itself presently after sent him, to shew the "queen."

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What the answer was to this, and the queen's resolution, the lord treasurer soon after acquainted the attorney; as we shall tell by and by: only let me mention another inquiry of the said attorney to be resolved about, specified in the letter above-mentioned. For nothing was done in this great

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affair without consulting with that great counsellor, and he with the queen.

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The course of proceeding intended.

"I have (as he proceeded in his letter) likewise sent your "lordship herewith the course that we have thought on for "our proceedings; which it may please your lordship to "reform, and for to direct us therein, as in your honour's "judgment shall seem best for the service."

And by the words that follow, the treasurer endeavoured to be absent at the trial. For thus the attorney proceeded: "That by what his lordship wrote he was much in doubt "his lordship might hardly be spared from thence, [viz. the "court.] And for him not to be at the proceedings, might "work great prejudice to the whole service. And that in "respect whereof, if her majesty could so be persuaded, it "were better the Scottish queen were brought nearer, than "that himself should be absent." And so concluded his letter, dated from his house in Chancery-lane, Oct. 1, 1586. Subscribing,

"Your lordship's most humbly at commandment,

"J. Popham."

And in respect of this need apprehended of the presence of the lord treasurer at this trial, he, being one of the chief commissioners, was there present, and had large discourse with that queen, then bearing a double person and quality, (as he told her,) both as a commissioner and a counsellor.

But now concerning the great point before spoken of, viz. by what name the Scottish queen should be styled in the
364 commission, (which her majesty had made hesitation about,) the attorney-general, and also Egerton, the queen's solicitor, had consulted with the judges about, together with the course to be taken in the proceedings. And the consultation of the queen's judges and others her learned lawyers, and that in such a weighty affair as this was, may deserve to be related: which I will do from the letter of Popham and Egerton, for the information of the aforesaid lord, and

by him to be opened to the queen. The letter, dated October 7, ran to this tenor: CHAP. I.

" That that morning they had conference with such of Anno 1586.
" the judges as were at present there; viz. the lord chief Consultation of the
" baron, sir Tho. Gaudy, justice Windham, justice Periam, judges about the
" and justice Rodes, and with Mr. Sergeant Gaudy, touch- trial.
" ing the course of proceeding in the commission.

" That they thought good, among other things, to un-
" derstand their opinion, by what name the Scotch queen
" was to be called in the commission and record. And that
" herein they found them all of opinion, that to give her
" directly and precisely the name of *regina Scotorum*, either
" in the beginning or by a copulative, as was set down in
" his lordship's last letters, could not well be warranted by
" law. And therefore that they held it the surest way to
" name her *Maria, filia et hæres Jacobi Quinti nuper regis*
" *Scotorum, communiter vocat. regina Scotor. et dotaria*
" *Franciæ.* Whereof they presumed to advertise his lord-
" ship, to the end such course might be taken therein as
" might be warranted by law, and the importance of the
" cause required." Adding, " That the judges had re-
" quired their humble suit to his lordship, that their lodg-
" ing [at Fotheringhay] might be so sorted, that they might
" be somewhat near together; to the end they might be
" the more ready for such conferences as it was likely, in
" the course of proceeding, would often fall out to be re-
" quisite," &c. This was dated the 3d of October; subscribed, *John Popham, Tho. Egerton.*

There was first great deliberation of putting that queen Deliberation about putting her to death.
to death. For though the parliament and people, for divers years past, had apprehended imminent danger of the queen's life and the safety of the whole kingdom, by means of her and her party at home and abroad, yet, for the satisfying her majesty, (who could not yield to the putting her to death,) it was seriously debated, whether it were lawful to cut off a queen, or to bring her into judgment. I have met with a writing of the opinion of the civilians touching this matter; consisting of objections against the trying of

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her as a queen, and answers to those objections by some learned in the civil law: which were drawn up for the satisfaction of queen Elizabeth, as well as others, in so weighty and unusual a cause. As,

I. *Objection.* She [viz. the queen of Scots] is *anointed*, [as well as queen Elizabeth.] And so, *Par in parem non habet imperium.* To that it was answered, That it might be doubted whether she then were a queen, because she
365 stood deposed by the three estates of Scotland. And secondly, she had willingly left her right to her son, &c. *Deletum non est consummatum. Ergo.*

II. *Object.* Secondly, That she subjected herself *juri gentium soli;* that is, to the law of nations only. The answer was, That in respect of her allegiance to the crown of England, her actions were rather to be measured by the positive laws of the land. And by these what she had done was treason, &c. This paper runs out into a considerable length; and therefore I rather lay it to be perused in the Appendix. No. I.

I add the judgment of Dr. Dale, a very learned civilian, who was particularly required by the lord treasurer to set it down, in order to satisfy the queen; which he did in a letter to the said lord, dated in October: which I transcribe from his own paper.

Dr. Dale's judgment about punishing the Scots queen by the law of nations.

" Pleaseth it your lordship to confirm your opinion as-
" suredly, *Quod delinquens punitur loco delicti, nulla dig-*
" *nitatis habita ratione.* It may please your lordship to
" consider these words following of the pope's own writing,
" *in Clementina pastoralis de re indicata:* which he made
" expressly to revoke the sentence of Henry VII. against
" king Robert of Sicily.

" *Quod si punitio criminis intra districtum imperialem*
" *commissi, ad imperatorem forsan pertinuisse asseratur;*
" *verum est quidem, si in eodem districtu fuisset inventus*
" *delinquens, &c.* So that in the present case, the party
" being in the same territory where the crime was commit-
" ted, the pope himself confesseth the conclusion and as-
" sertion of the emperor to be true: and yet the civilians

" do write, that in the very case of king Robert of Sicily, " which was out of the territory of the emperor at that " time of the sentence, *Juristæ debent et tenentur sequi fac-* Anno 1586. " *tum imperatoris, et non papæ.*

" It may please your lordship also to call to remem- " brance, that when all the civilians were consulted in the " bishop of Ross's case, it was resolved, *quod legatus* " *punitur in loco delicti, si delinquat tempore legationis,* " *non obstante legati privilegio.* And indeed the very text " of the civil lawyers is plain in the case. *L. non actio si* " *legati, F. de judiciis, Legati ex delictis in legatum com-* " *missis coguntur judicium Romæ pati; sive ipsi admisc-* " *rint, sive servi eorum.* And yet *legatus sustinet perso-* " *nam sui principis:* and of all men the most privileged, " *ipso jure gentium.*

" If it may be any satisfaction unto her majesty, or if her " majesty be desirous to be fully resolved in this point, " your lordship may assuredly inform her majesty of the " premises, as it shall seem to your lordship most conve- " nient. *Nihil enim est in toto jure certius:* what doubt " soever any man do make of it. And thus I have not to " trouble your lordship any further. At London, the 6th " of October, 1586.

" Your lordship's most humble,
" Valen. Dale."

Then followed *considerations* offered to the queen, to in- 366
duce her majesty to proceed *contra*, &c. [viz. against the Scots queen.]

1. The interest that all her subjects have in her safety; without which they cannot be safe. Considerations offered to the queen. MSS. J. Conyers. Aren.

2. The burden of her majesty's conscience, in being guilty of the universal harms that may follow, in not cutting off the Scotch queen.

3. The ruin of the realm; and

4. Of religion.

5. The cancelling of the glory of her ancestors.

6. The mutual love of her majesty to her most loving

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subjects in general: whom for that love's sake she will not leave to the spoil.

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7. The dreadful forethinking what such an one may do; so of herself malicious, unnatural, and incensed by cruel papists; irritated by dishonours and dangers.

8. The blasphemy the Scots queen may bring upon England.

9. The honour of our queen, not to drown the glory of her government with the evil like to succeed by her indulgence.

10. Consider, that you take away the ground of all foreign attempts, and the hope of rebellion; and remove the cause for which her majesty may be in danger of desperate traitors.

11. You take away from corrupt persons the hope of reward and benefit of her peril.

12. So you give freedom and boldness to all subjects for service; consultation in disclosing and in resisting attempts.

All your perilous favour shewed to the Scotch queen shall not be imputed to their clemency, but to their cunning means and practices, or timorousness, or God's permission: and that the queen is not able to touch such holy people: or to the pope's blessings, prayers, vows, fastings of papists, and as a miracle.—These seem to have been the short heads of what was offered to her majesty.

The queen's message to the parliament about the Scots queen.

While the parliament was now sitting were read before them divers letters of Anthony Babington, (that had lately plotted the murder of queen Elizabeth, and the delivering and setting up the Scots queen,) written to that queen; and letters of hers to him and others: whereupon the sentence that had been before pronounced against her was read before them of the lower house on the 9th of November. And in pursuance of that sentence, a form of a petition agreed upon by the committee of both houses was read, to this purport: that the queen give order for that queen's execution: which petition was presented to her by the lord chancellor, Nov. 15, which he declared to both houses he

had done. And withal the answer she gave to him, to report to them: shewing her averseness to the execution of the sentence of death against that queen; (as she had before done;) saying, "That it was a cause of great moment, "and required good deliberation; and that she could not "presently give answer to them; but that she would shortly "deliver it to her privy-council: who should deliver her "mind unto them." And further, the said chancellor declared unto the lords, that her majesty commanded him to require the lords to advise among them, if some other course might be taken, without proceeding to the extremity, which she could better like of, if any such might be found. And that she looked for their answer. 367

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D'Ewes' Journal, p. 379.

One of these courses of more favourably proceeding with that queen, (which was an act to disable that queen in princely dignity,) I find, by a paper, she had propounded to the parliament; which I will here set down, as worthy in this piece of history to be recorded, from the minutes of it; viz.

The sum of a petition to her majesty, and reasons gathered, ex jure civili, *by certain appointed by authority in parliament, to prove, that lawful it is, and honourable, to proceed*, &c.

The parliament's petition to the queen in answer.

And here it was debated, in dealing with the Scotch queen, whether to proceed for the disabling of her, which queen Elizabeth was for; or for attainder, for which the parliament was.

"We your majesty's most humble and faithful subjects, "assembled in parliament for the preservation of your most "royal person, &c. thank God for such a sovereign per- "son, as never subjects had better; we seek, with fear of "body and care of mind, to redress whatsoever shall be "thought hurtful to your majesty's safety.

MSS. ubi supra.

"A queen of late time, and yet, through her own acts "now justly no queen, nigh kinswoman of your majesty, "and yet a very unnatural sister, lady Mary Steward, late "Scottish queen, being driven, through violence of wea-

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"ther, to take harbour in your majesty's realm for safe-
"guard of her life, hath not only had your most gracious
"protection, but was in her own realm, by your majesty's
"authority, preserved from execution of death for her most
"horrible doings there, known through Europe, to her per-
"petual infamy.

"And albeit upon her first coming your majesty might
"by law have dealt with her judicially, for her attempts,
"made by writing and otherwise, against your crown, and
"the dishonour of your royal person; yet your majesty, in
"consideration of her long dangerous troubles in her own
"realm, and in hope that such advertisements would have
"been good lessons for her amendment hereafter, hath not
"used her in such manner as she deserved, but forgat and
"forgave after a sort her former doings.

"All which notwithstanding, this unnatural lady, born
"out of kind, hath forgotten God and all goodness, and
"seeketh to deprive your majesty of your dignity and
"life: which the judges declare to be most horrible trea-
"son: for which her doings your majesty minding to touch
"her in honour therefore, (not seeking to deal with her ac-
"cording to her deserts,) is content to have her disabled, as
"a person uncapable of princely honour within your land.
"And you think this the best way to establish yourself,
"and take away the hope of such as depend upon the title.
"And, to assure your quietness, to make it high treason to
"attempt and maintain her pretended title. So shall your
"enemies be weakened by the law, and your true subjects
"heartened.

368 "If the Scotch queen shall hereafter attempt treason, the
"law is determined that she shall suffer death without trou-
"ble of parliament.

"If any enterprise to deliver her from prison, the same
"to be convicted immediately of high treason. If she con-
"sent, [to be] likewise adjudged. So shall none for her
"dare to attempt against you. And all nations will honour
"your merciful proceedings; seeing she is fallen into your

" hands from the violence of others; and seeketh succour " at your majesty's feet; being your sister, and a queen; " not to proceed further, but *disable* only.

" This is a declaration and proof of your gracious nature. " This assurance for your person.

Resp. 1. " A *special disabling* her by name is in effect " a special confirmation of the rights he should have had. " *Privatio præsupponit habitum.*

2. " By the statutes of this land she is already disabled. " *Ergo, Rem actam agimus.*

3. " It strengtheneth them that be evil minded; and " maketh them desperate, seeing no remedy.

4. " Grievous penalties fear not the wicked, whose gain " more boldeneth: naturally given to this nation, and all " other under the moon, to make stir without cause. Plato: " *Naturales sunt conversiones rerum publicarum.* Despera- " tion feareth no labours.

" The law which was then in force as much as this, here- " tofore never restrained traitors. The instrument is still " living by whom all attempts are wrought. Force over- " throws judgment.

5. " No new law needs to encourage faithful subjects " against her who breaks all laws.

6. " Touching a law against her, if she should hereafter " attempt any evil, she saith, she will stir coals. By experi- " ence of her former life, law hath no force with her. She " will take the advantage upon any occasion. She fears no " threat of death. If she should seek liberty, yet dishonour- " ably. She adventured with a young fellow to get away " in a boat in England. She attempted to get away, and " occupieth the heads of the chiefest states in Christendom " for that purpose. And she may escape. For she wanteth " no cunning to make the way. And there will want no " traitors to assist her. The reward is great.

7. " For your regard of honour. An honourable mean- " ing. But we would not see you by such regard lose your " state, life, and all. If she escape, all good princes would

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" think great want of judgment and foresight in you and " in the council.

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" A grief to you and other your friends. A triumph to " the adversaries. A miraculous escape: ill foresight. And " advisedly looked unto, doth ever the less harm. Deal ra- " ther certain than by chance. *Ergo*, Not good to deal by " the second bill for *disablement*; rather by the first by *at-* " *tainder*."

What precedents might be found for their proceedings.

Then it came to be considered, what precedents might be found of such a matter as now lay before them: and Joan queen of Naples was offered. And a comparison was made between her and Mary queen of Scots. And an argument was framed, entitled, *An analogy or resemblance between Joan queen of Naples and Mary queen of Scotland.* This was drawn up to represent her the worse to queen Elizabeth; shewing the parallel between both queens in many particulars from histories. As,

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Joan queen of Naples and Mary queen of Scots parallel.

1. Joan queen of Naples, being in love with the duke of Tarent, hanged her husband Andreas, (or, as some write him, Andrasius,) king of Naples, in the year of our Lord God 1348. Mary queen of Scots, being, as appeareth by the Chronicles, and her own letters, [in love] with the earl Bothwel, strangled the lord Darly, her husband, king of Scotland, in the year of our Lord God 1567. 2. Joan queen of Naples did, presently after the foul slaughter, marry with the said duke of Tarent, notwithstanding they were joined and knit in kindred near together. Mary queen of Scots, after the death of her said husband, was married by the bishop of Orkney to the said earl Bothwel, notwithstanding that he had two wives alive, and was divorced from them upon a likely adultery by himself committed. The whole of this *analogy*, or *resemblance*, being somewhat long, consisting in many other particulars, will be found in the Appendix. The conclusion whereof, which the parliament made to the queen, was, " That nothing remained to " make the history perfect, but that Mary of Scotland " might have God's judgment in her accomplished and per-

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" formed, that had not only killed her former husband, but CHAP.
" had practised oftentimes the end of her majesty the I.
" queen of England; and consequently like to bring the Anno 1586.
" whole nation into a general massacre."

However her majesty could not be persuaded to give her consent to the Scotch queen's death; notwithstanding by that special commission abovesaid her crimes were found to be great, and she guilty of high treason. And thereupon thought necessary by a special commission to call the states of the realm together in parliament, for their judgment and resolution in this weighty affair. When both houses, well weighing the imminent danger the whole nation was in, as well as the queen's life and safety, made two earnest addresses to her, the one from the lord chancellor for the upper house, the other from the speaker of the house of commons, that execution might be done, according to the sentence given against the Scotch queen. Which cost her majesty two several long and most eloquent speeches, which she made *verbally* (as it is endorsed in the MSS. thereof) in answer. Which speeches may be read in our historians. But in the issue she desired them to find out some other expedient than that queen's death.

The petition of both houses to the queen against the Scots queen.

In her first speech she desired some further time to deliberate about it in these words: (I transcribe out of the lord treasurer's MS.) " That she thought they did not look " for a present resolution; the rather, for that it was not " her manner, in matters of far less moment, to give speedy " answer without due consideration: so in this, of such im- " portance, she thought it very requisite, with earnest prayer " to beseech his divine Majesty so to illuminate her under- " standing, and inspire her with his grace, as she might do " and determine that which should serve to the establish- 370
" ment of his church, the preservation of their estates, and " properties of the commonwealth under her charge."

And in the conclusion of her latter speech to the parliament twelve days after, when they again earnestly required her to sign the warrant for the execution, she thus put it off again: " Their judgments she condemned not: neither

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" did she mistake their reasons. But prayed them to accept " her thankfulness, excuse her doubtfulness, and take in " good part her answer answerless, &c. That therefore, if " she should say she would [not] do what they requested, it " would be, peradventure, more than she thought. And to " say she would not do it, might perhaps breed peril of " that their labour to preserve; being more than their own " wisdoms and discretion would seem convenient, circum- " stances of place and time being duly considered."

The sentence against the Scotch queen proclaimed. Camd. Eliz. p. 369.

Add, that in the beginning of December was issued forth her majesty's proclamation and declaration of the sentence pronounced by the nobility in the commission against the Scots queen. In which proclamation the queen seriously protested, that this publication was extorted from her, to the exceeding grief of her mind, by a kind of necessity, as the historian relates. But addeth, " That there were some " that thought this to proceed from the art and guise " of women; who, though they desire a thing never so " much, yet will always seem to be constrained and forced " to it." And again, thus he writes, " That upon the Scots " queen's death, the first news thereof brought to her ma- " jesty, she conceived great grief thereupon, or *pretended*."

The queen charged with hypocrisy unjustly.

But this seems but an odious insinuation; and would have been too mean a piece of hypocrisy, beneath the queen. And those solemn and earnest protestations she used in her speeches to the states of her realm in parliament, the delays she made, the scruples she put to her judges and learned in the laws of England, shew how concerned and serious she was; and unwilling, and almost resolved in her own mind, to proceed no further with that queen than a close restraint; at least yet awhile; as what is said before, and what shall follow after, will declare.

Upon the continued solicitations of those about the queen, for signing a warrant for the Scotch queen's execution, she unwillingly did so; ordering Davison, her secretary, to do it under the great seal; but thinking to keep the warrant so prepared, without sending it away, to lie by in readiness. But the council being acquainted by the secretary with

what was done, knowing no more of the queen's meaning, in haste ordered it to be sent away; among whom was the lord treasurer Burghley. And accordingly the fatal execution was done. For the particulars thereof I refer the reader to our historian. CHAP. I. Anno 1586. Camd. Eliz.

But as soon as the news of it was brought to the queen, she fell into an exceeding perturbation and passion, and particularly expressed a great anger and indignation against some of her council; and immediately commanded them out of her presence, and banished them the court. One of whom, which was the only one I meet with by name, was her great counsellor, the lord treasurer Burghley: who being under the queen's displeasure, took it exceedingly to heart; as being under her frowns for a fault of ignorance: not knowing her private mind for delay of the sentence so signed by her; and when he knew it, confessing his sorrow for it to her: after which he hoped for her pardon. He felt the burden of the queen's anger, who had so long been accustomed to her favour, and so near about her person; and now to remain so long estranged from her sight and presence. He thought the queen too severe for what he had ignorantly done. It brought to his remembrance God's dealing with penitent offenders: merciful and ready to forgive. And that nothing became a prince more than clemency. These and many more were the melancholy thoughts and pious meditations of this lord, during his banishment from the court. Which take at length from a paper of his own writing, in many short significant sentences, which I present here, transcribed thence by me. Beginning; The queen angry, banishes her presence the lord treasurer. 371 No. III.

" *Peccatum ignorantia commissum.*

" *Anima si peccaverit per ignorantiam, offeret arietem, et dimittetur ei; quia per ignorantiam.*

" *Melius est, ut benefacientes (si voluntas Dei velit) pati,*
" *quam malefacientes.*

" *Quem diligit Deus, corripit, &c.*

" The queen meant it not. *Esto.* This not known.

" Mr. Davison. The bill signed. His affirmation," &c.

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These are a few of that lord's written sentences: for the rest consult the Appendix.

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His letters to her.

Under this his forced retirement from court, he was very uneasy, and could not bear the queen's indignation. And to avert it, and reconcile himself unto her favour, he endeavoured to have access to her, to declare more at large to her his innocency, or to pray a mitigation of her displeasure. But that would not be granted. Divers humble letters also and messages he sent to her in the mean time, by Mr. Vice-chamberlain, Mr. Hatton, the lord Buckhurst, and Mr. Wolley, one of her secretaries for the Latin tongue. Some of these letters I meet with, being his own minutes.

The first whereof was dated Feb. 13, that is, five days after the Scotch queen's death. Endorsed thus by his own hand; *A writing from me to her majesty.* Beginning;

His first letter, Feb. 13.

"Most mighty and gracious sovereign, I know not with "what manner of words to direct my writing, to utter any "thing like a counsellor, as I was wont to do. I find my- "self barred so to do by your majesty's displeasure, de- "clared to me many ways. To utter any thing in my de- "fence, being in your displeasure, I doubt, whilst your "displeasure lasteth, how to be heard, without increase of "the same: to utter nothing, being secluded from your "presence by my lameness, but so to rest also dumb, must "needs increase or continue your majesty's heavy displea- "sure; and therewithal my misfortune is far beyond others "in like case; who coming to your presence, may, with "humbleness, boldly say that for themselves, that I also "may as truly allege for my own private defence.

372 "Therefore, most gracious queen, in this perplexity I "am sometime deeply thrown down, near to a pit of de- "spair; and yet some other time I am drawn up to be- "hold the beams of your accustomed graces; and there "held up and supported with the pillar of my conscience "afore God, and my loyalty towards your majesty. And "so I am, I thank God, prepared patiently to suffer the

" discomfort of the one, or enjoy the comfort of the other: " confessing both to be in your majesty's power.

" I hear with grief of mind and body also, that your ma- " jesty doth utter more heavy, hard, bitter, and minatory " speeches against me than almost against any other. And " so much the more do they wound me, in the very strings " of my heart, as they are commonly and vulgarly reported: " although by some with compassion of me, knowing my " long, painful, faithful, and dangerous unspotted service. " But by divers other, I think, with applause, as maliceing " me for my true service against your sworn enemies. And " if any reproach, yea, and if any punishment of me may " pleasure your majesty, and not hinder your reputation, " (which is hardly to be imagined,) I do yield thereto. " And with a most willing mind do offer unto your ma- " jesty, as a sacrifice, either to pacify your displeasure, or " for your majesty to pleasure any other, (friend or un- " friend,) to acquit myself freely from all places of public " government: whereof none can be used by me to your " benefit, being in your displeasure. And I shall neverthe- " less continue, in a private estate, as earnest in continual " prayer for your majesty's safety, and my country, as I " was wont to be in public actions.

" And whatsoever worldly adversity your majesty shall " lay upon me, I constantly and resolutely shall, by assist- " ance of God's grace, affirm, prove, and protest to the " world, during the few days of my life, that I never did, " or thought to do any thing with mind to offend your ma- " jesty; (or to commit any unhonest act;) but in the pre- " sence of God, who shall judge both quick and dead, I do " avow, that I was never in my underage more fearful to " displeasure my masters and tutors, than I have been al- " ways inwardly, both out of and in your presence, to mis- " content your sacred majesty. Which proceeded, I thank " God, of due reverence, and not of doubtfulness how to do " my duty.

" Thus, most gracious queen, being by my mishap de- " prived of your presence, I have confusedly uttered my

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" deep griefs, and offered the sacrifice of a sorrowful " wounded heart, ready to abide your majesty's censure, " and to wear out the short and weak thread of my old, " painful, and irksome days, as your majesty shall limit " them; being glad that the night of my age is so near by " service and sickness, as I shall not long wake to see the " miseries that I fear others shall see that are like to " overwatch me. From the which I shall and do pray the " Almighty God to deliver your majesty's person, as he " hath hitherto done, by miracle, rather than by ordinary " means.

" And having ended that concerneth myself, I cannot in " duty forbear to put your majesty in mind, that if Mr.
373 " Davison [who sent away the warrant for the Scots queen's " execution] be committed to the Tower, who best knoweth " his own cause, the example will be sorrowful to all your " faithful servants, and joyful to your enemies. And as I " can remember many examples in your father's, your bro- " ther's, your sister's, yea, your own time, of committing of " counsellors, either to other men's houses or to their own; " so can I not remember any one example of a counsellor " committed to the Tower; but where they are attainted " afterwards of high treason; and so were served after- " wards. And what your majesty intendeth towards this " your servant, I know not; but sure I am, and I presume " to have some judgment therein, I know not a man in the " land so furnished universally for the place he had, neither " know I any that can come near him."

Thus it was in the first minutes of this lord's letter concerning Davison; but in his review thereof sent to the queen, it ran in these words, with more reserve.

" I beseech your majesty pardon me to remember to let " you understand my opinion of Mr. Davison. I never per- " ceived by him that he thought your majesty would have " misliked to have had an end of the late capital enemy. " And what your majesty minded to him in your displea- " sure, I hear to my grief. But for a servant in that place, " I think it hard to find a like qualified person. Whom to

" ruin, in your heavy displeasure, shall be more your ma- CHAP. I.
" jesty's loss than his.

" W. B." Anno 1586.

But notwithstanding this intercession of the lord treasurer for secretary Davison, and the great character he gave the queen of him and of his abilities, so highly was she incensed against him, that he was brought into the star-chamber by a special commission, and severely censured there, deeply fined, cast out of his place, and imprisoned, and that for a long time after. And where I cannot but observe the account given of him by our historian, very different from what that lord wrote of him to the queen, who was a good judge, and knew him well. For thus that historian: " That he was a man of good ingenuity, but not " well skilled in court-arts; brought upon the court-stage " on purpose (as most men thought) to act for a time his " part in the tragedy; and soon after, that part being acted " on the stage, attire laid aside, he was thrust down from " the stage," &c.

The great character of secretary Davison.

Character of him by Camden. Eliz. p. 392.

There was a second letter written by the abovesaid lord to the queen four days after the former, viz. Febr. 17. endorsed thus by his own hand; *My second letter to her majesty, sent by Mr. Wolley: but not received.* The substance whereof was, that she would hear his plea: " That he could " not understand her majesty's offence against him was di- " minished, notwithstanding that humble submission of his, " to endure that might pacify the same. And that he was " continually oppressed with grief for her displeasure. That " he could imagine no remedy, but continuance of his hum- " ble intercession, either to receive his submission, or rather " first to hear him answer for thought and deed, as if God " himself should call him to judgment. That her majesty, 374 " he understood, was more deeply offended with him than " the rest; though he was no more to be charged than " others: which he supposed increased, because her ma- " jesty had not heard him, as she had others that she had " admitted to her presence; while he, by his lameness and

Another letter of the lord treasurer to the queen.

BOOK II.

" infirmity, could not come," &c. But the whole perfect letter I had rather leave to be read in the Appendix.

Anno 1586. No. IV.

Little countenance yet shewn him from the queen, he addressed another letter to her, dated Febr. 23, which he thus endorsed; *A copy of my writing to her majesty, delivered by my lord of Buckhurst*; importing, " That he was not " yet come to any understanding what special means to use, " to pacify her majesty's heavy displeasure, so often and " grievously expressed both to his friends and many others. " Whereby he was so overthrown in his weakly spirit, as no " part of his mind was sound to perform that he ought to " do. A torment such as the like he never felt..... That " he knew surely by many experiences her majesty's sin- " cerity and Christian conscience such, as, except he had " been faulty indeed, she would not thus extremely use " him. And therefore he did not think any thing but ho- " nourably of her, as he was persuaded." See this whole letter also reposited in the Appendix.

Another letter to her by the same.

No. V.

In this and his former letter he desired admission into her presence, that he might relate more at large what he could say for himself in his own vindication; whereupon the queen signified to those about her, that he might do that in writing: which he understanding by his son, (to whom the queen seems to have said it,) excused it in his next letter, " knowing what ill-willers he had about the " court, [whereof the earl of Leicester seems to be one,] " who would be apt to put sinister interpretations upon " what he should write, and that a writing was but a com- " position of words, that might otherwise be taken for want " of his being present to explain and reply."

The lord treasurer at court; how received.

The treasurer's first admission to the court, as I find, was some weeks after; when the queen wanted his advice concerning her matters with the Low Countries: but being in her presence, she fell foul upon him for the late grudge she bore him for the Scotch queen: whereupon again he fell into great discontent; and absented himself from the court: but composed a writing, shewing the cause thereof: which was to be delivered to the queen by Mr. Vice-cham-

berlain: but, whatever the reason, not delivered. This writing will likewise be found in the Appendix: which I transcribed from the original copy; thinking this paper, as well as the rest, highly deserving to be preserved, being written by so great a statesman, and tending further to illustrate that great piece of queen Elizabeth's history. Anno 1586. N°. VI.

As for the unhappy secretary, Davison, (whose good character given to the queen was read before,) and who underwent a severe sentence in the star-chamber, for his too hasty sending away the queen's warrant for the Scotch queen's execution, we have the management of that cause told us at large by our historian. But there is something omitted, which will serve to illustrate that affair, and to set Davison's case in a true light. Which finding in certain MS. collections, I think very proper here to be inserted: being Camd. Eliz. sub ann. 1587. 375 MSS. Foxii.

Certain articles ministered to Davison, upon the execution of queen Mary of Scots, by Mr. Vice-chamberlain and Mr. Wolley, the 12th of March, 1586.

" 1. Whether, upon the signing of the warrant, her majesty " gave it not in express charge and commandment unto " you, to keep the same secret; and not to utter it to any " body? Interrogatories ministered to Davison.

" 2. Whether her majesty commanded you to pass it to " the great seal?

" 3. Whether, when it was passed the great seal, her ma- " jesty charged you, and that on your life, not to let it go " out of your hand, until you knew her further pleasure?

" 4. Whether her majesty ever willed or commanded you " to deliver it to any body, or to cause it to be executed?

" 5. Whether six or seven days after it was passed the " great seal, and in your custody, her majesty told you not " in the gallery, that she had a better way to proceed there- " in, than that which was before devised?"

Davison's answers.

To the first he answereth, " That he hopeth her majesty " doth not forget, how she commanded my lord admiral to " send for him to bring the warrant unto her; having, as

BOOK II. Anno 1586.

" his lordship told me, resolutely determined to go through " with the execution. That upon my coming to her, it " pleased her to call for the warrant, and voluntarily to sign " it, without giving me any such commandment as is ob- " jected. Which he affirmeth, as in the presence of God.

" To the second he saith, he trusteth her majesty, in her " princely and good nature, will not deny to have given him " express order to carry it to the seal; and how she willed " it should be forthwith despatched. Whereupon he offer- " ing to have gone to my lord chancellor the same forenoon " [of the day] it was signed, she commanded him to go in " the afternoon, because of some other business he had: " which he did accordingly. So as it was between five or " six of the clock at night, ere he was with my lord chan- " cellor. So as my lord admiral knowing it by the occasion " above remembered, and my lord chancellor by her ma- " jesty's express commandment: besides, that at the same " time it pleased her majesty to give him order to impart " it in the way to Mr. Secretary Walsingham, as her ma- " jesty may best remember; he hopeth there shall appear " no cause of any such commandment to conceal it, and " not to utter it to any, as is objected.

" To the third, he protesteth before God, he neither re- " membereth nor received any such commandment given " him. For if he had, he would not have concealed it " from my lords, that joined in sending down the said com- " mission.

376 " To the fourth he answereth, That as her majesty did " not expressly will him to deliver it to any body, so did he " never understand her majesty's meaning to be other, than " to have it proceeded in, considering the hourly danger " she lived in, and how much therefore it imported her life " and state: beside other reasons too long to be here re- " hearsed.

" To the last, he remembereth, that upon some letters " received from Mr. Paulet, [keeper of the Scotch queen,] " her majesty falling into some complaint of him, upon such " cause as she best knoweth, she uttered such a speech,

" *That she could have matters otherwise done.* The parti- CHAP. I.
" culars whereof I leave to her best remembrance."

He was examined again upon the like interrogatories the 14th and 16th of March following. Anno 1586.

CHAP. II.

Revenge meditated in Scotland for the Scots queen's death. Not safe to call in the assistance of Spain. Advice of the event thereof from a statesman in England to one about that king's person. His deliberation about it. Several writings and books on this occasion. A MS. of the order and manner of the Scots queen's execution. The dean of Peterburgh's speech to her: and prayer. A book, De Maria Scotorum Regina, totaque ejus contra Regem Conjuratione. Maria Stuarta innocens a Cæde Darliana. *Sentences against the queen of Scots.* Cædes Darliana: *dedicated to cardinal Allen.*

WHEN this queen was thus brought to her end by a violent death, both the king her son, and the Scotch nation, at least many of them, were highly enraged, and studied revenge immediately. To withstand whom, as well as other princes abroad to assist him in this quarrel, exercised now the thoughts and cares of the English court. Concerning the discourse of the Scots in Flanders, I gather something from a letter of intelligence writ to the lord treasurer by Anthony Coppley, an English fugitive there; that concerning the assistance to be given the said king by the Spaniard, who mortally hated queen Elizabeth, they alleged, " Their " king was too politic to use the king of Spain's assistance " in revenge of his mother's death; for fear lest that king's " forces should so much prevail in the revenge, that at last 377
" he might prove another Saxon to the poor Brutain; by " defeating him of his crown, and conquering it [Britain] " himself. And that in this respect *policy*, say they, did re- " quire, he should rather attend the troubles, very like to " ensue upon her majesty's decease, within England, than

The king of Scots' thought of revenge of his mother's death.

Declines the king of Spain's aid.

BOOK II. Anno 1586.

" to make thereof his advantage for the revenge of her " death, and the recovery of the crown, as he could." This was writ some time after, at their more mature deliberation.

And another letter about the same time, writ to the same lord from an anonymous catholic in Flanders, (who seems to be sir Richard Shelly,) gives this intelligence concerning this Scotch affair. " The Scottish discourses in Flanders " are to this effect; That notwithstanding that king's pre- " tended amity with England, that sure he bore a reveng- " ing mind of his mother's death. Which one day, they say, " they do not doubt will be fulfilled upon the realm by the " wars, and the assistance of the Dane. Their prophecies, " they say, run all to this effect; That in king James shall " be united both nations, England and Scotland, both to " his crown. Meantime it is policy and very meet his ma- " jesty dissemble his revenging mind, till advantage be pre- " sented for the action; namely, her majesty's death, when " all the realm is likely to be divided into factions and con- " troversies; what for the crown, what for religions, or " other cause. Colonel Stuard, who is presently in great " favour with the king, much induceth the king to that re- " venge. None more. Likewise the earl of Huntley is al- " together, say they, inclined that way." These informations were sent four or five years after; so long did those thoughts of revenge stick in their minds. But to return back.

The Scots discourse in Flanders, in respect of revenge.

There is an excellent letter written upon the queen of Scots' death to some Scotch nobleman near about the king's person, (seems to be Lethington,) shewing his danger in proceeding to war with the queen; and how uncertain and unhappy it might prove to him, to require assistance from foreign princes against her. It seems to be writ by the lord treasurer. And though it be somewhat long, hath so many curious things contained in it concerning the state of affairs with respect to England and Scotland, and the neighbouring kingdoms, that it may deserve exemplifying.

An excellent letter to a Scotch nobleman; to dissuade that king from war.

" Sir, I am sorry to find by your letter, that the execu-

" tion of the king your sovereign's mother should be likely
" to bring forth any such effects as you seem to affirm
" will undoubtedly ensue, upon the knowledge thereof in Anno 1586.
" Scotland, and work an alienation in the king's your sove-
" reign's mind, and of that people, from the amity of this
" realm; the continuance whereof hath ever been so care-
" fully sought and desired. But it is hoped here, besides
" the king's own single judgment, that you and others of
" wisdom and experience about him; that depend upon
" your said sovereign's fortune; whose advice he will, as in
" a matter of so great importance, [listen to,] deeply weigh-
" ing the same; shall easily judge, how unfit it will prove
" every way for the one estate to enter into that course, that
" cannot cure that already done, and in the end but turn to
" his dishonour and danger, and certain prejudice, instead
" of reputation and credit: which he may seem to affect 378
" thereby.

" For if hereupon he will needs make war with this
" realm, three things would be considered. First, how
" just and honest this war will appear in the eye of the
" world. Then, what means he hath to go through withal.
" Lastly, what may be the consequent thereof any way;
" and especially in respect of that he pretendeth, the suc-
" cession of this crown: which hereby shall come into
" question.

" Now for the justness of the quarrel; without which it
" is not only unlawful to enter into war, but nothing else
" can be expected but unhappy success; he taking arms
" against this realm in revenge of an action so necessarily
" done by general consent, for the safety of her majesty's
" person and this state, and accompanied with that justice,
" as all the world may be judges of the honourable and
" upright proceedings used in that behalf. It can no way
" be avoided, but he must be said to oppose himself to the
" course of justice; and so consequently to the judgment of
" God himself, whose minister this state was in the execution
" thereof. And so we, standing in defence of justice, shall
" not lack the arm of assistance of Almighty God against all

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" the potentates of the world, that shall in so unjust and " desperate a quarrel attempt any thing against this realm.

" And as for the means of going through with such an " enterprise, if your sovereign shall trust but to his own " strength and forces, no man can be so simple, as not to " see that Scotland of itself is not in case to make head " against England, augmented in power and wealth; as " Scotland is decreased, by reason that France, which served " themselves hereof in times past to annoy England withal, " (which had then a footing in France,) having not now " the like use of that realm, as heretofore they have had, " hath not the like effect. And as for foreign means, when " you have considered how long you shall solicit for a little " assistance, as the king's expectation found by experience " to his cost; and when you have it, how uncertain the " success may be of all your attempts against England's " forces and resistance; which, by the conjunction of Hol- " land and Zealand, hath gotten that strength by sea and " by grace, that, though all the princes of Europe were " banded against this realm, we should have no just cause " to fear that they should prevail to do us harm, standing " upon our defence.

" If therefore due consideration be had of these things, " and withal the consequence of this war, if the king " (things that heretofore have fallen out in experience) " should happen either to be taken, or, being overcome in " field, or otherwise, be enforced to retire himself out of the " realm, having justly incensed the state against him, so far " as they shall think meet utterly to disable him for the " succession, as by law they may; to what extremity he " should be reduced, I doubt not but it will be seen of " men of judgment, not transported with passion, to be " every way best for his majesty to forbear such a despe-
379 " rate and violent course, as may render him subject to " many hazards and inconveniences. Where, on the other " side, carrying him with that moderation that becomes a " prince of his perfection and education, and is necessary in " this remediless accident, he shall both in the mean while

" happiliest provide for his own security, and for the time " to come, through his kind of good usage of her majesty, " who hath deserved so greatly at his hands, win unto him- " self the hearts, good-will, and affection of the whole body " of the realm.

" For it cannot but fall out, if a course of revenge should " be taken upon this late accident, whereby the people of " this island shall be brought once to draw blood out of one " another, the ancient enmity between the two nations, " which now in a manner remaineth quite extinct and bu- " ried, should be revived, in such sort as the English would " never endure or accept him for their prince, who had " been author of so unfortunate a breach and disturbance " of the common quiet of both realms; the same being " grounded upon so unjust a quarrel; but especially the " whole nobility, by whose sentence the late queen was " condemned; the same being approved by parliament; " seeing the king to take it so hainously, and carry such a " bloody, vindicative mind, should have good cause to think " it touched them nearly. And you may be sure they " would rather hazard the marching over their bellies, than " to yield to the government of such a prince, as they " should stand in doubt would one day call their honours " and lives in question.

" And what relief or remedy he might expect to obtain " in such an extremity at foreign potentates' hands, who " are not very hasty at these days to embark themselves in " dangerous enterprises for other men's sakes, without some " further discourse, don Antonio may serve for a lively " example: wherein, as in a mirroir, he may behold his " fortune, falling into the like distressed estate.

" And yet to descend into a little more particular consi- " deration of this point, which you can make account of for " to deal with in any such enterprise. That is, the French " king, and the king of Spain, either of which to depend " on; as to whose assistance he may attain to the present " possession of this crown, whosoever shall go about to per- " suade him to take such a course of counsel, shall, in the

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" opinion of best understanding men, discover either great
" passion, or else plain want of fidelity or judgment.
" For the first, in common reason it is not safe for any
" prince to repose his strength and trust in them to whose
" desires and designs his greatness and good success may
" prove an impediment and hinderance. In which respect
" neither of the two kings can simply wish your sovereign's
" good: for, as you know, his religion is odious unto them
" both. And if heretofore it bred a difficulty in his mother's
" proceedings with the catholic princes, when it was sometime
" hoped or suggested that his mother's wisdom and autho-
" rity (being at liberty) would alter his humour and dispo-
" sition that way, which notwithstanding moved her to pro-
" ceed after that manner in the enterprise now lately, with-
" out any consideration of him; professing to make the
380 " king of Spain her heir, in case her son became not ca-
" tholic: much more now shall the said princes think they
" have cause to be backward in the advancement of such
" an one to this crown, who shall be likely to be every way
" prejudicial to the Rome religion, being a man, and so
" much more mighty by the union of the crowns.

" Besides, it is merely repugnant to the policy of France,
" where it can, in respect of the ancient claim England
" makes to that crown, in any case to suffer the uniting of
" this island under one prince. So as for a king of France
" to help a king of Scots to the crown of England, were
" but in truth to enable and strengthen him one day to
" prosecute his title to that crown. But as the state of
" France presently standeth, I think you shall not find the
" king very forward to cast himself into any foreign war, it
" being well known that full sore against his will he was
" forced by them of the house of Guise to allow of the
" civil wars, notwithstanding this glorious pretext, where-
" with they of Guise have entangled and embarked that
" state. For the which, as he hath good cause, (whatso-
" ever show he now maketh,) no doubt he hateth them, and
" wisheth their confusion in heart. And yet perhaps the
" French politics should be content, (although it lieth not

" in us divers ways to stop and prevent any such malicious
" practice,) for their own ease and quiet, to serve them-
" selves of their sovereign's quarrel for the present, for to
" transport the war out of their country into this island;
" yet you may thereby plainly discern, how your king shall
" be but used as an instrument for to serve a turn; as his
" predecessors heretofore have been, to the effusion of much
" Scottish blood, and the spoil of that realm. Besides, it were
" no good counsel to be given by those that depend upon the
" French king's fortune, to advance a king of Scots, too
" near allied in blood to the house of Guise: by whose as-
" sistance this design to possess that crown, and to depose
" the king, (a matter by him greatly doubted,) may the
" better take effect.

" Now for the assistance of Spain; it is thought his age,
" and unsettled estate every way, would move him rather
" to incline to peace, if it were offered, than to hearken to
" any new enterprises. But otherwise, if he should give
" ear thereto, it cannot be but most dangerous to your
" king, considering his ambition, his practices, his power,
" his colour of right. For it is well known how he had
" figured himself an empire over all this part of the world:
" what plots he laid for the compassing thereof. A foun-
" dation was laid for the subduing of this land in queen
" Mary's time, he being then our king in right of his wife.
" The conquest was fully concluded afterwards under co-
" lour of religion; as by the prince of Orange, then of the
" privy-council, since revealed. He now pretendeth him-
" self to be the *first catholic prince* of the blood royal of
" England; being reputed before, though falsely, heir of
" the house of Lancaster, as by the pedigrees and books
" published by the bishop of Rosse, and others in his fa-
" vour, may appear. It was practised even during the late
" queen of Scots' life by the Jesuits and divers gentlemen,
" to advance him to the crown by way of election, to the
" prejudice of her and her line, as meetest to restore the 381
" Romish authority, both here and elsewhere.

" For although your sovereign's disposition was not des-

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" perate, they assured themselves, that he would not part " with the *supremacy* no more than king Henry VIII. we " may easily and rightly judge how far he would prevail of " the donation made of this crown by the late queen of " Scots, in her letters promised to be confirmed by her last " will and testament. Whereof his ambassador at Paris, " don Bernardino de Mendoza, sticketh not already to " make open vaunt; and what herself hath practised to " that effect with her servants, since her condemnation, " God knoweth. Lastly, being the strongest, what should " let him to dispose of the prey as he listeth. Warrant he " could want none, so long as the popes may be, as they " are, of his own and only making.

" All which laid together argues how dangerous a mat- " ter it might prove for your sovereign upon the said Span- " iard, or any such kind of friend's assistance, which might " be converted to his own disherison, as well as to his ad- " versaries' annoyance.

" And thus, by chance of this religion, he shall be able to " mend the matter, or better his condition in any respect, is " very unprobable, considering the said private respects of " their own estates and pretensions will still remain. And " for the king of Spain's part, the usurpation of the king- " dom of Portugal gives evident proof that his ambition " cannot be restrained, when he hath the advantage by any " bonds of religion, honour, or justice. And the simple " assistance poor don Antonio hath received, notwithstand- " ing he is a catholic, doth sufficiently shew what is to be " hoped for, if ought happened to your sovereign in the " like case. But contrariwise, the king's revolt from reli- " gion, (which God defend,) likely to be judged a want of " religion, rather than a change, will be his utter overthrow, " and discredit to all Christendom. For as it shall lose " him his natural subjects and well-willers, both at home " and abroad, so will it win him but hollow-hearted friends; " in respect that no assurance can be had of a constancy in " a religion, if it should appear, that upon stomach he shall " fall from his God, and that religion wherein he was ex-

" traordinarily instructed and brought up. Neither can he " in reason look upon the sudden and at an instant to be " inheritor of his mother's party and credit in that respect " here; which notwithstanding was not sufficient to hold " all the catholics of England united.

" And as for any other objections that may be made, " whereby he should seem to be urged and constrained to " seek after foreign supports; as in respect of the offence " that may have been already taken by the nobility and " people of this land, that he hath, contrary to their earnest " desire and joint pursuit, being assembled in parliament, " mediated for his mother's life, it lies in his own power to " remove the same, if he leave, when it is time, as he per- " sisted, while there were hopes.

" As also touching that point of the honour and reputa- " tion, whereupon you all seem so much to stand, which " surely he shall be judged sufficient to have cared for and " preserved, in mediating for his said mother, so long as 382 " there was hope, she being alive, whereof all the world " can bear him witness. But seeing she is now dead, and " that the justness and necessity of her execution stoppeth " the course of all slanderous reports that may be made " thereof, the whole proceeding being imparted to all such " as he can desire or careth to have satisfied, it shall be the " more for his honour assuredly, to shew how he can moderate " his passion by reason. And so it was wished by all good " men, both for the common good of this island, and for " his own greatness every way, that he were advised; and " to thank God, who hath delivered him by this means of " a great burden of conscience, which otherwise must have " lien upon him; as at whose hands God would have looked " for a revenge of his father's blood, so innocently and hor- " ribly spilt, by her consent and privity: not to speak of " the goodness of God herein towards him, in establishing " his throne, continually undermined by her practices. The " end whereof, if he be well counselled, will be the begin- " ning of all happiness in Scotland. Where, instead of " being sent for an hostage, or ward, to pope or Spaniard,

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" as the said queen would have made him, he may now ab-
" solutely and quietly reign.

" Thus you see how the care and desire I have of the
" continuance of amity between the two crowns hath car-
" ried me into a longer discourse than I purposed. But
" having collected these, and a number more concerning
" the weal, as I hope, of both realms, to be imparted to you
" by ——— for that I found him unwilling to meddle
" therewith, I thought good to write thus much unto your-
" self, whom I trust I shall not need to exhort and en-
" courage to do all the good offices which on your part
" shall be possible; considering that our satisfaction on this
" behalf shall be joined with the service of God, your own
" sovereign and country; which thereby shall reap the
" blessed fruits of peace."

This wise and well penned letter, with the good counsel given to the king accordingly by that grave counsellor to whom it was written, took effect. For I meet with a paper of that king's, being, as it seems, his own thoughts in that weighty affair, wrote by himself after serious deliberation of his present circumstances. It was thus endorsed; *Reasons for the Scots king's not revenging his mother's death.*

The king's second thoughts of revenging his mother's death. Cotton libr.

" I am unable to revenge the hainous murther committed
" against my dearest mother, by the old enemies of my pro-
" genitors' realm and nation, for divers respects: first, in
" respect of my tender youth, not trained up in dexterity
" of arms, either to withstand injuries, or to conquer mine
" own right, being at all times by gane [by-past] deteint in
" captivity. Next, my excessive cowpit from hand to hand,
" from neydie to neydie, to greedy and greedie; having
" sufficient patrimony and casualty; and yet has none at
" all in store. The divers factions of the spiritual and moral
" estate, every one regarding himself, and not me. Council
" persuading me security of my own estate now, which
" could never have been without faction, if she had been
" left alive. Persuasions never to conjoin myself in matri-
383 " mony, except with a prince having affinity to our own
" religion; or else to be long unmarried: which may cause

" other princes to hold me in reverence. The puissance of " England, which may work a contrary faction of my own " subjects against all my intents; that [may] seize me, Anno 1586. " [and] for imprisoning and betraying in their hands, to be " rewarded with my mother, or else thraldom of perpetual " imprisonment; if of course not all three."

All this had the good conclusion at last of a firm league of friendship between that king and queen Elizabeth, as we shall hear by and by.

This emergence gave occasion of several books to be writ on both sides.

I shall first take notice of an authentic MS. entitled, *The order and manner of the execution of Mary queen of Scots, Febr.* 8. 1586. It was writ by order of the lord treasurer. Beal, clerk of the council, was, I suppose, the writer; who was one of those that went down with the warrant for the execution, and was present at it. He entered upon his said relation with this preface to that lord; "That it might please " his good lordship to be advertised, that according as his " good lordship gave him in commission, he had set down " in writing the time, order, and manner of the execution " of Mary, late queen of Scots, the 8th day of February, " in the year of our Lord 1586; together with the relation " of all such actions, done in the great hall in the castle of " Fotheringay, with the speeches spoken, and things done " by the said queen: with other circumstances and proceed- " ings concerning the same, &c. after the delivery of the " said Scots queen to Tho. Andrews, esq. high sheriff for " her majesty's county of Northampton, to the end of the " execution." I shall only extract a few particulars out of it. It began thus.

A relation of the Scots queen's execution. MSS. Burghl.

" *The preparation.*

" It being certified, the 6th of February late, to the said " queen, by the right honourable the earl of Kent, the earl " of Shrewsbury, and also by sir Amyas Paulet, and sir " Drue Drury, her governors, that she was to prepare her- " self to die the 8th of February next coming, she seemed " not to be in any terror, for ought that appeared by her

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" outward gestures or behaviour, (other than marvelling she " should die;) but rather with smiling cheer and pleasant " countenance digested and received the said admonition of " preparation. As to her, she said, (save the unexpected " execution,) that her death should be welcome unto her, " seeing her majesty was so resolved. And that that soul " were far unworthy the fruition of the joy of heaven for " ever, whose body in this world would not be content to " endure the stroke of execution for a moment. And that " spoken, she wept bitterly, and became silent.

Description of the queen of Scots.

" The 8th of February being come, at the time and " place appointed for the execution, the said queen of " Scots, being of stature tall, of body corpulent, round-" shouldered, her face fat and broad, double-chinned, with
384 " hazel eyes, her borrowed hair; her attire on her head " was on this manner. She had a dressing of lawn, edged " with bonelace; a pomander chain, with an *Agnus Dei*, " about her neck; a crucifix in her hand; a pair of beads " at her girdle; a golden cross at the end of it; a veil of " lawn fastened to her caul, bowed out with wire, edged " round about with bonelace. Her gown was of black satin, " painted, with a train behind, and long sleeves, to the ground, " set with acorn buttons of jet, trimmed with pearl; and " short sleeves of satin black cut, with a pair of purple " sleeves [gloves] of velvet, whole underneath. Then her " kirtle whole of figured black satin. Her petticoat [i. e. " waistcoat] unlaced in the back, of crimson satin. Her pet-" ticoat skirts of crimson velvet: her shoes of Spanish lea-" ther, the rough side outward. A pair of green silk gar-" ters: her nether stocks worsted, coloured watchet, clocked " with silver, and edged on the top with silver; and next " her legs a pair of Jersey hose, white.

" The queen thus appareled, in a kind of joy, without " a desire of deferring of matters, or time, departed her " chamber, and very willingly landed her steps towards the " place of execution; being gently carried and supported " out of her chamber into an entry next the said great hall " by two of sir Am. Powlet's gentlemen: Mr. Andrews,

" the high sheriff, going before her." This I set down the more largely and particularly, to supply Mr. Camden's brevity in the relation both of her attire and appearance. Which he thus flourisheth to the queen's honour. Anno 1586.

" She dressed herself as gorgeously and curiously as she " was wont to do upon festival days, &c. And forth she " came with state, countenance, and presence majestically " composed; a cheerful look, and a matron-like and modest " habit. Her head covered with a linen veil, and that hanging down to the ground. Her prayer-beads hanging at " her girdle, and carrying a crucifix of ivory in her hand." Camd. Eliz. p. 383.

I shall mention another passage from this MS. (being abbreviated in our historian) concerning Melvil, her faithful servant: and his passionate words and tears, meeting her as she was going into the hall to die.

" In the entry, the earl of Kent, the earl of Shrewsbury, " commissioners appointed by her majesty for her said exe- " cution, together with her two governors of her person, " sir Amyas Powlet and sir Drue Drury, and divers knights, " and gentlemen of good account, met her. Where they " found one of that queen's servants, named Melvin, wringing his hands and shedding of tears, and using these " words, Ah! madam, unhappy me; what man on earth " was ever before the messenger of such importunate sorrows " and heaviness as I shall be, when I shall report, that my " good, gracious queen was beheaded in England? His said " tears prevented him of further speech. When the said " queen, pouring out her dying tears, then answered him; " My good servant, cease thy lamentation: for thou hast " cause rather to joy than to mourn: for now shalt thou " see Mary Stuard's troubles receive their long expected end 385 " and determination. For know, said she, good servant, all " the world is but naught, and subject still to more sorrow, " than a whole ocean of tears can bewail. But I pray thee, " said she, report from me, that I die a true woman to my " religion, and like a true woman of Scotland and France. " But God forgive them, said she, that have long desired " my end, and thirsted for my blood, as the hart doth for Melvin's lamentation and words to the queen.

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" the water-brooks. O God, added she, thou art the author " of truth; and truth itself knoweth the inward chamber of " my thoughts; and how I was ever willing that England " and Scotland should be united together. Well, said she, " commend me to my son; and tell him, that I have not " done any thing prejudicial to his state and kingdom of " Scotland."] The historian adds here, (which is not in the MS.) *And admonish him to hold in amity and friendship with the queen of England:* as though it were added by some English or Scottish statesman.] " And do him faithful " service.

" And so dissolving herself again into tears, said, Good " Melvin, farewell. And with her eyes and her cheeks all " besprinkled with tears, as they were, she kissed him; say- " ing again, Farewell, good Melvin, and pray for thy mis- " tress and queen."

Wherein the history is short and imperfect, the MS. will supply; as in several particulars also following.

The commission for her execution read.

How she heard it.

" When she was brought to the scaffold, the commission " for her execution was read openly by Mr. Beal, clerk of " the council, &c. During the reading, the queen was very " silent, listening unto it with so careless a regard, as if it " had not concerned her at all; but rather with so merry a " countenance, as if it had been a pardon from her majesty " for her life. And withal used such a strangeness in her " words and deeds, as though she never knew any of the " assembly, nor been any thing seen in the English tongue." Which Camden expresseth thus shortly; " Beal read the " warrant; she heard it attentively; yet as if her thoughts " were taken up with something else."

The lords had prepared a learned divine, Fletcher, dean of Peterburgh, (afterwards bishop of London,) to attend upon her with his instructions and prayers. Which also are in our historian very defectively related. I go on therefore to transcribe from the MS.

Dean of Peterburgh's speech to her.

" Then Dr. Fletcher, dean of Peterburgh, standing be- " fore without the rails, bending his body with great re- " verence, used these exhortations to her following: Madam,

" the queen's most excellent majesty, (whom God preserve CHAP.
" long to reign over us,) having, notwithstanding this pre- II.
" paration of the execution of justice, justly to be done on Anno 1586.
" you, for your manifold trespasses against her sacred per-
" son, state, and government, for a tender care over your
" soul, which presently departing out of your body must
" either be separated in the true faith of Christ, or perish
" for ever, doth by Jesus Christ offer the comfortable pro-
" mises of Almighty God for all penitent and believing
" Christians. Wherein I beseech your grace, in the bowels
" of Jesus Christ, to consider these three things. First,
" Your estate past, and transitory glory. Secondly, Your 386
" condition present, of death and immortality. Thirdly,
" Your estate to come, either by eternal happiness, or else
" perpetual infelicity.

" For the first, let me speak to your grace, with David
" the king; Forget, madam, yourself and your own people,
" your father's house; forget your natural birth, your regal
" and princely dignity: so shall the King of kings take
" pleasure in your spiritual beauty; making all things as
" dust and clay; doing so, that you may be found of God;
" not having your own righteousness, which is defiled and
" unclean, but the righteousness of God by faith in Jesus
" Christ, upon all and in all that believe: that you may
" know him, whom to know is life everlasting; and the
" virtue of his resurrection, to raise you up at the last day
" to the life everlasting; and the fellowship of his passion,
" that if you suffer with him, you may be glorified with
" him; and the conformity of his death, that by the par-
" taking and communion thereof, you may die to sin, and
" live again to righteousness; and that in your former
" course you be not judged of the Lord.

" Repent you truly of your former sins and wickedness.
" Justify the justice now to be executed: and justify her
" majesty's faithfulness towards you at all times. Have a
" lively faith in Christ, our Saviour and Lord; and so
" shall you be rightly prepared unto death. If your of-
" fences, madam, were as many as the sand upon the sea-

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" shore, and as red and bloody as scarlet, in the eyes of the " Lord, yet the grace and mercy of Jesus Christ shall " purge and make them as white as snow, and shall cast " them into the bottom of the sea, and remember them no " more. The special means to attain to forgiveness of sins " is neither in man nor by man, but by faith only in Jesus " Christ crucified: in whom we being justified have peace " with God, and all spiritual security.

" Secondly, Consider, I beseech your grace, your present " condition of death and mortality; your going from hence, " to be no more seen; your departure into a land where " all things are forgotten; your entrance into a house of " clay, where worms shall be your sisters, rottenness and " corruption your father, as Job speaketh. Where the tree " falls, there it must lie, whether it be toward the south of " life and blessedness, or toward the north of death and " dolefulness. Now is the time of your rising to God, or " your fall to utter darkness; where shall be weeping, wail- " ing, and gnashing of teeth. Hereafter is no time of re- " conciliation, or place of satisfaction. Here life is gotten; " here life is lost.

" And therefore, madam, this day, yea, this hour, if you " will hear God's voice, harden not your heart.

" The hand of death is over your head; the axe is put " to the root of the tree; the throne of the great Judge of " heaven is set; the book of all your life is laid open; and " the particular sentence and judgment is at hand: but if " you flee to the throne of God with boldness only in " Christ's meritorious obedience, and apply it to your soul
387 " with the hand of true faith, your Christ shall be your " life, and your death shall be your vantage, and nothing " else but an entrance into the everlasting glory. And this " your mortality shall in a moment put on immortality. " Madam, even now, madam, doth God Almighty open " unto you a door into a heavenly kingdom; in comparison " whereof all earthly principality is as darkness and the " shadow of death. Shut not up therefore this passage by " the hardening of your heart; and grieve not the Spirit

" of God, which may seal your soul to a day of redemp-
" tion.

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" Thirdly, and lastly of all, I pray your grace to weigh
" with yourself the time and estate to come; either to rise
" in the day of the Lord to the resurrection of life, and to
" hear the joyful and blessed saying, *Come, ye blessed of*
" *my Father;* or the resurrection to condemnation, *Depart*
" with sorrow and grief; *Item, Go, ye accursed, into ever-*
" *lasting fire.* Either to stand on God's right hand, as a
" sheep of his pasture, or at his left hand, as a goat, pre-
" pared unto vengeance: either to be gathered as wheat
" into his barn, or to be cast out as chaff into a furnace of
" unquenchable fire. *Blessed are the dead, which die in*
" *the Lord. In the Lord* shall you die, if in true faith you
" desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ. *With Christ*
" shall you be, if you make Christ your only sacrifice for
" your sins, and a ransom for your redemption.

" O! madam, trust not the devices which God's word
" doth not warrant, which is the true touchstone, and the
" clear lanthorn, to lead and to guide our feet into the way
" of peace. *Jesus Christ yesterday, and to-day, and the*
" *same for ever.* In him are all the promises of good; to
" him give all the scriptures testimony, that through faith
" in his blood we, and all God's church, shall receive re-
" mission of sins. On him all the saints call in the day of
" trouble; and have been heard and delivered. In him
" have they all trusted, and were never confounded. All
" other cisterns are broken, and cannot hold the water of
" everlasting life. *The name of the Lord is a strong*
" *tower: whereunto the righteous fly, and be saved.*

" Therefore, madam, that you may so glorify him in
" your last passage, that you may be glorified of him for
" ever, I most humbly beseech your grace, in the tender
" mercy of God, to join with us present in prayer to the
" throne of grace; that we may rejoice, and you be con-
" verted; and God may turn his loving countenance to-
" ward you, and grant you his peace." None of all this in our historian. I do not repeat the dean's prayer, since it

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may be found in the History of the Church of Peterburgh by Gunton. I go on in the words of the MS.

Anno 1586. She interrupts the dean. Her words to him.

" In uttering these words of exhortation, the said queen " three or four times said unto him, master Dean, trouble " not yourself, nor me; for know, that I am settled in the " ancient, catholic, Romish religion; and in defence thereof, " by God's help, to spend my blood. Then said the dean, " Madam, change your opinion, and repent of your former " sins and wickedness, and settle yourself upon this ground,
388 " that only in Christ Jesu you hope to be saved. Then " she answered again and again with great earnestness, " Good master Dean, trouble no more yourself about this " matter; for I was born in this religion, I have lived in " this religion, and I am resolved to die in this religion. " Then said the earls, when they saw how uncomfortable " she was in the hearing of master Dean's good exhorta- " tion, Madam, we will pray for your grace with master " Dean, if it stand with God's good will, you may have your " heart lightened with the true knowledge of God's good " will and his word, and so die therein. Then answered the " queen, If you will pray for me, I will even from my heart " thank you, and think myself greatly favoured by you; but " to join in prayer with you, my lords, after your manner, " who are not of one and the selfsame religion with me, it " were a sin. I will not." Camden relates it somewhat differently; That when the earls said, they would pray for her, she said she would give them thanks, if they would pray with her.

" Then the lords called for master Dean again, and bade " him say on, or speak what he thought good. Whereupon " the said master Dean, kneeling on the scaffold-stairs, be- " gan his prayers."

These are some extracts taken from the lord treasurer's MS. (endorsed by his own pen) concerning the last conclusion of queen Mary's life.

Concerning this queen there were several other books written, and dispersed about this time.

Two books concerning

Two books came forth in print concerning the death of

the lord Darly, the Scots queen's husband, barbarously murdered. One of them laying the crime to that queen's charge; and the particular concerns she had in it. Which book was entitled, *De Maria Scotorum regina, totaque ejus contra regem conjuratione; fœdo cum Bothuelio adulterio; nefaria in maritum crudelitate et rabie; horrendo insuper et deterrimo ejusdem parricidio; plena et tragica historia.* Another book was writ and published, to clear and vindicate the said queen; entitled, *Maria Stuarta innocens a cœde Darliana.* Writ by Obert Barnestapolius; and dedicated to cardinal Allen, in the year 1588: containing almost the whole history of that queen. Both these books I have seen in the Lambeth library.

Anno 1586. the lord Darly's murder.

There is a volume in the same library, called Memoirs in archbishop Whitgift's time. Which appeareth to consist of loose tracts and papers collected together by the late archbishop Sancroft: thus entitled by his own hand; *Memoirs of affairs in church and state in archbishop Whitgift's time.* In the beginning of this volume is an index of the several treatises contained therein. Among the rest there was one bearing this title, *Sentences against the queen of Scots.* But when I went to look for it according to the page, I found it was torn out. Whereupon I concluded it was done after that archbishop was departed from Lambeth, under the late king James, when some of his priests or party, meeting with such a MS. might think fit to take it away, in favour of the memory of that queen.

Memoirs.

Cœdes Darliana was another book, written by Robert Turner, an Englishman, professor at Ingolstad in Germany, and scholar sometime to Campion the Jesuit. He dedicated his book to cardinal Allen at Rome, but concealed his name. In his epistle to the cardinal he mentioned this his book, with some account of it; viz. that he had lately reduced into the form of an epistle, or rather into a certain body of a short commentary, whatsoever he had read or heard of the cause of the lord Darly's murder, private and public. The private cause was, a friend's asking him, what there was of fact or pretence [*facti vel ficti*] in this infa-

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mous report of the Scots queen, that he should without any colour of art unfold to him clearly and distinctly. The other, namely, the *public* cause of his writing this book was, the fame of the queen. The vindication of whom seemed to him to be publicly useful; whether as a catholic, or as ours, or as one innocent, or as a martyr. He proceeded, "That he had wrote first not with a public eye, but for the "private will and pleasure of a friend; and him he pleased "in every part; and a friend indeed he was of a good "palate; but whether he should please publicly, he was "willing now to try under his [the cardinal's] name, that "if he displeased on one part, on this side at least he "might please: such favour his virtue on all hands ob-"tained by those who knew him; that all might truly say, "that Alan, [the cardinal,] next after More and Fisher, "was at that present time the third flower of the church in "England; to flourish to the glory of heaven, by the per-"petual fruit of his good actions and cogitations." I could not forbear the reciting this part of this author's epistle, wherein that English bigoted cardinal is so applauded.

A genealogy of the queen of Scots.

To all that hath been said of this unfortunate queen, I shall add one memoir more, and so pass on. There was a genealogy of this queen in a large map, printed at Paris, ann. 1580, to prove her direct succession to the crown of England; set forth by Leshley, bishop of Ross, her busy agent abroad: thus entitled; *Genealogia regum Angliæ a Gulielmo Conquestore, (quo duce Normanni, ex Dacis oriundi, Angliam primum occuparunt,) in nostram usque ætatem successionis seriem rectissime deducens.* And at the end, by way of epilogue,

Lectori benevolo.

Habes hic, lector benevole, continuam florentissimi Anglicani regni abhinc quingentis annis successionem; quam non tam serenissimæ Scotorum reginæ Mariæ, ejusque filio, optimæ spei principi, gratificandi studio, proponere volui, quam ut sublato omni de legitima successione scrupulo, totius Britanniæ dignitati, paci ac saluti, consulatur; et omnis seditionis materia, quæ inde suboriri posset, penitus

extinguatur. Vale, et huic nostro labori fave. J. Lesleus, epis. Ross. Parisiis, anno MDLXXX. CHAP. II.

In this map, when the genealogy reacheth to queen Mary, is her picture in the print set at large: and under her, when the stem comes to queen Elizabeth, her picture stands in a much less compass. Anno 1586.

CHAP. III. 390

A league made between the queen and king of Scots. The grudge of some of the Scotch nobility at it. Dangers on all hands from abroad. Drake sent forth with a fleet. Intelligence from the Isle of Wight. The queen charged to sow sedition among princes. Answered. King of Navar's danger. Consultation for him. The queen ready to assist him at Rochel. An English officer going to serve in Holland taken by the Spaniard: examined. His answers. Upon some overtures between the queen and Spain, the advice of Ramelius, the Danish ambassador. Difference between the lord deputy of Ireland and council. Bishop of Meath's letter therenpon.

League between queen Elizabeth and the king of Scots.

UPON the maturest thoughts of the king and the state in Scotland, it was concluded, that a firm peace should be made with queen Elizabeth. And there were heads drawn up, and concluded, of a strict league between the queen and king James, for the defence of each other in religion: concluded at Barwick upon Tweed, July 5, 1586. The commissioners on the English side were the earl of Rutland, lord Evers, and Tho. Randolph. Commissioners on the Scotch, the earl of Bothwel, and Boide. The peace the king made up chiefly by himself, consulting but with few; a great many of his great men not made privy to it, as they expected, and in expectance of gratification from the queen. So that when they were advertised of it by Randolph, the great agent on the queen's part, they seemed much discontented, and had words sounding to their disallowance thereof.

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Randolph the queen's ambassador, his letter concerning some noblemen in Scotland discontented.

Of this, Randolph soon acquainted the lord treasurer. But yet withal that they complied at length. His letter unfolds the matter more fully; which was as follows: "The matters of late had gone so far awry, partly, under "a colour, that the noblemen are discontented that so "great a matter the king hath yielded unto by himself "without them, by granting unto the league. By it either "they think themselves neglected, not to have the honour "to be made privy unto it; or for that some of them look "for thanks at her majesty's hands, or some for gain. That "I assure your lordship, that for a time I thought my tra-"vail had been quite in vain; though it fell out otherwise, "(as by a former short letter he had signified unto Mr. "Secretary,) not doubting but his honour was privy unto
391 "them. Yet not so clear, but that (as he proceeded) he "found them remain both discontented towards their king, "so little to regard them; and also, as far as they dared "speak of her majesty, they were so meanly thought of, as "in a case of so great weight, which bound both themselves "and posterity, it should be ended without their advice. "But howsoever they, or whatsoever they took it, it was "then concluded; and all other her majesty's commands "agreed unto by the king ... that the first sum granted "shall be yielded unto by her majesty; though not now, "yet hereafter. As also some such instrument or testimony "to proceed from her majesty; as by it should be assured, "that she will suffer nothing to be done that should be "prejudicial to his pretended right, during her life.

"That though these were the causes, viz. the noblemen, "the money, and the assurance; yet he [the king] seemed "especially to be grieved with some words in her majesty's "letters: as not coming to that good expecting of his do-"ings, as he looked for. In which he thought to have "deserved most entire thanks. And also that she should "think him ill advised, as her majesty writ, by his coun-"sellors. Which not a little offended a secretary, [i. e. of "that king.] The ambassador added, that he had excused "all, and had brought him rather content to bear it in

" silence, than further to deal in a matter past, and remedi- CHAP. III.
" less.

" Concluding, that for all matters touching his negocia- Anno 1586.
" tion, he referred himself to that which at more length he
" had written to Mr. Secretary; and so humbly took his
" leave." By way of postscript he subjoined these words:
" The Scots impatient to bear any words of disdain, where
" he [the king] may be revenged."

The queen this year had enemies on all hands of her; In danger of invasion; Drake with a fleet sent forth.
and continual apprehensions of invasion, especially from Spain, now that the queen had taken the people of the Low Countries under her protection. And to secure herself by sea, sir Francis Drake was sent out with forty galleys, for defence and offence: and did notable execution: which our histories mention. And of this, sir George Ca- Intelligence from the Isle of Wight.
rew, governor of the Isle of Wight, gave intelligence from thence unto the earl of Sussex, lord lieutenant of the county of Southampton, upon occasion of the strong report that came to court, that they were all up in that Isle of Wight. Which, as things then stood abroad, inclined men to believe. Whence the said lord lieutenant despatched a letter to the said governor for information: who the very next day (viz. June the 8th) answered to this tenor:

" That finding there, by the strange bruits and reports Sir G. Carew the governor, his letter.
" that should be published, of some stir and unlawful as-
" sembly there in the Wight, whereof it should arise he
" could not guess. For, thanks be to God, (as he proceeded,)
" we have corn sufficient to serve until harvest; in every
" market-day served so plentifully, that half brought thi-
" ther was not bought. The price was 4*s.* and 13 groats.
" That in the shires of England he thought not much better
" cheap. For finding the small yield of corn this year, he
" made a general search of all the corn in the island: and 392
" so divided the proportion thereof, to serve the market
" and country weekly between that and harvest, that all
" buyers stand most contented; and the sellers held them-
" selves but well dealt withal.

" That therefore whereupon any speech should grow,

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"that they which had not among them, to his knowledge, "a discontented person, were up in arms, and yesterday a "field to be pitched, he could not guess; unless they "should turn to a seditious jest, or being in arms, because "he [the governor] daily mustered and trained the people. "And of pitching a field, in respect that yesterday (added "he) divers gentlemen accompanied me to hunt young "ducks at Nettleston pond; where in the battle 200 were "killed: or else, that some papists would feed discontented "humours with reports of such matters, to be in accord as "the malice of their hearts did wish."

There were at this time some treacherous designs carrying on in this Isle of Wight; a report arising there of the governor's being to be sent thence into Flanders. For thus he went on in his said letter to the earl: "That for him "that came over, and had reported he brought letters from "the council to him, that he was to go into Flanders, he "had made search, but could not as yet find him; but he "intended the morrow night to make a privy search through-"out the island, for all the suspected that should lately be "come over; to try if he could find any practisers, lurking "among them [in the island,] to discover any of these sow-"ers of untruth. Wherein if he could learn any matter of "importance, he would not fail to advertise his lordship "thereof. He added concerning the beacons, that the bea-"cons of Ride should be well watched, to advertise his "lordship upon any occasion whatsoever."

He went on with further intelligence of the dangers on that side the kingdom. "That it might please his lordship further "to understand, that yesterday there arrived there a bark "of that island, that came from Newhaven. The company "whereof made report, that the speeches there were, that "the king of France had sent to St. Tovies in Portugal "sixty sail of ships for salt; and was then preparing a fleet "to go against Rochel, whereof ten sail came out of New-"haven: who were appointed to haul out of Newhaven as "the day before. And that there were two English ships "of Alborough, of the burden of 140 ton apiece; the one

Reports from France.

" had paid thirty crowns to be released, and the other " stayed to serve. And that the common report was, that " the king had sent to her majesty an ambassador, that if " she would by any means aid Rochel, he would have war " with her. Anno 1586.

" That they further said, that the common report in " Newhaven was, that the king of Spain had sent against " sir Francis Drake forty galliasses and caracks; and that " sir Francis Drake had burnt divers cities and towns in " the India." Which proved true enough. Reports of Drake's success against Spain.

" And so, (as the letter ends,) with the humble remem- " brance of my duty to your lordship, I commit you to the " tuition of the only Almighty. From the Park, this 8th 393 " of June, 1586. Your lordship's to his power,

" George Carey."

I repeat this letter thus at large, that by this news, and these reports, the present condition of this kingdom may hence be the better understood; and with what good reason the state now, at this juncture, had to look about them.

Clamours were now raised by the queen's enemies, that she moved sedition among princes. I meet with a speech spoken, as it seems, in parliament, or in some other public audience upon this occasion, of the Jesuits laying to her charge, that she sowed sedition among princes, and assisted rebels, in respect (as it seems) of her taking upon her the protection of the Netherlanders. The speech was as ensueth. The queen charged to create sedition amongst princes.

" The old saying was never more justified, *Mala mens*, " *malus animus*. Mischievous hearts are ever fraught with " slanders. Among the manifold practices which have been " bent against her majesty's most happy government of late " years, there is none doth shew that malice of our common " adversaries more apparently, than do their bitter and " shameless calumniations, *arrepta ex trivio*, as Tully " terms them. And I find it hath been a practice ever- " more of the old calumniator and slanderer of religion, Apo. Vindicated. Memoirs. Lambeth libr.

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" where he cannot otherwise prevail, to assault the same by " reproachful defamation. As I remember Christ himself " was called a glutton, a seducer, a companion with sinners, " and a practiser with devils. St. Stephen was charged, that " he had spoken contumeliously *adversus locum sanctum*

Acts vi.

Acts xxiv.

" *et legem.* One Tertullus accused St. Paul, that he was " an heretic, and sower of sedition, and profaner of the " temple.——I have heard it often preached, and I think " it is true, that in the primitive church the Christians " were accused by such malicious enemies, to offer their " children for sacrifices, to commit uncleanness in their " godly meetings, to oppose themselves, as factious rebels, " against authority. And if my memory fail not, Justin " Martyr is said to have made an Apology for his own and " their defence.

" But howsoever it was in time past, there is now a ge- " neration of Cadmus race, sprung up of serpents' teeth; " who being the most fraudulent Machiavels and Roman " firebrands (to enslave all godly government) that ever " lived, to charge her majesty to be of their disposition. " Thereby to bring her highness into obloquy and hatred; " though not at home, where her dealings are best known, " but abroad, &c. For they have learned that heathenish " rule, *Sanctur vulnus, cicatricis vestigia manebunt.* Where " be no state or persons, that set themselves against their " tyranny, can escape that poison of asps that lies under " their lips. A device most dangerous to all kind of go-

Ecclus. xxviii.

" vernment, and the very seed of all rebellions. *Multos* " *dispersit de gente in gentem. Civitates mutatas de-* " *struxit; et domos magnatum effodit.* To alienate [af-

394 " fection] from princes by impious accusations is in itself " intolerable; and so much the more to be avoided, because

Ecclus. x.

" the scriptures do give us this precise commandment, *In* " *cogitatione tua regi ne detrahas.* Nay, if that were not, " the very description of such miscreants might make their " dealings odious. If I could go through with the old

Rom. iii.

" Psalm, it were to my purpose: *Sepulchrum apertum gut-*

" *tur eorum. Linguis suis ad dolum usi sunt. Venenum* Anno 1586.
" *aspidum sub labiis eorum. Quorum os diris et amaru-*
" *lentia, &c.* unto *oculis eorum.* Ps. xxxvii.

" But as he saith, *Rumpantur ilia.* Let them whet " their teeth like swords. Let their lips like arrows flow " out their worst, to taint her majesty's government, this is " and may be her highness' comfort, in that she may truly " say with king David, *Detrahebant mihi, quia sequebar* " *bonitatem:* and with Job again; *Cum a stultis decessis-* Job xix. " *sem, detrahebant mihi.* True religion must ever content " herself with such encounterings. For although she doth " evermore bruise, through her spouse, Christ, the head of " the serpent, yet notwithstanding he will always *insidiari* " *calcanco ejus.* Gen. iii.

" But of all the shameless men that ever lived, it is " strange, that Roman rebels will talk of *rebellion*, of *sow-* " *ing sedition among princes,* &c. considering their pope's " practices among the states of Italy, between the king of " Spain, France, England, Swedia, and the empire, &c. " Whereof having present examples, I will not speak.

" *Quem semel horrendis maculis infamia nigrat,*
" *Ad bene tergendum multa laborat aqua.*

" The poets fain the crow was white; and that after, for " slandering of her friends unjustly to Jupiter, she was " condemned to be black." And so he ends with some verses out of Ovid's Metamorphosis, lib. 2.

This author, whoever he were, made another speech for executing the queen of Scots. This tender point he thought fit to discourse under this case. " If any violence be at- " tempted against princes, the treason may justly touch " them who gape for the crown." Another political subject there handled was, " That princes by mulcts may use " compulsion against heretics." And another, " That Je- " suits may lawfully be banished. And that upon the " contempt of such order they may be executed, and their " receivers punished severely." Other political subjects discoursed of. Lamb. libr. pag. 33. 35. 38.

The state was at this time very solicitous for the true

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religion abroad, as well as at home; lest it might lose ground there. Such a cause there now was for consideration to be had in the present case of the king of Navarr; as it seemed now to stand very dangerously, both for himself and the common cause of Christian religion: and consequently for her majesty and her state. The great apprehensions of that king's making peace at this juncture with the duke of Guise, and so to forsake his religion, gave occasion to the wise lord treasurer Burghley to deliver his mind hereupon. 395 Which I transcribe from his own pen, wrote June 20, 1586. The title whereof was, *Consultation for Navarr.*

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The English concern for the king of Navarr.

Lord treasurer's discourse about him.

" The said king (whose condition now was very low) being solicited by the house of Guise, and by likelihood by " all his friends, servants, and followers; as principally by " marshal Montmorency, who are catholics, to yield to a " peace, and to a friendship with the house of Guise, it can- " not be imagined but that therewith he must of conse- " quence make profession to change his religion, and to be- " come for himself a catholic.

" Hereof must needs follow these inconveniencies. First, " A manifest offence to Almighty God, to make a profession " in religion contrary altogether to his own conscience and " to the word of Almighty God. The horror whereof can- " not be by words expressed. For that the king shall never " find quietness in his mind, but shall be continually afflicted " in his heart, as with a worm perpetually biting the same. " 2. Hereby he shall endanger all his friends, both in " France and elsewhere in Christendom, that have ventured " their lives, lands, and all their worldly goods for his de- " fence. 3. He shall never have like assurance of friendship " of the catholics, as he now hath of the protestants. For " that the protestants do love him with a bond of conscience. " The catholics shall love him but so far forth as he may be " profitable to them. And 4. They will always doubt him " for changing religion, or for revenge.

" For these respects the king is to be warned of these " former mischiefs, which cannot be in short speeches ex- " pressed; nor cannot be seen how infinite the sequel thereof

" will be. And namely, how the judgment of God in this, " which hath hitherto defended the king against all his " sworn enemies these many years, may and ought to be " feared to follow upon the king for his defection against " his own conscience.

" For the staying of him from these dangerous courses, " he may be informed that the queen's majesty hath yielded " to as much in money to be had in Germany, as was at the " first desired, which is one hundred thousand crowns. So " as with such help as otherwise his servants shall procure, " with help of Casimire and the other princes, and also " with the help that is certainly accorded by the Swisse, " there remaineth good hopes that the army may be ready " to enter into France by November.

" Likewise, it is to be remembered to him, how her ma- " jesty hath ready such a sum of money in France, even in " Paris, as was required by the princesses of Bourbon, to " enterprise great actions in his favour, when the army " should enter. And that the purpose of those princesses " did still continue firm, and to very good purpose. And if " the king shall not persist in his action, but shall alter the " same, those princesses, being of the blood, shall be in great " hazard for their friendship towards him.

" Lastly, if the king shall find his peril so great as, be- " fore the army can come, he shall be in danger to be be- " sieged in Rochel, the queen's majesty may offer, that for " safety of his person she will spare no charge by the " strength of her navy to bring him safe into England, 396 " maugre all the forces of France on the seas. And so his " person being here free, all his friends, all his forces shall " be as ready to restore him, as if he were still in France. " And now the French king shall by the end of this year " be so exhausted, as he shall not be able to bring any such " wars in France as he hath done this year.

" And when the king shall be here, the right of his title " in succession shall not be impaired; considering it is not " to take place but by the French king's death. And during

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"his life the king of Navarr's right cannot be impeached by "any present possessor."

This seems to have been the effect of the advice and comfort sent now from the English court to that distressed king and his friends. What their case was, a French historian relates; That the prince of Condé and his army were worsted by the Guises, called the *holy league;* who vowed to root out the professors of the gospel in France. And now they had given an overthrow to all their forces, that they were glad to disperse, and shift for themselves where they could; till at length, by a great hand of good providence, they all arrived through long and dangerous journeys to Rochel. What their woful condition was we are told; viz.

The miserable condition of the king of Navarr's army. Mutability of France, p. 114.

"That as soon as the Christians, the prince and the rest "of his army, were dispersed, the common soldiers were "quickly scattered. Some took their way to Orleans, some "to Normandy, &c. every man which way he liked best; "travelling in exceeding great fear; having, as they imagined, neither means to escape, nor force to resist; but were "ready every minute to fall into the hands of those who did "pursue them, and thirsted for nothing more than for their "blood. But all hope failing, God did miraculously deliver "them; and so delivered them in their journeys, that having "voided a million of more than apparent troubles, they all "arrived at length at Rochel; and that much about one "time, to the exceeding comfort of themselves, and the "wonder of all France." This then will shew the condition of the king of Navarr, when the former mentioned consultation was held at the English court.

The queen was now also deeply concerned in behalf of the Low Countries on the same account of religion, and in compassion towards them; who by the reason of their religion suffered great hardships and oppressions. The earl of Leicester was the chief over the queen's forces there: under whom was one Anthony Braekenbury going over to serve; but taken by the Spaniards, and carried to Dunkirk; and there examined before the governor and council. It will

An English officer taken by the Spaniards.

let in some light into the present affairs between Spain and England, to relate the substance of what was demanded of him, and the sundry articles put to him; with his answers. Which I will set down, as I find them in a MS. of the Cotton library.

Anno 1586. Carried to Dunkirk, and examined. Titus, B. 2.

"First, What country are you of? What age, and of "what profession? His answers, An Englishman born; of "thirty years of age; and by profession a soldier. *Item*, "Whither were you going; and to what end? Answer, "Into Holland, to serve under the earl of Leicester. *Item*, 397
"What commission hath the earl of Leicester from the "queen of England; and how large doth it extend? An- "swer, Your honours are deceived in me. I am but a poor "servitor of Ireland, and none of her majesty's privy-coun- "cil. Wherefore I am ignorant, either what commission he "hath, or how largely it extendeth. *Item*, Whether do you "think the queen of England to be an usurper of the king "of Spain's right, as well in Flanders as in Ireland: for "that the pope's holiness hath resigned his right, title, and "interest thereof unto the king of Spain? Answ. I know "her majesty to be so virtuous and godly, that she is no "usurper of your master the king of Spain's right in Flan- "ders; and what her highness taketh in hand she ground- "eth her foundation upon some just cause. And for Ire- "land, if it please your honours to grant me that favour, "this hand of mine shall prove her majesty's right upon the "body of any one man, both against the pope and the king "of Spain. *Item*, Whether do you think the pope's holiness "to be supreme head over all Christendom in causes eccle- "siastical? Answ. In foreign realms, as please the kings "and subjects to allow of him. For England, both I and "the rest of her majesty's good subjects do deny and defy "his supremacy. *Item*, What number of soldiers is in readi- "ness in England for Flanders? When shall they come? "Where shall they arrive? And what exploits shall be "taken in hand? Answ. There is in readiness 400,000. "But for what place, when they shall come, where they

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" shall arrive, or what exploits they shall take in hand, I " cannot tell you. And if I could, I would not. *Item*, " Whether have you served against the Spaniard hereto- " fore, or no? And in what countries? Answ. Yes, that I " have, both in Flanders and Ireland. *Item*, What charge " of soldiers had you under your leading? Answ. An hun- " dred footmen. *Item*, What is the governor's name of " Amsterdam; and of what account for service? And what " bands of soldiers are in the town? Answ. If your honours " will give me leave to go thither, I could then advertise " you a troth, which now I cannot." Then said they, " After we have wracked you to confess a troth in these " and other matters, and then hanged you according to " your deserts, you shall then have our passport to go to " Amsterdam. And so they returned me again to prison."

The king of Denmark interposeth between the queen and Spain.

In these angry transactions between the queen and the king of Spain, another foreign prince was willing to interpose, and to do good offices between both. It was the king of Denmark; who made it his endeavour to find out expedients for peace. Henry Ramelius, a wise counsellor of that king, and lately ambassador here, took the opportunity of some proposals of peace, now in hand, to stir the queen's great and prudent counsellor, the lord treasurer, to listen to such terms; and to avoid the great inconveniencies of war, and not to be too forward in listening after such as advised against concord. In his letter, dated Nov. 12, he shewed what that king had done for promoting peace, and what course was to be taken in order to it, as to a present treaty; the state of Navar, and in general of the protestant countries. " That it seemed then as if all were asleep in a fatal " lethargy, and that they would never awake, till it were " effected by suffering great mischiefs and cruel strokes; " which he prayed God to avert. He wished the affairs of " England might succeed according to their own desires. " That so in them, if it were God's will, and in them alone, " *aliquid adhuc præsidii solidi Christianitati sperandum* " *est*; i. e. some solid safety and protection might yet be

Ramelius, the king of Denmark's ambassador, his letter to the lord treasurer.

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" hoped for in the behalf of Christianity. That every thing " else seemed to threaten a fatal ruin. *Servabit tamen ali-* " *cubi Deus halcioneam suam. Etiam rumpatur Satanas.*" Anno 1586.

And then he addresseth himself to the said lord, concerning a treaty now in hand, according to the success of which would follow dreadful wars, unless a happy peace prevented; using these words to him: " You, according to your very " great and singular prudence and experience of things, " most honourable and noble lord, look about you again " and again, whether you can promise and bring forth to " yourselves a tried and certain peace, or victory by force, " and continuation of war. And if so, good and honest men " will indeed be solicitous concerning this treaty. But since " no where almost less than in war, the events are wont to " answer hopes: and that papists hold together, as in a " chain, there is no reason you should follow the opinions " or judgments of the vulgar, or of youth, greedy of arms " and glory. Which for the most part deceive at last. For " war is sweet to those that have not tried it. But consult " with yourself alone, and weigh what is most safe; turning " your eyes every way. And although ye shall think the " transaction or treaty of peace is by no means to be neg- " lected or rejected by you, yet, as I have shewn before, I " judge there is need now of some more vehement endea- " vour, and more violent impression to be used."

And then he concludes with his most profound obedience and service to be presented to the queen, with acknowledgments of her very excellent virtues and accomplishments, accounting her as little beneath a deity; after this manner: *Subjectissimam fidem ac humillima obsequentiaque servitia mea serenissimæ regiæ majestati quam veluti numen quoddam, ob omnis generis virtutes excellentiores ferme, quam quæ in unum hominem, ea præsertim dignitate, cadere soleant, dum vivam, veneror, debita reverentia deferri, summopere oro.*

Difference between the lord lieutenant and council in Ireland.

But now to come nearer home. Among the divers troubles created to the queen in her kingdom of Ireland, a misunderstanding between sir John Perrot, the lord lieutenant,

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and the council there, was none of the least. Who, though he were a man of great merit, and had done good service in that kingdom, yet had the misfortune to have powerful enemies: and the next year I find him returned home into England; and another, sir Will. Fitzwilliams, succeeding him in the government there. But what the difference between him and the council this year was, (particularly with Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, lord chancellor, and the bishop of Meath,) will in part appear by a letter, which one of them, viz. the bishop of Meath, a prudent man, writ to the lord treasurer in February; propounding a means how a reconciliation might be made, having fallen out among themselves. The chief remedy was his revocation; the bishop thus unfolding his mind unto the said lord:

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Bishop of Meath's letter concerning it.

"That although for some special causes, importing, as he "conceived, service of her majesty, he had earnestly wished "the revocation of my lord deputy; yet understanding her "highness' resolution for his longer abode and continuance "among them, he confessed it was the duty of them all, "both willingly to submit themselves to her majesty's good "pleasure herein, and with all reverence to obey the lord "deputy, during the time of his government over them. "For the better performance whereof, considering it was a "thing both convenient and very necessary, that all former "contentions were composed amongst them; and that they "all might draw, as it were, in one line, for the advance-"ment of her majesty's service, and the good of that king-"dom, especially, in these dangerous times at hand, he had "thought good hereby to present to his lordship's grave "consideration a mean by him devised, in his opinion ho-"nourable for her majesty, meet for her deputy, and good "for them all; whereby all former contentions might be "composed.

"That her highness had vouchsafed already once to com-"mand a reconciliation and good agreement between her "two principal officers of that realm; which being not obey-"ed, on one or both parts, had not, he confessed, wrought

" as her majesty wished, and which was most meet. Where- " by it might fall out perhaps, that her majesty would mis- " like of this second motion. Notwithstanding he left it to Anno 1586. " his lordship's grave censure: protesting, that in this case " he had chief respect to her majesty's service; and next, to " the quiet and good of every one of themselves."

Then the bishop went on to declare the discontentment of the council against the lord deputy; " That it was not " only in the lord chancellor, as had been signified, but it " rested generally in the greatest part of that board. The " particular causes he knew, and should be ready at his " convenient leisure to discover them to his lordship. That His advice for peace. " for present redress hereof, he took it both requisite and " very necessary, that her majesty be moved to sign a joint " letter to her deputy and council there, containing these " clauses, or other such like, as his lordship in his discretion " should think most meet.

" First, A general commandment upon our duties, pre- " sently to be reconciled, and to remit on each part all for- " mer offences whatsoever. Secondly, A mild exhortation " to her deputy to consider of them [the council there] as " necessary instruments to be used in her service. And " therefore to use them in good sort, (especially them of the " English council, which were then most discontented,) by " his honourable usage of every one of them: rather to en- " courage them to go forward in the due execution of their " duties, than any way to discourage them by his severe " and hard dealings. Thirdly, A strait charge to them, her " counsellors, to reverence her deputy, and to obey him in " all things; burying all former grievances, supposed any " way to be received from him: leaving unto them this 400 " only liberty, freely, boldly, and plainly, and yet with all " modesty, to deliver their opinions in things concerning her " majesty's service. Lastly, In case a breach be made of her " highness's directions on either side, that forthwith the " cause be examined before the board; and, if it may, be " composed. Otherwise, the matter from the council to be " signified thence, either to her majesty or the lords; and

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" the offender to be punished according to her highness' or " the lords' good pleasure, for an example to others. This, " added he, is in mine opinion a most ready mean, both to " compose all things amongst us, and for the establishment " and continuance of good amity, concord, and agreement: " a thing most expedient for her majesty's service, and for " the good of us all."

The bishop went on in his letter concerning his own suffering by the deputy; " That for his own part, albeit " among his companions of that board he had tasted his " part of my lord deputy's displeasure, (being, as he con- " ceived, punished for another man's offence,) to his great " charge and undoing, unless her majesty were good unto " him; yet so long as her majesty was pleased to continue " his lordship's government, he would with all reverence " both serve and obey him." And then further used these words: " And I protest before God, I would be as glad of " his lordship's good favour as the meanest subject of that " kingdom. And for my lord chancellor, I undertake, upon " my credit with her majesty, that his lordship shall with " all humility seek my lord deputy's good favour, and a " second reconciliation; and afterwards as a faithful servitor " to her majesty, and a good friend to his lordship, shall " firmly join with him in her majesty's service, and never " hereafter give his lordship just occasion of offence. And " humbly beseeching his good lordship in his behalf, at his " lordship's convenient opportunity, to move her majesty, " in consideration of his good services, to remit the offence, " which her highness had conceived against him; and " whereunto (adding this asseveration) in my conscience she " is wrongfully incensed; knowing him both a most wise " and grave counsellor of that state, best experienced in " that service, and best able to stand her majesty in good " stead.

His protestation for himself and lord chancellor.

The abilities of that lord chancellor of Ireland.

" And lastly, he addressed to the lord treasurer in behalf " of them both, (whom the said lord deputy had somewhat " wrongfully represented to the queen, being both of them " chief bishops in that kingdom,) that for them both, he

" beseeched his lordship to pardon him to make this pe-
" tition, that since in them and a few others the outward
" show of God's church in that land did rest, where they
" were diligent and painful pastors, both in the execution
" of their functions, and in the furtherance of all her ma-
" jesty's good services, (their persons being hated even for
" their religion,) his lordship would vouchsafe to defend
" and protect them in their good causes, according to their
" deserts. And so eftsones craving his lordship's pardon for
" this his wonted boldness, and beseeching him to consider
" hereof, he humbly took his leave, the 17th of February,
" 1586. Subscribing, his lordship's most humbly at com-
" mandment,

" Tho. Midensis."

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To be countenanced as they were bishops there.

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This sir John Perrot was the next year discharged of his office of lord deputy; and after some time sent for home, according to the advice of the bishop of Meath; and such articles laid to his charge, that he was found guilty of treason; and made a prisoner in the Tower. But the historian makes spite and envy the chief grounds of his troubles, giving him a great character for his services. But the letter above will give some further knowledge of the man, in falling out with those two right reverend fathers, as well as others of the council there.

Camd. Eliz. p. 460.

CHAP. IV.

Sir John Perrot contends with the bishop of St. David's about the stewardship of that bishop's courts. The case. The bishop of Meath forfeits double fruits. His case referred to Perrot, his enemy. Comes into England about it. Oppressions of the clergy in Yorkshire, by pretence of concealments. Occasions the archbishop's letter. Letters from the queen and council to the bishops, to obtain lances from the clergy for the Low Countries. Accounts thereof from the bishops. Sums raised for that purpose in each diocese. The state of the church of Westminster. The

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state of Geneva. Their dangerous condition. Their letters to the lord treasurer, to solicit the queen for aid. Beza's letters.

Controversy between sir J. Perrot and the bishop of St. David's;

AND as these Irish bishops met with hard usage from sir John Perrot, so about this year a controversy happened between him and another bishop, viz. bishop of St. David's in Wales, in his claiming to be steward of that bishop's courts. The matter in variance was drawn up by the bishop himself, after this manner; and how he had proceeded in this matter of trouble and wrong. It was for the office of steward and authority to keep the bishop's courts in the lordships of Dewsland and Lawhaden in Pembrokeshire.

For the office of steward.

" Will. Barlow, bishop of St. David's, in the 33d year of " king Henry VIII. granted a patent to the right honour- " able the earl of Worcester that now is, of the office of
402 " stewardship of all his lands, to have and to hold unto the " said earl for the term of his life; after the death, surren- " der, or forfeiture of the earl his father: who had a patent " of the same office granted before by one Robert, bishop " of St. David's. In both these patents a fee of 12*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* " by the year was granted for exercising the said office.

" The authority granted to the said earls (by which they " were constituted stewards) was to keep sessions at Lawha- " den aforesaid, *de mense in mensem*, and to keep courts " baron, 100 shil. and such inferior courts.

" The authority to keep the said courts baron and inferior " courts was at that time of the said patents granted to the " earls, and ever afore that, in an officer, called *constable*, " and not steward, by patent of the bishop from time to " time, granted to such constables.

" But if it were so that the office of stewardship granted " to the said earls did reach to give them authority to keep " the said courts baron and inferior courts; yet because " the said earls did never, either by themselves or by their " deputies, attend upon the keeping of the said courts " baron and the other inferior courts, the office by *Non* " *user* is forfeited.

" Sir John Perrot, notwithstanding, procured to himself " a deputation of the said office of steward from the earl " about twelve years past; and was the first that ever, in " the name of the earl, did enter upon the office of consta- " bleship, and to keep an hundred courts, courts baron and " inferior courts. *Item*, Sithence sir John entered to the " office by deputation, he hath by *Abuser* forfeited the office. " I have already proved both the *Non user* and *Abuser;* " and have the depositions forth coming, exemplified under " the seal of her majesty's council in the marches of Wales.

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" Sir John, by the force of his deputation from the earl, " claimeth not only authority to keep the same courts, " but, in the said earl's name and behalf, vexeth and trou- " bleth, by suit, the young earl of Essex and me, for his " said fee, and arrearages of the same for this 26 years. " This cometh to pass concerning the earl of Essex, because " the manor of Lanfey is distrainable for his fee: which " manor heretofore appertained to the bishop of St. David's; " and is so in the possession of the said earl. To procure " quietness to me and my friends, and especially to Alban " Stepneth, my collector and receiver, I offered sir John to " grant him a patent, and to give him authority to keep the " said courts in Dewsland and Lawhad aforesaid; to have " unto him during his life. And then I and my successors " to appoint a deputy, or to have him during pleasure; and " then he to appoint his deputy himself." This was the case as drawn up by the bishop, and his fair offer to his adversary.

The bishop of Meath's troubles for his first-fruits.

Before we leave sir John Perrot, a troubler of the bishops, we shall mention more particularly one occasion that he took to shew his ill-will to the bishop of Meath before spoken of. This Irish bishop had by some neglect or omission in timely payment of his first-fruits, as it seems, made a forfeiture of double fruits; for which in Ireland he could have no favour or redress, the deputy being his enemy; as he carried things there with a high hand also to others. But in other respects also was very hard to this bishop. Insomuch that he was fain to come over into England. And

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being here, his chief address was to the lord treasurer, the great *asylum* of the clergy. This was Thomas Jones, late
Anno 1586. of Lancashire; the first chancellor, after dean of St. Patrick's; then consecrated bishop of Meath, an. 1584; and afterwards translated to Dublin. His requests now were, to be pardoned his double fruits; and to have some ease in the payment of his fruits. His cause will be more fully understood, and his hard dealing by the lord deputy, if we listen to his letter wrote to the said lord treasurer, while he was attending the court. Which was as followeth.

His letter to the lord treasurer.

" It may please your lordship, since your weighty affairs " of far greater moment do bar me from wished access unto " your lordship, I am most humbly to pray and beseech " you to vouchsafe the perusing of these few lines. I have " hitherto forborne to move my petition unto the lords, " wanting your lordship's presence, (in whose honourable " favour my chiefest hope doth rest;) both in conscience to " consider of my cause, and in your good favour to help " me with relief.

To remit his forfeiture of double fruits.

" My first petition, for remittal of the forfeiture of dou- " ble fruits, I doubt not your lordship accounteth most " reasonable. For the manner of my relief therein, I be- " seech your good lordship to weigh and consider, how just " a cause of grief and utter discomfort it may be unto me, " seeking relief at her majesty's hands, (my last and only " refuge,) to my great and intolerable charges, to be re- " turned back again with open disgrace, being referred to " his devotion; whose hatred towards me shews itself im- " placable. And to whom six times privately with all sub- " mission, and thrice publicly with all humility, I have been " a suitor in this behalf. I beseech your lordship favourably " to consider this one thing; that for my profession and re- " ligion sake, I stand in great hatred among the idolatrous " people; having none other supportance in that country, " where I am a stranger, but her majesty's good counte- " nance. Which if either it be withdrawn from me, or any " way hidden, I look for nothing but the loss of my life. I " have vowed myself to her majesty's service there. Where-

" in, as hitherto, I have used all faithfulness and diligence, " so during my life I will endeavour by all means to deserve " her highness's good favour.

" My second petition is, for the remittal of some part of " my first-fruits. Wherein unless her majesty's highness be " inclined to deal graciously with me, I dare not return into " my country. My bishopric is surveyed far above the " value. My present state is very poor. I protest unto your " lordship, the charges of this journey have been so heavy " unto me, that it had been better for me to have paid the " forfeiture in Ireland. The thing I crave, albeit it be an " extraordinary favour, yet ordinarily it hath been granted " unto others of my calling in like case.

" Wherefore I do most humbly beseech your good lord- 404
" ship to be a means for her majesty's extraordinary favour " towards me. And assure your good lordship by all manner " of services I will deserve it. Your lordship's inward zeal " to learning and religion, and your favour shewed to my- " self, hath emboldened me to use this wonted course of " writing unto you. For the which most humbly craving " your lordship's pardon, I take my leave, &c.

" Your lordship's most humbly at commandment,

" Tho. Midensis."

Referred back to the lord deputy.

The poor bishop's case came at last but to this conclusion, that it should be referred back to the lord deputy; which much grieved him. That he should have no better success of his journey into England, when the deputy's hard dealing forced his coming over; and to be referred to him who confessed he never meant to relieve him, till it was too late; as he wrote in another letter to the treasurer: he pleaded his good services and course of life. He enclosed a paper of all his livings in Ireland, and the yearly values of them. Upon which he always kept twenty able men always in his house to serve her majesty; and one half of them well furnished on horseback. And himself always employed in her majesty's service without any consideration. This letter was writ in the beginning of March, as the former was the month be-

BOOK II.

fore. I leave it to be perused in the Appendix, to revive, as much as may be, the memory of this worthy bishop.

Anno 1586. No. VII.

Now to gather up a few notices more concerning the bishops and clergy, happening within the compass of this year.

The archbishop of York complains of concealments.

Sandys, the zealous and pious archbishop of York, was fain to send up one of his clergy to complain against a severe commission of *concealments*, (often before in this queen's reign complained of;) being a great oppression to the poor clergy, chiefly by reason of the rigorous execution thereof. His application in his own behalf was to be made to the lord treasurer. And in order to his address to him, the archbishop sent him first to Mr. Mainard, one of the secretaries to the said treasurer, to procure him access. His case will the better appear by the letter itself. Which is as follows:

His letter.

" Mr. Mainard, The bringer hereof is a learned and godly " preacher, much molested and greatly wronged by these " finders of *concealed* lands. I well hoped, (for so I heard,) " that my lord treasurer had taken orders for the stay of " that dangerous commission. But in truth, it is more " whotly followed in this country than before, and all ex- " tremity therein shewed. And the spoil of the church is " chiefly sought. I forbear to write unto my lord treasurer " herein. For I know that I have troubled him too often " with my letters.

" His request therefore (as he proceeded) to him [his se- " cretary] was, that he would be the means, that the reve- " rend person, the bringer of the letter, might have access
405 " unto the lord treasurer, and declare his own case. And " thus he bade him heartily farewell. Dated from South- " wel the VIII. of June, 1586. Subscribed,

" Your loving friend,

" E. Ebor."

Life of Archbishop Whitgift, b. iii. ch. 17.

This year there was a convocation of the clergy: when, besides a subsidy, they granted the queen a benevolence, concerning which I refer to what is written of this convocation elsewhere. There was required of the clergy now their assistance for raising forces for the Low Countries. The

manner and method whereof was, by virtue of letters from the queen and council, that orders be sent from the respective bishops to the archdeacons, to make collections, for the queen's use in this her undertaking, of such of the clergy as were of the best abilities. Thus I find in the archdeaconry of Darby, the bishop of Litchfield and Coventry had sent to the archdeacon and divers others, eminent preachers of that county of Darby, to cess that archdeaconry: who sent their letter in answer to the bishop. Importing, "That they met, and called before them such as they thought the fittest to be cessed. But upon such exceptions as had been used by sundry before them, they desired to be better resolved from his honour, [i. e. the bishop,] that they might perform this service the better, and with more safety. First, That it was required of them that they should shew the queen's majesty's letters, and the letters of the lords of the council. Because there was a statute, the penalty whereof was great, if any adventured to make out men, and levy any money for the furniture of men, without special commission to be seen. And they had not so much as the copies of these letters.

Anno 1586.

The clergy cessed to assist the queen.

"Secondly, They desired to know the whole number of this diocese appointed to be made; and thought that the number of lances should be so named, as they should be known; and hoped that the number should not exceed the rate of other dioceses.

"And thirdly, That the warrant they had from his lordship, though it were of sufficient credit with them to believe it, yet they were given to understand, that because it was not under his seal of office, it was not of sufficient force; but that the obstinate might refuse to be cessed, as sundry had refused to yield to the cessment."

And so concluding with these words: "We therefore desire your honour to satisfy us in these points; and then, with as much discretion and diligence as we may, we shall either return the money or the names of the men so cessed unto your honour, with as much speed as possibly we can. Thus, &c. Darby, the 7th of April, 1586."

BOOK II. Anno 1586.

And these names subscribed: "Your honour's most humbly to command,

"L. Gilpin,
"Michael Harrison,
"John Walton,
"Tho. Royle,
"John Coke,
"Richard Sale,
"Pet. Morwen."

406 These seem to be the eminent divines in that archdeaconry, to whom the bishop sent by virtue of the order from court, for cessing the clergy there, upon the queen's present urgent necessity. There was a postscript to this letter, which will give further light to this cessment.

"My lord, We are humbly to pray you in behalf of the "clergy, that, if it be possible, the sum set down may be "abated. We have considered of the clergy's state, and "heard their sundry and grievous complaints. We could "bring it well to one hundred marks, with every man's "contentment and hearty good will. And this we humbly "desire to be advertised from your lordship in as short "space as may be."

And this request seems to have been granted; but the backwardness or poverty of the poor clergy is hinted by the words added in the margin by another hand; viz. "And yet "this promise is not performed; nor the preachers can "bring it to pass."

But to shew this matter further. There was an order sent from the queen to every bishop for a contribution from the clergy towards the wars in the Netherlands, to find so many soldiers or arms to be sent thither. They in the diocese of Litchfield made exceptions, and refused. In obedience to the queen and council, the bishop had also sent to the chapter, laying such a charge upon them, and to the archdeacons to charge the rest of the diocese. To whom the said dean and chapter (whose cessment was fifty pounds) made this answer, (namely, the *residentiaries*,) shewing their case.

Dean and chapter's letter to the

"Right reverend father, our duty most humbly consi-"dered. This may be to advertise your lordship, that

Anno 1586. bishop concerning their cessment of fifty pounds.

" where lately in our chapter your honour in person straitly " charged us directly to answer your lordship the cause why " and wherefore we do not provide payment of the 50*l.* of " money towards her majesty's service in the Low Coun- " tries: to the which sum the chapter was rated by a spe- " cial schedule, enclosed in the letters of her majesty's most " honourable privy-council; and your honour charged to " collect the same.

" For answer whereunto, we request your lordship's cha- " ritable consideration of the state of us, *residentiaries* of " the chapter, whose names be hereunto subscribed. For " your honour knoweth, that every one of us in particular " were charged in the schedule sent to your lordship, as " aforesaid, saving Dr. Mewrik, who is charged in the like " schedule sent to the lord bishop of Bangor, for Dr. Bea- " con, who is not charged at all by any such original sche- " dules; but, as we hear, discharged by the ordinaries in " Norwich and Chichester, in respect of his charge for the " chapter here in Litchfield. For so the lord bishop of " Chichester did us to understand of that party, concerning " his prebend there: for the which (as we hear) he receiv- " eth 40*l.* a year. And so of Norwich: for which he re- " ceiveth 30*l.* a year, as we are informed. Your lordship " knoweth he is discharged for the same in respect as is be- " fore said.

" Wherefore the premises considered, with the contents 407
" of the letter sent unto your honour from the lords of the " most honourable privy-council, we surely trust that your " lordship will not urge us to a double charge. For that " the contents of their honours' letters do grant us that li- " berty. And we hope that your honour will not urge us " contrary to the same; but rather see her majesty served, " by considering Dr. Beacon and others, the canons and " prebendaries of this church, members of this chapter; " who have livings abroad, and be not specially charged as " we are; to the number of 25 besides us, and others that " be charged by the said special schedules.

" Also, we request your honour to consider, that we know

BOOK II.

Anno 1586.

" no cause that Dr. Beacon should not pay so much as the " most of us for his livings, and part in the chapter here is " as good as any of ours: and since Candlemas he hath re- " ceived 200*l.* we know, for an office that he had only by " your lordship's free gift. Then the surplusage, we trust, " your honour may easily gather among the rest of the ca- " nons and others of the clergy uncharged, by your godly " wisdom, to the supply of her majesty's service, and the " discharge of us, which be ready to pay according to our " rates, as knoweth the Almighty. To whose blessed tui- " tion we commit your honour. The Close of Litchfield, " the 24th of May, an. D. 1586. Subscribed,

" Your lordship's to command,

" George Boleyn, " Christopher Hodgeson,
" E. Mewrik, " William Sale."

Thus we have the cause of this letter of Dr. Boleyn, the dean, and the canons residentiary. Which was not to lessen the sum of money imposed upon them; but that the same might be raised, and they somewhat eased of the respective payments laid on them, others of that church paying their proportion, who by favour or oversight escaped; and particularly one of the richest of them: not making any petition to the bishop for some abatement of the 50*l.* but only making some delay, that others might (as was fit) bear their due share.

Taxation of the clergy in the archdeaconry of Coventry.

From another part of this diocese, viz. the archdeaconry of Coventry, I find Mr. Henton, the archdeacon, giving this account to the bishop of what he and two other preachers, appointed his assistants, had done in their taxing the wealthier sort of the clergy, and requiring the respective payment; how unwilling he found them. The cause whereof, I suppose, was their poverty and mean circumstances. For nothing else was alleged. " He signified by his [the " bishop's] commission to them, that they had performed " such service about the taxing of the abler sort of the " clergy, within that archdeaconry, for providing 75*l.* for " lances for the service of the Low Countries; and that to

" the uttermost of their discretion. That they had com-
" manded the parties they had taxed in her majesty's name,
" to make speedy payment of their several sums in Coven-
" try, on such a day in the month of April. At which time 408
" and place the archdeacon, and the others in commission,
" attended, to have received the said sums. And that
" among them all there was but one man willing or ready
" to satisfy the taxation; the rest shewing themselves un-
" willing hereunto, alleging their disability. Whose names,
" and sums of money appointed to each, they sent unto the
" bishop in a schedule, that he might take such order with
" them as to his discretion should seem convenient. Add-
" ing, that they themselves had most willingly performed
" their service to his lordship, and done that which in their
" consciences they thought best. And that they had like-
" wise dealt further with all the residue of the clergy of
" that archdeaconry, to see what others of the ministers
" would do; but that the whole that was offered by them
" amounted but to six or seven pounds." This is a brief account of this letter; but I leave it at length to be perused and preserved in the Appendix, with a schedule annexed of what sums were to be raised in each deanery, and from whom. No. VIII.

Bishop of Peterburgh concerning the money raised in his diocese.

I meet also with a letter to the lord treasurer from another bishop, namely, Howland, bishop of Peterborough: wherein, among other things, he informed him of the money raised in his diocese, viz. " That he had paid into the ex-
" chequer 300*l.* for lances, imposed upon the clergy of his
" diocese. And so yielding therein humble thanks for his
" honourable favour towards him, he recommended his ho-
" nour to the gracious tuition of Christ Jesus." It was dated June the 27th.

The sum of money raised from the clergy for the queen's service.

But to see at once an account of all the monies received now of the clergy throughout all the dioceses for lances, and with all of the recusants for light horses, there was a paper brought in to the lord treasurer by one Freke, receiver, dated June 24, 1586, to the sum of 6650*l.* 3*s.* This paper, wherein the particular sums collected in each diocese,

BOOK II. (besides the Welch dioceses, which are not set down,) may be seen in the Appendix. Whereof 2000*l.* was paid by warrant to sir Tho. Cecil and sir Philip Sidney, that went now into the Low Countries with the earl of Leicester.

Anno 1586. N°. IX.

The state of the church of Westminster.

The state of the collegiate church of St. Peter's, Westminster, stood thus this year, as it was given in by Goodman, the dean, with this title: *April* 4, 1586. *The names and places of the prebendaries of Westminster.* Written, as it seems, by order of the queen, to understand who they were, and how they were qualified, and how dignified, and how they performed their duty, and how conformable to the usages of the church; and lastly, whether married or unmarried. I commit this original paper also to the Appendix, to be read there. To which is added, the order by the statutes, devised by Dr. Bill, and so in use ever since the last erection, under that dean, for the prebendary months of residence, contribution to the commons, and for preaching.

N°. X.

Geneva in great danger, sues to the queen.

The protestant city of Geneva was now in a very dangerous condition, being begirt about with enemies of the pope's party, accompanied with the duke of Savoy's ambition to receive that place into his territories. An account whereof, and of their present circumstances, and of their greedy enemies, is given in a letter to the lord treasurer, written in September, from the syndics and council, to this tenor:

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Their letter to the treasurer. Account of their condition.

" *Monsieur; L'expérience que nous avons eu ci-devant de* " *vostre faveur et amitié envers nostre estat, nous a donné* " *d'autant plus de hardiesse de nous addresser priviment* " *à vous, pour vous faire entendre la disposition et estat de* " *nos affaires à present*," &c. Thus in English: " The " experience which they before had, of his favour and friend- " ship towards their estate, gave them so much the more " boldness to address themselves privately to him, to let " him understand the disposition and state of their affairs " at present: not only for the degree he held about the " queen's majesty, but also for the affection which he had " alway shewn to them that made profession of the true " religion. That he knew the inveterate hatred which the

" house of Savoy had a long time borne to their town: not " for any right he had there; the illustrious duke Charles, " uncle to his highness that at present reigned, having been " before convinced of the invalidity of his pretences by law- " ful cognisance of law: to which he submitted himself. " Notwithstanding which, and that they had always im- " plored the justice of the law, and had recourse to all " friendly ways, his successor had not forborne thereupon " to try by all means to disturb them; having begun by " enterprises, secret means, and at last assaulting them " openly; having commanded an army before their town " four years past. Whereof they gave advertisement to her " majesty; and by whom they were greatly comforted, by " appointing a collection to be made at their requests in her " realm: which they knew to have been greatly advanced " by his [the lord treasurer's] favour and good provision. " They added, how that they knew this emotion was also " determined at the exhortation of the magnificent lords of " the leagues, and other their friends.

" Then they proceeded to shew at large the unjust deal- " ings of the duke of Savoy with them, (contrary to pro- " mise and agreement.) That he suffered no grain to be car- " ried through his country to them upon pain of death. " That he entered into a league with Spain, and made ex- " traordinary provision of war, and blocked them up as " well by water as by land, to stop all victuals to come to " them, to drive them to the greatest extremity. That they " were fain to provide themselves with corn from the side " of Germany. And that they were advertised for certain, " that there were arrived in Piedmont 2000 Spaniards; " who shewed themselves under colour to go to the Low " Countries. In the mean time they were attended with " other forces from Italy; which his majesty the king of " Spain and the pope did furnish and defray, unto the " number of 5000 foot and 400 lances. And that all which " appeared undoubtedly (as they wrote) to be designed " against them, and to lay siege to their town, if God by

BOOK II. " his grace remedied not, and raised them up some good " lords and friends.

Anno 1586. " Among whom (as they then subjoined) we have cast " our eye upon the clemency of the most serene queen: " the benevolence of whom, having had trial of before, " makes us hope and promise ourselves that her majesty " will tender to us still for this time a succouring hand. " And this so much the more willingly, in that we are not " assaulted for any cause, but in hatred to the same reli- " gion, of which, by the grace of God, we make profession " with her majesty!

" To conclude, they believing not only that he [the lord " treasurer] could much aid them in this their suit, but " also that his good-will would never fail them in favouring " so just a quarrel, and which they were resolved, by the " grace of God, to maintain to the very last; prayed him " to use his interest with the queen to assist them with " money, or other good means, to enable them to resist the " efforts of their enemies; hoping that the benefit which " they should by this means receive should not only re- " dound to their profit, but would bring some advantage to " the affairs of her majesty, in respect of the passage, which " should be entirely stopped to her majesty's enemies, to " go to the Low Countries: which he [the lord treasurer] " knew much better to comprehend, according to his great " prudence." This was dated the 27th of September, 1586.

Beza to the said lord, of their state. This letter was accompanied with another, in the same month, from their chief minister, Theodore Beza. Wherein he wrote, " How the pope, the king of Spain, and duke of " Savoy had taken the opportunity of a dearth and plague " at Geneva, to enter into arms against their city: and " therefore earnestly desiring assistance from England. And " then speaking of the queen and her miraculous deliver- " ances, added, how it was apparent that God had blessed " her; and had chosen and ordained her to be as his arm " against the enemies of his truth, and a cover and refuge

" for his poor afflicted people, far and near: and that it " would turn to her praise and glory perpetual.

" Besides, that his lordship's prudence would well con- Anno 1586. " sider and cause her majesty to understand, if it pleased " her, how to end happily the affairs of the Low Countries, " this should be a great advantage to have stopped the " passages to all the succours which the king of Spain knew " there to send from Spain and Italy; which by her libe- " rality, and the forces of their neighbour allies, they could " seize certain [*destroits*] straits, and guard them, which " being done, there would be no means whatsoever for the " king of Spain to prepare an army, but should fail of all " that which he would send to the Low Countries."

And then concluding with these words: " Considering " these things, my lord, if your holy and wise discretion " find good to aid, with your good advice and favour, this " city and church in such extremity, towards her majesty, " you shall do a work worthy pity, and very agreeable to " God. And which shall oblige us more and more to pray " God for you and yours."

And such was this city's dependence upon the queen, by the interest of the said lord treasurer, that the former letter was followed with another to him, dated December 20, in French, beginning, *Encore que*, &c. The tenor whereof was, " That although they knew enough the grand and " important affairs which he had in hand for her majesty, " above all, in that time, that the enemies made all their " efforts to overthrow her virtue and heroic constancy, they " reckoned, that among these great businesses he would do " them this honour, as he had pleased in times past, to have " remembrance of their state, and to recommend it to her " majesty, according as they had most humbly prayed for " it by their last, and which they did still at present; that " she would tender them her succouring hand, in assist- " ing them with some of her incomes, or other means, " for strength, in case they should be assaulted by the " neighbour prince: to guard them against the hostilities " which they were preparing for them, the spring ap- Another letter to the treasurer from Geneva.

BOOK II. Anno 1586.

"proaching; being aided by the king of Spain, the pope, "and other enemies of their liberties, and the true reli- "gion."

And some months before, this afflicted city addressed another letter, dated in May, to the said lord treasurer, shewing the danger of their affairs, and begging his favour and interest.

Beza to the lord treasurer. Thanks in behalf of their city Geneva.

In the same month of May, this year, did Beza, one of the chief ministers of Geneva, write another letter in Latin to the said lord, importing how the city of Geneva was beholden to him; how things stood with the protestants there and in Helvetia; the practices of their enemies; and shewing their great sense of gratitude to the queen and him. *Cui enim hominum plura secundum serenissimam reginam, quam tibi tota hæc civitas*, &c. "To whom, next to the "most serene queen, doth this whole city owe more than "to you? more indeed than we are able to comprehend "in our minds: much less (as he proceeded) could they "perform that excellent precept of Hesiod, of *returning a* "*benefit*. And that therefore the only thing that remained "to them, that they might avoid the mark of an ingrate- "ful mind, was diligent and daily prayer to God, (not "otherwise than for their own safety,) first, that he would "go on by his strong guards there to defend the queen's "majesty, who was the defender not only of so many good "men, but also a whole people most unworthily oppressed; "and setting herself and all hers, by a rare example of "Christian zeal, towards the propagation of the gospel, to "be her strong defence, and to adorn and amplify her with "all the excellent gifts of his holy Spirit: and then that "he always furnish her counsellors, given her of God, and "him [that lord] especially, to whose counsels she, not with- "out desert, attributed much, with that wisdom and pru- "dence which the administration of such weighty business "did require," &c. But I leave the whole letter of this eminent and learned man to be read and preserved in the Appendix. N°. XI.

There were other letters from Beza and Sadeel to the

lord treasurer, three years after, craving his favour to obtain of the queen speedy relief, as she had formerly been assistant to them, being so oppressed still by their popish enemy, that their state, school, and church were near entire ruin. Which we may more particularly relate hereafter. CHAP. IV. Anno 1586.

CHAP. V. 412

A popish conspiracy, to raise a rebellion, and murder the queen. Parsons, the Jesuit, to cardinal Allen at Rome; now soon after his arrival here in a mission. Creicton, a Jesuit, his reasons for the catholics taking up arms. Ballard, Savage, and Babington, their confessions about the plot. The city rejoices. The queen's letter to them. The justices of Suffolk to the council, concerning yearly payments by popish gentlemen there. Topcliff's discovery of the practices and resorts of seminary priests in and about London. Cotton, a Jesuit, and Perpoint, gent. recusant, taken up; their examinations.

A conspiracy of papists.

WE shall now turn to the transactions of the papists here at home this year: where they were very busy in compassing three things, viz. raising a rebellion in England, killing the queen, and delivering the Scottish queen, and setting her up queen of these realms. But the wicked conspiracy was detected in the month of July: and Babington, the chief head thereof, was, in September following, indicted for his intended treason against the queen's majesty's person, and for stirring up of civil wars within the realm, and practising to bring in a foreign power; and, in fine, he and Ballard, a priest of Rheims, and others, (who all confessed the crime,) were condemned and executed. Which matters are related at large in our historians.

I shall here gather up several remarks of this dangerous plot, which had considerable correspondents abroad, as well as close counsellors and Jesuits at home.

I begin with a letter writ in the midst of their business,

BOOK II. secretly carrying on, to cardinal Allen, at Rome, of the success of a late mission from the said cardinal into England.

Anno 1586. The writer was Parsons the Jesuit, now come secretly into England to promote the catholic cause, confirm catholics, and make proselytes. A summary of which letter, wrote in Latin, take as follows:

Parsons's letter to cardinal Allen.

"That they had a very happy journey to England, where "they found great fury in the enemies of the truth, but not "less favour among the catholics. That there went then a "report of their coming, and that from the mouth of some "of the queen's council. And that his name [viz. Parsons] "was known to some of them. That it proved a terror to "the adversaries, and that they feared some great matter "to fall out from them. That when he came to London,
413 "he had discourse with some catholics under guard, and "some in prison: which present condition of theirs (if he "might guess) portended somewhat not unacceptable. That "after a day or two they had some short discourse with a "certain person, to whom the said cardinal had recommended them; but referring further communication to "another more convenient time: which soon after happening, after the confessions, as accustomed, they [these missionaries] renewed their vows, to the great consolation of "all. And that whatsoever belonged to their several faculties, and each one's business, they considered of together. "That their arrival in the island did in a wonderful manner refresh and cheer the catholics: who had before complained that they were forsaken by the society; and that "the shepherds, discouraged with difficulties, would forsake "their flock, that had never more need of them. That not "a few priests were lately taken up; but not so inhumanly "dealt withal as before, nor so straitly kept; and some redeemed by money, or delivered out of prison, and dismissed without any condition. But that the catchpoles "narrowly, with prying eyes, walked about the city, searched houses; and whom they took, spoiled of their money, "horses, and every thing else they could meet with. That

" some catholics died in Newgate by the stench of that " prison, and others miserably tormented with the stinking " smells of the place.

" It was reported, that at court something was then lying " before them; which if it succeeded, very rigorous things " were like to fall upon them; but if it happened other- " wise, they might promise themselves tranquillity and " peace. But that these dealings with catholics seemed now " to them but bugbears to frighten children with, since they " had brought their severities to that pass, that nothing " now remained for any new cruelty. But that it was mat- " ter of great grief, that there were several counties wherein " were many of the right faith, but not one priest among " them, although much desired by very many of them."

The letter runs on in other particular news of the affairs of the catholics. " And how diligent he himself was in " confessions, sermons, and other offices of the society: " and that he was compassed with daily dangers. That the " earl of Arundel was offered by the great men of the court " to be set free, if he would carry the sword, only for ho- " nour sake, according to custom, before the queen to the " chapel, and be present to the end of the service and the " vespers. But that he, fearing some fraud, determined " wholly to decline it, or to consult with some of their doc- " tors about the lawfulness of so doing."

Another piece of this writer's news hence was, " That a " priest was taken in the habit of a seaman, the better to " conceal himself; but discovered, and brought to court; " and at length brought before the queen: who asked him, " if he would convert her. And upon some answer, that he " would do his utmost endeavour, she told him, he must " begin with her maids of honour, and first convert them. " And so after they had made sport with him, committed " him to prison."

One passage more in this letter of intelligence, sent to 414
Rome, was, " That some strange miracles were done here, " as he [Parsons] had heard from eyewitnesses, of dispos- " sessing devils out of the bodies of divers, by the piety

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"and sublime power of some of their priests. Whereby "many were converted to the faith, and others wavering "confirmed, to the extolling of the priests: though the "heretics called them conjurers and magicians." But of this cheat we shall read under the next year. This is some short and imperfect account of this letter of the Jesuit Parsons. But the whole, taken from the original, and signed by his own hand, (being, as it seems, intercepted,) is preserved in the Appendix.

No. XII.

Next I shall discover the discourse about this year found with another Jesuit, viz. Creichton, a Scot, to forward this desperate plot; containing *Reasons to shew the easiness of the enterprise.* By which may be seen what imminent danger the queen and kingdom was now in. It was as follows:

Reasons of Creicton, a Jesuit, for an invasion.

Cotton Lib. Julius.

"As for the country of England, it is easy to be over-"come with a few forces: few fortresses or strong places in "the land: so as one army would suffice to end that war. "The people given to change and alteration; chiefly when "there is some beginning or assurance. For our stories do "declare, how a few and weak have overcome a great many: "as it is evident in the victory of Henry VII. king of Eng-"land. Who with a few strangers, and some intelligence "with, &c. And to set forth and manifest this point more "clearly, in the time of queen Mary, wife to the catholic "king, yet living, a private man rising up against her, led "his army even unto London. [That was sir Tho. Wyat. "But what did he get? He was stopped at London, and "vanquished.] Of other times we have likewise many ex-"amples of base men, viz. part artisans, and people discon-"tented, have overcome the greater part of the realm."

Of the disposition of the realm for this enterprise.

"First, all the catholics, without any exception, do fa-"vour, or rather do greatly desire some such enterprise. "First and chiefly, for the great desire they have of the "restitution of the catholic faith. Secondly, for the right "and interest which the queen of Scots hath to the king-

" dom, and to deliver her out of prison, where these many " years, against the law of nature, she remaineth, to the " offence of the dignity of majesty royal. Thirdly, for the " great troubles and misery which they endure more and " more; which indeed are intolerable. For first and fore- " most, all the catholics, and known for such in England, " remain despoiled of all the offices, magistracies, favours, " honours, and other commodities of the estate, which have " been granted them in other princes' days; and have been " always, during this time and reign, so kept under and " dishonoured in their countries and shires, that they have " no kind of authority beside the law of the people, which " they cannot take from them by all the injuries offered " them. But moreover, by public justice, and in such mat- 415
" ters as they have in the law, they are used with great dis- " honour, intolerable partiality, for the most grievous dis- " grace of the queen, which they sustain: which is to be " subject to punishment, tormenting, and condemnation to " the unjust death of so many men, and of their goods, " the barbarous confiscation; separation of the wives from " their husbands; the extreme poverty of very many ser- " vants, and with great misery of their masters and lords.

" All which things make the catholics desirous of this " enterprise, for their delivery out of bondage.

" Besides this, the queen of England, having made new " laws, doth begin to execute those laws, forasmuch as " toucheth the confiscation of their goods in such sort, as " in a short time she would reduce the catholics to extreme " poverty. So finally, the said queen, as it were to accom- " plish her tyranny, did cause to be published, the 4th of " April last past, and so hath declared to the people, that " they should hold the catholics for capital enemies unto " her person and state. And so declareth and commandeth " to all her subjects, by that proclamation, so to account " and repute them; that is, all those which are of the ca- " tholic religion, or which within the realm of England " shall receive Jesuits or priests, or which in any other sort " shall shew themselves to be catholics. By the which pro-

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" clamation, and others published before to that effect, the " catholics are proclaimed to be the enemies and traitors " to the queen without any cause, and by the same means " are every day in danger of their lives.

" Whence it comes to pass, that they are already resolved " rather to take arms, or to attempt their deliverance by " any other means that they may, than thus to become the " prey of heretics, which stand over them every day to cut " off their heads. The faction of the catholics in England " is great, and able, if the kingdom were divided in three " parts, to make two of them. But because there is no for- " tress in all the country, where they may remain in surety, " while they gather forces together, and that there are offi- " cers of the queen, which have always eye over them, that " they cannot move without being seen and taken, although " they are that great part of the realm, notwithstanding " they dare not rise without some beginning of forces," &c. Then there follows a division of the realm in two parts. " The one consisteth of earls, barons, knights, esquires; " the which are able all of them to conduct and bring men " of their own charges. The other is of yeomen; the which, " he saith, for the most part, are catholics. Moreover, there " are not a few banished men for religion, which will return " to second this enterprise.

" And concerning the heretics, they are divided into two or " three factions, in respect of succession to the crown. And " very many of them do favour the right of the Scottish " queen. And a great number are discontented with the " present government, part for the part for the unwor- " thiness of the counsellors: men of base sort; which have " already drawn unto themselves the whole government, 416 " excluding from the same all the nobility of England. Be- " side that, a most infinite number there is of those which " have received and do receive particular offence and op- " pression from the favourites of the queen."

The credit of the duke of Lenox is set forth.

" The state of Scotland is at this present subject to sud-

" den mutation; whereby the duke of Lenox and the lord " Seaton, the principal foundation of this enterprise, may " be made away. Which importeth them more than the " person of the king himself. Anno 1586.

" The catholics of England are brought to that strait, " and will be reduced to that poverty, as they shall not be " able to hold out.

" Wherefore now is the time, if ever it be the pleasure of " God, to reduce these two kingdoms under one empire; " which would be a most happy thing. Wherefore his ho- " liness and the catholic majesty should, &c. whereby should " ensue the final peace of the church," &c. These abrupt stops are made on purpose to conceal what was meant to follow; but any may easily guess the meaning.

And what effect the endeavours of these incendiaries had, the threatening plot carried on this year will make appear. Which I shall supply with a few matters of fact, wherein our histories are silent or short.

Confession of Ballard and Savage, of letters from fugitives in France.

There is an account, as I find it in some state-papers of those times, of the confession of Ballard the priest, and chief fomenter, and Savage, (that undertook the murder of the queen,) as touching letters received from English fugitives in France, sent by the French packet to the ambassador. Whence we may observe how France was privy to this wicked combination.

" Aug. 27 and 29. Ballard saith, at his first coming over " he went to the ambassador's house to his secretary, to see " what letters were there from France for him. Because " Cha. Paget willed him to repair thither by the name of " Dynne, for letters which he would send. And at that " time the French ambassador came to him into the secre- " tary's chamber, and said unto him, he had need to take " heed how he came thither, for being suspected. And " therefore promised he would come himself to Ballard to " any place, if he had cause to speak with him.

" He procured Cordalion, the French ambassador's se- " cretary, to come to Edward Windsore's lodging, in Fish-

BOOK II. "street, on purpose to be acquainted with Tilney and Wind-
"sore, [two deeply concerned in the plot.]

Anno 1586. "He met and conferred with the French ambassador's
"secretary in the fields near the windmills; and Ballard
"told him, that if the duke of Guise would ever do any
"thing for the reforming this state, and freeing the queen
"of Scots, now was the time, when the earl of Leicester
"was absent with his great forces. Whereunto the secre-
"tary replied, they would be loath to lose so necessary a
417 "member as the duke of Guise, because he might not be
"spared out of his country; but yet bade Ballard be of
"good cheer.

"After this the same secretary, at another time, met Bal-
"lard, Savage, and Gilbert Giffourd, [another priest,] in
"the same place; and had secret speech there with Gilb.
"Gyffourd.

"He received letters from Morgan, [a servant of the
"Scots queen, then in France,] by the French ambassador.

"He delivered to Courdalion [the French ambassador's
"secretary aforesaid] two letters, one to Charles Paget,
"another to Grateley: declaring how far he had dealt with
"Babington, [the chief head of the plot,] and what plot
"was laid: requiring further assurance, under Mendoza's
"hand, [the Spanish ambassador then in France transact-
"ing the business there,] for effecting of that which was
"promised, [viz. invading the kingdom.] Because many
"here liked not to trust words.

Savage's confession. "Aug. the 17th. Savage saith, that he received of the
"French ambassador a letter from Dr. Giffourd, a letter
"from Morgan, and a letter from Gilbert Giffourd. The
"substance of all which letters was, to encourage him to
"proceed in the act against her majesty's person, [to shed
"her blood by an assassination, which he had vowed to do.]
"Commending it for honourable and meritorious.

"Aug. the 29th. Savage was commended to Chastele-
"neuf by Mauvaseur, [the French ambassador.]

Babington's confession. "Aug. 22. Babington confessed, that Gilb. Giffourd

" was to pass into France, as a Frenchman, by means of " the French ambassador. CHAP. V.

" Aug. 23. Babington, after his flying, did write to Ceur- Anno 1586.
" daliot, [which the lord treasurer amended by his pen (as " his true name was) Cordalion,] the French ambassador's " secretary, that he was enforced to fly, for causes concern- " ing the queen of Scots, [between whom had passed many " letters:] willing him to require his master to lend him " 300 crowns; and to write to the governor of Calais, to " provide a French bark to transport him and certain other " gentlemen." [Such traitors as himself.]

Here were three wretched purposes designed to be brought to pass by this conspiracy; viz. to assassinate the queen, to raise a rebellion in the kingdom, and to set up Mary queen of Scots in queen Elizabeth's room. And a fourth may be added, to overthrow the established religion, and restore the abandoned religion of popery. The purpose of this plot.

But upon the discovery of this dreadful plot, and the taking up of these rebels and bloody-minded traitors, the city of London made extraordinary rejoicings, by public bonfires, ringing of bells, feastings in the streets, singing of psalms, and such like: shewing their excess of gladness, and ample expressions of their love and loyalty to the queen and her government. Whereof the grateful queen thought fit to take public notice by a letter to the lord mayor and aldermen, with much satisfaction. And that it might be known to all her loving citizens in general, she gave order that her said letter should be openly read. Which accordingly, on the 22d of August, was done, before a great as- 418
sembly of the commons, in Guildhall; being first prefaced by a speech of Dalton, one of the city council, in the absence of the recorder. The true copy of which letter was printed by Barker, the queen's printer, and which I shall here subjoin. The city gives all signs of joy.

" *To our right trusty, well beloved, the lord mayor of our city*
" *of London, and his brethren, aldermen of the same.*

" Right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Being

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" given to understand how greatly our good and most lov-
" ing subjects of that city did rejoice at the apprehension
" of certain devilish and wicked-minded subjects of ours,
" that, through the great and singular goodness of God,
" have been detected to have most wickedly and unnatu-
" rally conspired, not only the taking away of our own life,
" but also have stirred up (as much as in them lay) a gene-
" ral rebellion throughout our whole realm:

" We could not but, by our own letters, witness unto
" you our great and singular contentment we received upon
" the knowledge thereof: assuring you, that we did not so
" much rejoice at the escape of the intended attempt against
" our own person, as to see the greatest joy our most loving
" subjects took at the apprehension of the contrivers there-
" of. Which to make their love more apparent, have (as
" we are to our great comfort informed) omitted no out-
" ward show that by any external act might witness to the
" world the inward love and dutiful affection they bear to-
" wards us. And as we have as great cause with all thank-
" fulness to acknowledge God's great goodness towards us,
" through the infinite blessings he layeth upon us, as many
" as ever prince had, yea rather as ever creature had; yet
" do we not, for any worldly blessing received from his di-
" vine Majesty, so greatly acknowledge the same, as in that
" it hath pleased him to incline the hearts of our subjects,
" even from the first beginning of our reign, to carry as
" great love towards us as ever subjects carried towards
" prince. Which ought to move us (as it doth in very deed)
" to seek with all care, and by all good means that apper-
" tain to a Christian prince, the conservation of so loving
" and dutifully affected subjects: assuring you, that we
" desire no longer to live, than while we may, in the whole
" course of our government, carry ourself in such sort, as
" may not only nourish and continue their love and good-
" will towards us, but also increase the same.

" We think meet that these our letters should be com-
" municated, in some general assembly, to our most loving
" subjects, the commoners of that city. Yeven under our

" signet, at our castle at Windsor, the 18th day of August, CHAP. V.
" 1586, in the 28th year of our reign."

The previous speech of Mr. Dalton, before the reading of the queen's letter, will be found entered by me in the last edition of Stow's Survey of London. Anno 1586.

But further, concerning the popish recusants, many where- 419
of were gentlemen of estates in the country; to whom for- Yearly payments of popish recusants in Suffolk.
feitures for not coming to church were appointed by law: which increasing according to their continued absence, proved heavy to them by the advance thereof. The queen with her council contrived to find out this way to give them some ease: which was, that they should pay into her receipt several sums yearly according to their abilities. A letter to that import I find written by the privy-council to the justices of Suffolk, with a schedule of the names of divers of the popish gentlemen in that county, enclosed; and an order to summon them before them, and to impart to them the contents thereof. It was for them to make offer, by writing under their hands, what reasonable portion they would be contented yearly, of their own disposition, to pay into her majesty's receipt, to be eased of the common danger of law for their recusancy.

They whom the justices cited were Mannock, Rookwood, The justices' advice to them.
Yaxley, Norton, Drury, Everard, Sulliard, and others: advising them to consider her majesty's gracious favour to them herein, and to measure the benefit they would hereby receive. The said recusants shewed themselves contented to subscribe accordingly each their payment yearly under their hands: which, with the said justices' letters, (dated in April,) were sent up to the council in answer to theirs; which will be found at length in the Appendix. N°. XIII.

There were now, after the discovery of that black trea- Many papists in prison.
son of the papists against the queen and kingdom, many papists in prison, and great care taken concerning them. At length, in the month of November, the resolution of the lords of the council was to make a division of the fifty-seven then in hold. Whom they thus divided. First, her Resolutions taken concerning them.
majesty's pleasure was to be known concerning them. Some

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to be continued, and to appear at the next star-chamber day, to be informed against by the queen's attorney; others to be continued in prison; others to be banished the realm: and these to be proceeded against in course of law; viz. Ra. Ithel, Kath. Bellamy, [who I think harboured the traitors in the late plot,] Ka. Coppley, Dor. White, William Wyborn, Cutbert Bennet. Others continued in prison, and to be farther examined. Others continued in prison until they have put in sureties for payment of their fines. Dr. Bagshaw to be committed to the archbishop of Canterbury. One to be conferred withal in point of religion, to be sent to Wisbich; where were many such recusants in hold; and learned men appointed to repair to them there, to confer with them.

Topcliff, a spy upon the papists.

But it must be told here, that as these had their private carriers on of intrigues against the queen, and for unsettling the present state of the kingdom by their plots and private correspondences; so the state had their spies to inform themselves of these busy folks, and to learn their doings, and to take them up. One of these was one Topcliff, in London, a very diligent man, and very successful in his discoveries. I find a declaration of his to the lords of the council concerning the danger of papists near about this time, somewhat before the queen of Scots' death. This notable paper I will enter here, taken from the original.

His declaration to the lords, and discoveries concerning them.

420 "It may please your lordships, and the residue, to consider of these things, needful to be regarded in this perilous time.

"There hath assembled unto the city of London lately, "from all the counties of England, a great number of the "most principal seminaries and seditious priests, bred at "Rome and Rheims, who have had their being and continual harbour among some noblemen, gentlemen, and "other such, as have been restrained of liberty, and be "still; and with such as be, and long have been, recusants. "Most of them be guests and hosts, being yet about London.

"Some of them live beyond sea, as Dr. Allen's man,

" Stordevant; and some out of Scotland, as Holt, the Je-
" suit; some, captains or soldiers, that have served the
" earl of Westmerland; others, pensioners to the pope.

" I learn these things by advertisement of such persons
" as have been of their society beyond seas; and hearing
" there their venomous and cankered intents towards her
" majesty; and here at home smelling their practices and
" plots to be answerable: being burdened in conscience,
" and charged in natural obedience, bewray the haunts of
" all such as they have learned to be in England, being
" about the number of threescore: and the dispositions and
" parts of the doings of such seminary priests, and their
" fautors and patrons, ... for that intent have given them-
" selves to be conversant with those bad persons in many
" of their harbours; whereby they have come to further
" understanding Above twenty seminary priests of re-
" putation and best learning now in London They walk
" audaciously, disguised, in the streets of London. Their
" wonted fears and timorousness is turned into mirth and
" solace among themselves; as though the day of their ex-
" pectation were not past, or at the furthest coming to-
" wards.

" My instruments have learned out sundry places of
" countenance, where sometimes these men meet, and con-
" fer together in the day-time, and where they lodge a-
" nights, having changes of lodging. The chief places of
" their access be solitary, strong, and stated for the pur-
" pose. Of all which, and of my last experience with a few,
" I think it my duty to lay before your grave considera-
" tion:

Worthington and other priests in London.

" That there is small regard taken in London, or about
" the city, of these men. About 20 days past, one Tho.
" Worthington, a notorious seminary priest, did resort
" hither, a stirrer of sedition, as ever haunted Lancashire,
" Cheshire, Shropshire, Darbyshire, and Yorkshire.

" One Revel, a seminary priest, his companion. One
" Humfrey Maxfield, a seminary scholar at Rome and
" Rheims, a great companion, conveyer and intelligencer

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" to and fro from Worthington. And three boys to be con-
" veyed beyond seas, to be made priests, stolen from their
" uncle Worthington, and from the bishop of Chester.

" The three men and one of the boys he [Topcliff] ap-
" prehended at Islington. Worthington was committed to
" the Tower by the lord treasurer's direction; Revel and
" Maxfield to the Clink; and the boy to the Gatehouse.

" Worthington, Maxfield, and Revel were twice exa-
" mined by sir Owen Hopton, [lieutenant of the Tower,]
" Dr. Hammond, [a civilian,] Mr. Rokeby, [a justice of
" peace,] and myself, [viz. Topcliff.] We all agreed, that
" there did never come before us so arrogant, wilful, and
" obstinate persons: impudently denying any familiarity or
" acquaintance between them, or that any one of them had
" seen another before they last met together at Islington,
" before their last apprehension, or that they were in Staf-
" fordshire, at Meare, old Maxfield's house, lately before
" their coming up. Where it shall be proved, that T. Wor-
" thington was at old Maxfield's house, with other like to
" himself; as Bell, Sherwood, Cotton, &c. And at Whit-
" sontide last, and at St. Peter's time, preached there. And
" at their coming up they were all at Meare, with one Nowel
" and Sturdevant, Dr. Allen's man; and of their being there
" the young boy, confronted with Maxfield, justified in
" seemly sort the same by good tokens, to Maxfield's dis-
" grace. And yet like a man given over, he did deny the
" truth, which by others shall be justified, if occasion serve:
" and proof [made], where they divided themselves, and ap-
" pointed to meet again.

" Some of them commended Labourne's death, [a gen-
" tleman executed in the north,] saying, he died for avow-
" ing the Scots queen was queen of England, and our sove-
" reign [no more] but Elizabeth Bullen. And that a mi-
" racle was seen upon Labourn's quarters at Preston. Some
" praised Arderus' behaviour," [who was executed in the year 1583, for being an accessary to an attempt of killing the queen,] " for saying at his arraignment, that Somerfield" [or Somervile, who strangled himself in prison, and was the

person that came to the court with his sword to kill the queen] " was strangled, because he should not shame his " adversaries.

" Some among them said, that it would never be merry " world until the Scots queen reigned in England, and her " son in Scotland. Some said, that the queen's majesty " should not reign; and that she will not reign:" [meaning, as it seems, in respect of the attempts to be made upon her, or of the prophecies that went of her death, or both.] " Topcliff added, that he knew them that would lay their " lives of it. For God (said they) will not suffer her to " live. For foreign princes will invade this realm by Scot- " land, which is the only way to hope of."

This is an exact copy of this declaration to the lords by this gentleman; which I give at length, and will further discover the practices and malice of these popish recusants and priests, and in what danger the state was by reason of them.

By the means of this Topcliff, many of these priests, and other of that religion, were taken. Among the rest were one Cotton, a notable Jesuit, who went by the name of Martin, and Martin Ara; and Gervase Perpoint, a gentleman, who had been in the Tower before. Both these were, the 16th day of June, brought before Richard Young, an active justice of peace in London; and the examinations sent up to court.

422 Cotton, a seminary priest, his confession.

Cotton confessed that he was a seminary priest, so made at Doway, by the bishop of Cambray, and brought up twelve years in the university of Lovain. That he went to Rome, where he stayed 18 months in the hospital. That he came into England about six years ago, and made his abode most about the city. That he lodged at Southwark, Lambeth, and other places. That he went into Hampshire, to see if he could live quietly there. That he inquired how the bishop of Winchester [in whose diocese that county was] behaved himself towards the recusants; and hearing that he was very troublesome, he found there was no staying for

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him there; and so returned to Guilford; and so came back to London: and that he heard no bruits or reports in his journey, but that the poorer sort were ready to break down barns to get corn. That he knew Mr. Gervase Perpoint, and had been with him several times, but that he durst not suffer him to lay there, the law was so rigorous, [viz. against harbouring recusants.] And much more is read in his confession: but very wary in all. As particularly refusing to tell where the apparel, linen, and books were, used by him, as it seems, at the celebration of mass; and denying to take his oath to answer any matters concerning the state of the realm, now when Babington's plot and the invasion of the realm was hatching. The refusing to take the like oath did Perpoint make, upon his examination, as appears by what follows: which no question was done by agreement of the party.

Perpoint's confession.

Perpoint was examined at the same day by Young. He denied to take his oath to make answer to any matter concerning the state of the realm. That he had lain at a house in the Old Change ever since he came out of the Tower; which was ever since Christmas was twelvemonth. Denied that he knew Martin Ara, alias Cotton, or one Heywood, alias Blythe, [another priest.] But it was proved to the contrary that he knew both. That he, and divers others with him, went on a Sunday, such a day in June, at eight o'clock in the morning, to sir Tho. Fitzherbert's house; but heard no service [mass] there, &c. But I leave the whole examinations of these two notable papists to be read in the Appendix, from the original.

No. XIV.

CHAP. VI.

Anthony Tyrril, priest, his confession in letters to the queen and lord treasurer. His discoveries of the Jesuits, &c. His recantation. His revolt: and his letter to the queen after it. A discourse proving the treason of priests executed. Divers tracts and speeches concerning the papists; and concerning the dealings with them. Cardinal Allen's concern with sir Edward Stanley in betraying Deventer to the Spaniard. He, with the pope, moves for an English seminary of soldiers. Writes a book for them.

AMONG the rest of the priests taken up at this dangerous juncture, was one Anthony Tyrrel, of a good family, who came over with Ballard. He seemed very penitent, and very frank in his confession of himself, and what he knew of others and of their practices. He renounced popery, and pretended to turn to the protestant religion; but getting his liberty, revolted back. After which, taken again, he turned again, and denied what he had before confessed. But the queen became exceedingly offended with him; and so was the lord treasurer. Whereat he addressed an humble letter to her, and some others to that lord. Which being so remarkable, and discovering such a character of a Romish priest, I shall set down somewhat at length, from the said Tyrril's own letters.

Anthony Tyrrel, priest, his confession and story.

One whereof, dated in July this year, was to the said lord treasurer Burghley: which he seems to have writ not long after his submission to the queen. It ran to this tenor:

His letter to the treasurer.

" Right honourable, &c. That being by God's provi-
" dence made captive, and brought thereby into the danger
" of her majesty's penal and capital laws, he thought it his
" duty to humble himself unto her majesty's mercy. For
" the better acquiring whereof, he knew none who gave
" him greater comfort, or hope of favour, or help, than
" his honourable lordship: partly in respect of the great
" favour he had found at his lordship's hands heretofore;

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" and partly for the honourable favour and good-will which " he knew his lordship bare unto his poor house and family. " But that chiefly for that always his poor father had a " special affection unto him.

" That his religion and order set apart, (both which " might make him seem odious unto her majesty, and " contemptible unto his honour,) he protested that no man " living could impeach him with the least fault that might " be offensive unto her highness, or hurtful to the state.... " That he did bear as humble and dutiful mind unto his
424 " gracious queen and sovereign as any subject might or " could. For that, besides his natural duty he owed unto " her majesty, both before God and in conscience, her " grace's particular favours and bountiful rewards towards " the maintenance of his poor father bound him always in " heart to honour and love her. That he hated from his " heart always the company of those, were they of his own " religion or otherwise, that would pretend to practise any " thing against her majesty's person. And that if any such " whatsoever were so convicted by law, he thought them " worthy of their deserving.

" That in places of his travel beyond the seas, where " men were most prone to open their stomachs, if any dis- " honoured or mistermed her majesty's royal person, he " contemned them, controlled them, and kept them (unless " by necessity he were constrained) no longer company. " That since his coming into his country, where he had con- " versed, being priest, for the space of four or five years, " he had at home so behaved himself, as he had neither " spoken, written, nor practised any thing offensive to her " majesty, or hurtful to the state, the zeal of his function " only excepted: which he had done so seldom and so wa- " rily as possibly he could devise.

" This being true, as he protested before his Lord God " to be true; and perceiving how gracious her majesty was " inclined even to those of his own profession, as were not " capital offenders, otherwise than in matters of mere reli- " gion and conscience, he conceived some hope that the

" rigour of her majesty's laws would not be extended to- Anno 1586.
" wards him without other special cause of offence. That
" he had obtained licence from the right worshipful Mr.
" Young, [a justice of peace in London, who, it seems, had
" committed him,] to address his humble letters unto his
" honour. These were therefore most humbly, upon his
" knees, to crave such favour at his lordship's hands, as it
" might please God, her majesty, and his honour's good
" liking, to have extended to a man of his quality and con-
" dition; the like favour whatsoever he should, during his
" life, pray Almighty God that his lordship might find at
" the tribunal seat of the omnipotent Majesty, &c.

" That matters of import he had none, because he never
" listed to be acquainted with any. That if hereafter he
" heard of any, I bind myself, (these are his words,) if they
" shall concern her majesty's person, or the subversion of
" my country, that I shall, in most faithful and dutiful
" manner, reveal them unto you. Thus most humbly he
" took his leave, from the place of his imprisonment. Sub-
" scribing,

" Your honour's poor suppliant and orator during life,
" Anth. Tyrrel."

Tyrrel soon after repenteth, declaims against his false religion, that led him into such disloyal and wicked practices; makes great discoveries of fugitives and the fatal enemies of the queen and kingdom: unless hypocrisy were all this while at the bottom. For thus I leave him to de- 425
clare himself, in another letter, writ in August, a month after the former, to the said lord, in these words:

" Right honourable, I am especially moved to have re- Tyrrel's letter for a discovery of treasonable practices.
" course still unto your good lordship. The cause im-
" porteth not a little, for it concerneth her majesty, the
" state of her whole realm, and myself. Her majesty, for
" that I am to discover a number of treasonable practices,
" that have been directly committed against her; whereby
" her majesty's person may safely be preserved by the root-
" ing out of the corrupt and wicked members. Her whole

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" realm, to be made most safe and prosperous. For myself,
" to be delivered from the tyrannical bondage of her capital
" enemy, the pope; to whom for these twenty-five years
" I have been made a slave and subject; lost the favour of
" my gracious sovereign and prince; undutifully demeaned
" myself unto her majesty's laws; unnaturally behaved my-
" self towards my country, by corrupting many of her high-
" ness's subjects with false and erroneous doctrines. All
" which guilt being laid upon my conscience, it hath pleased
" Almighty God, of his infinite mercy, most strangely, yea,
" I may say, miraculously, to call me home.

" These may be therefore, most humbly on my knees, to
" beseech your honour to favour a true penitent. The re-
" sidue of my life, it may please her majesty to accept it,
" shall make such a satisfaction as never any of my condi-
" tion have done in her majesty's time. When I come be-
" fore your honour, you shall find that I do not feign;
" and shall be able to certify your honour of that, of the
" which you shall be full fain [i. e. glad.] I leave troubling
" your honour any further; hoping your honour will vouch-
" safe your honourable audience. And until then, for her
" majesty's behalf, to let none of her corrupt subjects of my
" letters have any intelligence. I rest,

" Your honour's most humble and
" dutiful servitor,
" Anth. Tyrell."

By these solemn protestations, promises, and discoveries, whatsoever they were, whether in truth or pretence, Tyrrel soon after obtained his liberty: for I meet with another letter of his to the foresaid nobleman, dated in December, from his chamber in the Strand. The contents whereof was, to shew himself firm and steady to what he had avowed; his desire to come to the court (at least, if for nothing else) to return his thanks. And that his resolution was not to swerve, but to make it his business to observe his faith to God and his prince. But take the letter itself in the words of it, being but short.

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" That he had been desirous long ere that time to have " shewn some signs of duty, since the enjoying of his li- " berty, in yielding of thanks at the least, &c. That his " lordship had with a most favourable pity began to tender " his poor distressed case. And that he should be sorry " to shew himself slack to deserve, from whence he had " received so great grace; by whom all good minds were " governed, and all laudable actions directed.

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Promiseth to observe his lordship's instructions.

" That Mr. Justice Young will inform your honour, how " carefully I proceed in well demeaning myself, ... If I " should any ways swerve from the right square of your di- " rections, I covet to be certified. To please all parties is " a thing impossible. I have chosen therefore rather to " serve God than mammon ... : If for my faith to God and " my prince I fortune to find [reproach], I shall repute it " rather a grace than ignominy. The fear of God and " the true love of my prince hath obtained this conquest of " flesh and blood."

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But now to see more fully and evidently this false man, he revealed all in a letter to the queen, after his revocation of what he had confessed, and his return to his old religion, being now at liberty. Whereby he had justly fallen under her displeasure. In his said letter he disclaims his recantation; asserts all a falsehood what he had declared against Dr. Allen, and other priests and Jesuits: having been employed after his recantation as a spy against catholics. This confident letter began thus: " If ever your majesty's pity " inclined unto the complaint of a sorrowful and distressed " subject, vouchsafe, O gracious queen, as to incline to " mine: who craves no more at your highness's hands, than " that you peruse these letters," &c. It is very long, but well worthy the reading, to let light into the popish practices, and particularly to shew more at large what a sort of man this priest was. And therefore I lay it in the Appendix, to be read there; only let me mention here the reason he assigns of his conversion to the protestant religion; which is somewhat surprising, as he hath the confidence to tell it to the queen in his own letter; viz.

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Anno 1586. The reason of his conversion.

"That when he first came into the kingdom, if he had "had a thousand lives, he would have lost them all for the "defence of the truth of his religion. And so long as the "fear of God was before his eyes, he so continued, and had "never changed, nor forsaken his faith: and so had done in "spite of all the devils in hell or torments by men. But "that he falling into corruption of life and dissolute man-"ners, and suffering himself to be drowned in sensuality, "the grace of the Holy Ghost could no longer abide with "him; his conscience crying out against his own impiety, "the devils seized him, and so expunged his faith: not for "that he knew his religion to be evil, but because he knew "himself to be passing naught; as that God nor any good-"ness could any longer abide in him." Of this fickle man we shall hear again under the next year; when he was again taken up, and recanted a second time, and that openly at Paul's Cross, from his popery. And it seems obtained again so much favour as to be admitted into St. Katharine's. For from thence I find afterwards some letters of his dated.

Papists had been executed (when so much fear was justly apprehended from them) according to some laws made against them. But this gave occasion of great clamours of 427 rigours and cruelties used to those of that religion by the present government. Therefore it was thought convenient, to manifest to all how just and necessary those proceedings were: and that by the laws of the land. I meet with divers tracts and discourses to this purport, made in these times, among certain MSS. in Lambeth, called *Memoirs of affairs in church and state:* collected, as it seems, by Murgatrode, archbishop Whitgift's secretary. Whereof one discourse went on this head, "That such papists as had been executed "were by a statute of Edw. III. lawfully executed as trai-"tors." This seems to have been a speech made in the house of lords, or in some other venerable assembly; and that by archbishop Whitgift himself, or by some other learned divine, there being so much Latin and allegation of the ancient fathers and writers mentioned. This I have taken notice of under the year 1585; and so much the

The just proceedings in the execution of papists.

Memoirs in Lambeth.

Ch. xxii.

rather, since it will give us the history of Rome, and the methods of that church to overthrow this kingdom through the course of queen Elizabeth's reign to that time.

There was in the same volume another discourse of this subject, viz. that Jesuits may lawfully be banished; and upon contempt of such proceedings may be executed; and the receivers of them punished severely. This and one or two more are mentioned in the Life of Archbishop Whitgift. But besides these, there are many cases handled and discussed (as well for the queen's satisfaction in her proceedings, as in vindication of the state) in the same volume: and were seasonable while the public, and especially the established church, was in such dangerous circumstances, by reason of the conspiracies and endeavours of the disaffected. As, 1. A case, whether her majesty be bound by the scripture to assist the United Provinces against the king of Spain. 2. Another was entitled, Reasons of magistrates in general; how they were instituted, and ought to be obeyed. 3. Another carried this title, A perfect definition of a king; and what his office and government is over his people. 4. The old order of the Romans, when either their chief governor was dead, or absent by reason of war. 5. That we ought first to seek the true worship of God, and the preservation of his church. 6. Our duty to her majesty, and care of her defence and safety. 7. Our duty to our country, and preservation of the same against bad subjects. 8. The judgment of God against kings for disturbing the church. [Applicable to the king of Spain.] 9. That princes by mulct may use compulsion against heretics, [in justification of the pecuniary punishments laid upon papists for not coming to church.] 10. If any violence be attempted against princes, the treason may rightly touch them, who gape for the crown. [Intimating thereby the queen of Scots.] 11. Of ambition, of treason, and traitors. 12. *Malum in authores plerumque recidit.* 13. Sentences of scripture to be applied to the queen. 14. Not lawful for a subject to kill or resist his prince. 15. *In Jesuitas, authores seditionum et sanguinis.* 16. *Religio verbum Dei. Via salutis, Dei*

Tracts in vindication of the queen's proceedings, &c.

Life of Archbishop Whitgift, p. 268.

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cultus. 17. The papists' treachery may appear by three points; viz. their slanderous words in their writings against her majesty, their treacherous practices, and their fanatical and devilish doctrines. 18. Certain places of scripture that some precisians use, that godly kings may not only lawfully suppress the wicked, but destroy all their children and allies. For this, in the discourse, are alleged Joshua, David, Zimri, Jehu; who usually cut off and destroyed all the posterity of those they fought against, and were greatly commended. And this argument used here (the divinity of it I leave to others to determine) is this.

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" The law saith, traitors shall lose their lives and goods; " and that the blood of their posterity is ever after stained. " And why may it not likewise as justly say further, (if the " penalty will not serve for the preservation of princes,) that " all their kin to the third and fourth degree in that case " shall be executed." And then is added, (to soften what was said,) " It were indeed a hard law; but as they say, " *Gravissima vulnera acerbissimis curantur remediis.*" This discourse endeth thus. " And therefore considering " that the kindred of traitors are, as it were, one body with " them, or one fellowship, if they shall shew themselves " like-minded to their parents, then may they be punished " as traitors. If otherwise, yet as adherents in nature, " though not in fact." This was spoke, as it seems, in parliament, or given as a counsel against the papists, who about these days were so full of malicious plots against the queen, as extorted these rigorous advices from some.

Allen's concern with Stanley in betraying Deventer.

Dr. Allen, (of whom somewhat before,) now made a cardinal, one of these implacable enemies to the present state of England, was now concerned upon an affair of this nature, namely, the treachery of sir William Stanley, governor of Deventer in Holland; who basely betrayed it to the king of Spain. Which Allen confirmed the said Stanley, and his regiment there left in garrison, with the receipt of two months' pay; as was written in a book printed in the year 1595, shewing the estate of the English fugitives.

Sends to Rome for

And moreover this cardinal wrote to Rome on this emer-

gence, to send down certain priests to instruct this religious regiment. He informed the pope thereof. Who both wrote jointly unto the king of Spain, to be good and gracious unto this regiment. Which being well and liberally entreated, as they had already been at Rhemes and Rome, he would encourage a seminary of students and scholars to pray and write for the catholic cause of our country. For this being conducted by so worthy and catholic a gentleman as sir William Stanley, might be a continual nurse and seminary of soldiers to fight for the same.

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priests for this regiment.

State of the English fugitives.

And withal the cardinal wrote a book unto the captain and soldiers of this regiment: endeavouring therein to satisfy their consciences, as touching the justice of this action, [of betraying Deventer,] and likewise animating them constantly to persevere in this good cause, into the which they were now entered. Besides, down came priests thick and threefold from France and Italy, catechising these new soldiers with many masses and continual sermons. And generally, men that for their conscience lay dispersed in other parts, all drew down thither, in hope of this good payment and golden world that was there talked of. But by reason of a contention that happened between Stanley and Rowland York, that had about the same time betrayed Zutphen to the Spaniard, all this came to nought.

And writes a book for them.

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The growth of popery, and the falling away of the queen's subjects from their loyalty and the religion established, by means of popish priests and Jesuits, privately dispersing themselves every where, gave occasion now of deep consultation for the redress thereof. And here, for the letting in some light in this matter, I shall insert a paper thus endorsed by the lord treasurer's hand; *The dangerous estate of the realm.* To which were *remedies* subjoined in the same paper: the whole seems to be of the same or some other wise counsellor's drawing up. The year is not specified; but I conjecture it to be this year, or perhaps some year before. And though it be somewhat long, may well deserve a place in our history. It was as follows, transcribed by me from the original paper.

The dangerous state of the realm. MSS. Burg.

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" *The dangerous estate of the realm.*

Anno 1586. " In every part of the realm are certain persons, covertly " wandering from place to place, that labour to move the " people, by colour of holiness, and commendation of the " Roman religion, to mislike of the order of the religion of " this realm.

Old priests. " These persons, that are persuaders, are some old priests " of the realm, that were priests in queen Mary's time, and " have not, during the queen's reign, professed to be per- " sons ecclesiastical, but lived with old men and women " that were of the same religion; and have in some parts " taught men's children in private houses, as serving men " by show of their apparel.

Jesuits. Seminaries. " Some also are such as have been beyond seas, and have " been nourished at Rome, at Rheims, at Doway, and have " been by our rebels, as Westmerland, Norton, Marken- " field, Mr. Englefield, and such like, enticed with the " pope's blessing, and some money, and with advices from " the seminaries at Rheims and Rome, and partly by com- " mandments from their *superior*, to come into England, " and to resort into places, especially noted, where there " are known professed papists. By whose direction they " have scattered themselves abroad; and with their super- " stitious trumperies, as *Agnus Dei*, and other books, se- " duced people, that were not before instructed in our re- " ligion, to yield their consciences subject to these papistical " motions. So as the persons seduced are led in conscience " to mislike of our religion, and of our bishops and clergy.

The haunts of the old papist seductors. " It is to be noted, that these seductors have haunted " countries where least preaching hath been; as in Lanca- " shire, and in other places, where most notable papists do " dwell: as in Berkshire, Hampshire, and Herefordshire.

Diligence of the Jesuits more than of our clergy. " And while these persons have used great diligence and " secrecy to win our people, our bishops and clergy have " nother secretly nor publicly used any diligence to teach " the unlearned, or to reform such as they have committed " to prison for recusants. So as the papists have gained " from these few years more than in many years before.

" *The peril.*

" Now follows, that the principal men of wealth, being " papists, do give comfort and example to many inferior to " follow them. And of consequence their tenants are forced " for their livelihood to follow them. Anno 1586. Example of the principal offenders.

" The greatest is, that many are in conscience persuaded " that the pope is Christ's vicar, and hath absolute power " to bind and loose. That the greatest part of all other " monarchies and countries do obey them. That until king " Henry the Eighth's time, the pope had always authority " here. That it is an absurdity to the queen, and that a " maid, to be head or governor in all ecclesiastical causes. " And by that persuasion they are moved to contemn all " manner of orders ecclesiastical in this realm; thinking the " foundation thereof to be unleeful. And therefore in their " consciences they are moved to allow only of the pope's " religion. Persuade in conscience against the queen's authority.

" Lastly, the perilous sequel that follows hereof is, which " daily will increase, if remedy be not speedily provided, " that multitudes of such as are yet obedient subjects will, " by these secret persuasions, and by example of others that " are their superiors, as lords of the realm in honour, or as " their landlords, or as persons of great esteem for their " auntienty, or for great housekeeping, decline from their " inward love toward her majesty, and yield their hearts " and devotions to such persons as they shall be persuaded " are right heirs in this crown. And so shall they be in no " small multitudes ready, upon any occasion offered, by the " only show of any outward force, to rebel suddenly, and " put in hazard the good estate of her majesty and the " realm. Increase of multitudes of misliking subjects, ready to set forward a rebellion.

" *For remedy of all these perils.*

" It is necessary to devise and execute divers orders, " whereby this defection may be stayed; and such as are " infected with these wicked opinions may also be cured, " as much as may be. Which though they be many, " yet may be reduced to these two heads. That is, first, " teaching the people to know these errors, and to confirm Remedies. Principal remedies. Teaching, laws.

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"the good and obedient in the truth of Christian religion. "And secondly, to use the help of laws against such as "wilfully will offend. Whereby both the offenders may by "awe, and fear of punishment, reform themselves: and "also others stayed by like fear, to give ear to the persua- "sion of others that are the seductors.

The state of bishops.

"For the first, her majesty is to be well informed of the "condition and sufficiency of every bishop in the realm. "And either by reformation or remotion of them, that are "either by their manifest insufficiency, or their corrupt "and covetous conversation, out of credit with the people "under their charge, to cause the offices of the bishops to

Bishops' officers.

"be better supplied. And therewith also to have their "officers reformed, that use jurisdiction under them. For "certain it is, that the covetous execution of those officers "make not only the papistical sort, but the good Christian "subjects to mislike of the order of the ministry.

"There would be also an universal information had, "without any open visitation, (as the bishops and archdea- "cons continually do use, only for gain,) how the parishes

The state of curates.

"of the realm are served with curates: how many have

A perfect book hereof to be made by every bishop.

"sufficient maintenances, and how many have insufficient, "and how many have none at all. And those wants to be "supplied, or else the people must needs be without know- "ledge of God, or easily led into errors, or popery, by any "that will secretly resort to teach them.

The two universities.

"The two universities also would be seen into; and no "heads of colleges suffered to remain, that are not mani- "festly sound in religion. None would be suffered to re- "main there that have benefices with cure, distant more "than 30 or 40 miles from the university.

Schoolmasters.

"None would be suffered to be teachers or instructors of "youth, either in the universities, or in the country in "public places, or private houses, but such as are manifest "good subjects, and sound in religion.

A particular information to be made of

"For reformation of these faults in the bishops, their "officers, and the rest of the clergy, there may be many "particular informations, and which were requisite to be

" delivered to the archbishop of Canterbury: that by her " majesty's commandment, he may with conference with the " best choice bishops enter into the reformation thereof. Anno 1586.

" It is also necessary, that the inns of court and chancery the abuses in the clergy. " be purged of all unsound persons: so as none be suffered " to live there, that doth not shew himself manifestly a good Inns of court. " subject. Neither would any be suffered to practise the " law, that have been expelled out of their houses. Nor " they suffered to live in or about the city, where they may " easily corrupt others.

" The like also would be of all that profess the civil law, Civilians. " and exercise of physic. Considering, that professors Physicians. " thereof have a public office, whereby they may easily se- " duce their clients and patients.

" Thus far may serve for the governance of the church; " for the teaching of the people; for the instruction of " youth. Whereby all sorts of persons may be contained " in their duties, to be good subjects, and not to incline " themselves to papistry.

" The second kind of remedy followeth. Which is, to Execution of laws. " have the laws duly executed, with mercy towards such as " be weak in understanding; who are rather to be in- " structed. And with justice to such as wilfully and ob- " stinately do offend, and do refuse to be taught or in- " structed.

" There are divers kinds of offenders; and so are they " to be used or corrected.

" The first are such as are come or shall come by stealth Jesuits, seminaries, fugitives. " into the realm, from Rome, or from the places where " English rebels, or English Jesuits, or seminary priests, " do haunt. For the apprehension of those that are to " come or shall depart by seas, some precise order would " be taken, that no manner of person, any wise to be sus- " pected, should come or depart in any ship, but they " should be stayed. And for the execution hereof au- " thority would be given to persons of choice to have a " care hereof.

" For such as be in the realm, search would be had. And

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" the parties being taken, they would be committed to one " or two persons only, meet for that kind of men, and for " no other offenders. These would be first treated withal " by instruction. For which purpose the clergy ought to " be at the charge, to find x or xii principal learned, dis- " creet, and charitable persons; who, by quartering the su- " perfluity of the persons having pluralities———by the " year, might always attend hereupon in some competent " number. Such as might be reclaimed, (and the commu- " tation of penance would help hereto,) without hypocrisy, " ought to be relieved also by the common charge of the " clergy. Such as would not after reasonable time be re- " claimed, would be certified of what condition they are. " And according as it should appear that they have used " their authority to reconcile any people to the pope, so " would they be thereof straitly examined, and with some " compulsory means made to utter their actions. And then " they would be judiciously examined, whether they do " think that the pope's bulls published or to be published " against her majesty, containing sentence of deprivation of " her from her crown, and excommunication of her subjects " from obeying of her, be lawful, and to be obeyed. In " which cases, if the said persons shall refuse to answer, or " shall answer, that such bulls are lawful, and ought to be " obeyed; then such would be indicted of treason; and

To be executed for example.

" would be thereof arraigned. And if they shall persist in " their treasonable opinion, they would be hanged; and " the manner of drawing and quartering forborne.

" And if many of these should happen thus to be con- " demned, there might be discretion used, to stay the exe- " cution of some of them: and by warrant of her majesty

Banishment.

" to be exiled, with pain to be immediately without further " process hanged, if they should return into the realm.

Recusants of value.

" For the rest of the offenders in not coming to the " church, consideration is to be had of their diversity. " Some are men of estimation and livelihood in their coun- " tries. Some are mean men of livelihood, and of small " freehold, or living by their farms. Some others are but

" poor, or but servants. As to the first, it is but reason " the statute be executed upon them; as men able to sa- " tisfy the penalties. And if any of them shall be proved " to have seduced any other good subject to offend in the " like case, such a person would be committed to close pri- " son for that fact; and yet pay the fine of the law. And " if such person shall be taken to be of good credit in his " country, he would be removed thence into some other " place; where his doings might be looked to. And there " bound to remain in a limit; and not to persuade any per- " son to be of his opinion, upon pain to be imprisoned, and " to be further dealt withal by order of law, to try his alle- " giance. From these kind of persons also would be se- " questered all offices, all armour and weapon: none also " should be suffered to be officers over their tenants, stew- " ards, bailiffs, or such like, but persons that should mani- " festly be good subjects.

" Their children also being young would be committed " to good schoolmasters, to be faithfully and religiously " instructed. Their presentments to any benefices would " be duly examined by the ordinary, to be of good men, " or else to reject, and to present good by lapse.

Second sort of meaner offenders.

" The second sort, viz. of meaner persons, and fully to " satisfy the penalty, should be for lack of satisfaction com- " mitted to prison; and there treated withal to yield a rea- " sonable portion of his fine: and so to be released upon " bonds with sureties to return to prison: there to continue " one month in every quarter; except in the mean time he " shall reform himself.

Beggars recusants.

" The third sort that have nothing to pay would be com- " mitted to prison, into places where they might work in " some sort for their living, if they be able. And such as " be not able to work would also remain in prison: except " they could find sureties to be of good abearing in all " points; saving for the offence of not coming to the " church.

" All these kind of persons, either out of prison or in

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" prison, would be forced and compelled to hear some " preachers or instructors once in a month.

" It would be notified, that as many as will come to " their parish church shall not be compelled to answer to " any questions offensive to their conscience: so as they do " not by their teaching or speeches move any other to for- " bear from the church.

" Generally none of these offenders would be suffered to " have any books of divinity but the Bible, or any part " thereof: or any ancient or others, doctors of the church, " that are allowed in the church of England.

" Orders would be taken for certain houses to be pro- " vided in such sort as Wisbich is, to keep only these kind " of prisoners for religion; as Quinborough and Portsmouth " are. And portions of money reserved out of the fines.

" It would also avoid a great offence by the papists, if " her majesty would notify her gracious disposition in con- " veying her portion of the fines to public good uses in the " counties where the fines are levied: allowing part to the " prisons, where the poor sort of recusants are kept, so as " the slanderous papists may forbear to publish, as they do, " that men are sought after for gain of money, rather than " for just punishment.

Oath of supremacy.

" Generally, where the oath of supremacy is to be taken, " it would be taken according as it is expounded by the " queen's majesty's Injunctions, mentioned in the act an. " 5to. And the same to be in these kind of words, That " her majesty, in the right of her crown, under God, hath " and ought to have the sovereignty and rule over all man- " ner of persons, born within her dominions, of what state " soever they be, ecclesiastical or temporal; and that no " other foreign power, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or " ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre- " eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within " her majesty's said realms, dominions, or countries.

A calendar of recusants.

" There would be a calendar made of all recusants, being " men of estimation and livelihood, in every shire, of their

" habitation; and in what state they do now stand. A re- CHAP. VI.
" gister also of all parents that have their children beyond
" seas. Anno 1586.

" *To be added to the former remedies.*

" For terror, and for punishment of such recusants as " are of wealth and credit, considering, by refusing to come " to church the pain is but pecuniary; so as thereby they " may continue their credit in the country, and keep " their armour and all other strength: it were meet, that " her majesty would give authority to a number of her " council; so as at the least six of them might tender the " oath of the supremacy to such of them as her majesty " shall not mislike. Which if they refuse, then are in dan- " ger, as of the *premunire:* which is, forfeiture of the pro- " fit of their lands, and all their goods, and imprisonment " during life: and thereby neither bloodshed, nor their " heirs disinherited. And if her majesty shall see cause to " proceed more severely against them for their evil deserts, " then may they have the same oath secondly offered; " whereby both their lives and their lands may be lost. Or " else they may be brought in danger of treason, by inqui- " sition of their adherence to the pope, as an enemy to the " queen by the wars in Ireland.

" For the Jesuits and seminaries, they may be proceeded Jesuits.
" withal for maintaining the pope's authority, enemy to the Place them in prison upon com-
" crown; remember the ancient law 25 Edw. III. and mon charge.
" thereupon some most notable to be executed, by hanging
" only; and the rest to be burned, or otherwise marked in
" some part of the hand, whereby to be hereafter known;
" and to be banished the realm, with condition to be hanged
" without further process, whensoever they shall return
" without licence; [unless] upon amendment of their er-
" rors."

BOOK II.

CHAP. VII.

Anno 1586. *Travers acquaints the lords of the council with his lectures at the Temple, and conference with Hooker, upon some points. A religious company complained of to the archbishop, for certain opinions. What they were. One Darrel pretends to cast out devils. White, an enthusiast anabaptist, calls himself John a Baptist: his examination. Discourses in parliament against the disciplinarian model. A dearth. Whitaker and others stand for to succeed Howland in the mastership of St. John's college. Puritans in Christ's college. That college visited. They refuse the Injunctions of the visitor.*

Travers, lecturer of the Temple, silenced.

THE archbishop of Canterbury had lately silenced Travers, the lecturer of the Temple, a learned man, but somewhat disaffected to the church established. The cause of it was, to put a stop to a course used in his lectures, to confute in the afternoon the doctrine that Mr. Hooker, the master of the Temple, preached in the morning. Which tending to little good but to create differences and factions, the archbishop thought fit to forbid Travers to preach any more there. This business hath been shewn more at large in the Life of that archbishop.

Book iii. chap. 16.

His Supplication to the queen's council.

But soon after, Travers applied to the council, to be restored to his lecture, in a Supplication to the lords, declaring at large the cause of the contention between them, in relation to the unsound doctrines by the master of the Temple preached: which he briefly thus represented to them. "That he had discovered sundry unsound matters "in his [Hooker's] doctrine. And that many of his ser-

Hooker's doctrine charged to be unsound.

"mons tasted of some sour leaven or other. That matters "of smaller weight, and so covertly discoursed, that no "great offence to the church was to be feared in them. "And those he wholly passed by. But others of greater "moment, and so openly delivered, as there was just cause "of fear lest the truth and church of God should be pre-"judiced and periled by it, and such as the conscience of

" his duty and calling would not suffer him altogether to
" pass over; this was his course; to deliver, when he had
" just cause by the text, the truth of such doctrines as he Anno 1586.
" had otherwise taught in general speeches, without touch 430
" of his person in any sort; and sometime, at convenient
" opportunity, conferred with him in such points.

" Thus whereas Hooker had taught certain things con- Predestination.
" cerning predestination, otherwise than the word of God
" did, as it was understood by all churches professing the
" gospel, and not unlike that wherewith Coranus sometime
" troubled the church; he said, he both delivered the truth
" in such points in a general doctrine, without any touch of
" him in particular; and conferred also with him privately
" upon such articles. In which conference he remembered,
" that when he urged the consent of all churches and good
" writers against him, Hooker answered him, that *his best*
" *author was his own reason.* Which then he [Travers]
" wished him to take heed of, as a matter standing with
" Christian modesty and wisdom, in a doctrine not received
" by the church; not to trust to his own judgment, so far
" to practise it, before he had conferred with others of his
" profession; labouring, by daily prayer and study, to know
" the will of God, (as he [Travers] did,) to see how they
" understood such doctrines. Notwithstanding, added Tra-
" vers, with wavering he replied, that he would some other
" time deal more largely in that matter.

" That another time he preached this doctrine, that the Assurance.
" assurance that we believe by the word is not so certain as
" of that we perceive by sense. But that he [Travers]
" taught the doctrine otherwise; namely, the *assurance* of
" faith to be greater: which assured both of things above,
" and contrary to all human sense and understanding. And
" that he dealt with him also upon that point."

Again, (as he went on in his declaration to the lords,) The church of Rome a true church.
" That he answered Hooker in another point, which he de-
" livered in his sermon: which was, that he taught that the
" *church of Rome was a true church of Christ;* and a sanc-
" tified church by profession of the truth which God re-

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Anno 1586.

" vealed unto us by his Son, though not a pure and perfect " church, &c. To which Travers thus answered; That it " was a matter of that moment to deliver, that it might pre- " judice the faith of Christ; encourage the evil affected to " continue still in their damnable ways, and other weak in " faith to suffer themselves easily to be seduced, to the de- " struction of their souls, &c." All the rest that follows in Travers' Supplication, in relation to the controversy between him and the master of the Temple, I omit. But what sufficient answer he made for himself in each particular may be seen in his works; making the archbishop of Canterbury his judge; " Offering to his grace's hands a plain declara- " tion of his innocence, as he wrote, in all these things, " whereof he was so hardly and so heavily charged; lest, if " he still remained silent, that which he did for quietness " sake be taken as an argument that he lacked what to " speak truly and justly in his own defence."

A religious company complained of to the archbishop for some opinions.

431 There was a religious assembly now taken notice of, (whereof one Glover was a chief, and, as it seems, a minister,) complained of, for their opinions, to the archbishop: which Glover with some others were imprisoned. But whatsoever this society was, they seemed so excusable to the lord treasurer Burghley, that he wrote a letter to the archbishop in their favour. For which the said Glover writ to him a letter of thanks. In which letter may be seen what their tenets and doctrines were, namely, about the sense of *justification* and *predestination;* followers perhaps of Dr. Peter Baro, late Margaret professor in Cambridge, and Corranus before him. I choose to repeat Glover's letter, as I find it, dated in April this year.

Glover one of them, his letter, shewing their doctrines.

" Acknowledging myself most highly bound unto your " honour, in that you would vouchsafe, for us poor and " contemptible persons, to write so graciously unto the " archbishop. These are to repay what poor recompence " and thanks I am able: wishing unto your lordship the " most good I can, though I am of power to do none; and " praying to God most heartily for the same.

" Also, to prevent sinister information, I think it most

" needful to explain truly and briefly unto your wisdom " the capital points for the which we suffer: and wherein, if " we can be proved to err, we require to be reformed by " reason, and not by rigour.

" The first and chiefest is, in that we teach, that all men, " to be justified, must come to Christ, who is only and " wholly our remission and justification by the way of true " faith and repentance, or amendment of life: as John Bap- " tist teacheth; and not by faith only, as Luther of late " hath taught.

" The second is, that God hath from the beginning " chosen in Christ and predestinate none to be in the state " of salvation for that time as they are not predestinate to " be in the state of charity and true repentance: as Mr. " Calvin newly hath written.

" The third and last, that the vineyard of God and " church of Christ is not given to such who profess in words " only, but only to such who bring forth the fruits thereof " in their seasons.

" For the discussing whereof we refer ourselves to the " due trial and examination of the word especially; as " also to the authority of ancient fathers agreeable there- " unto. By the which if we shall be convict before indif- " ferent judges in an open assembly, we offer ourselves " willingly to be reformed, or else refuse no punishment. " Humbly beseeching all in authority, that we may find " this end, which thieves, murtherers, and all malefactors " find; to wit, that our accusers and adversaries may not " be our judges: that our causes may not be determined of " in corners: that they may not handle us as they list " themselves. And so shall we not have the cause we have " justly to complain of their iniquity and tyranny. The " Lord Jesus preserve you and yours from all evil for ever. " *Amen.* Subscribing,

" Your humble orator,

" Edward Glover."

I have a few remarks to make here of two *enthusiasts*, 432

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Anno 1586. One Darrel pretends to cast out devils.

or rather cheats and deceivers: the one was named Joh. Dayrel, or Darrel, bachelor of arts, soon after a minister, of the preciser sort, about three or four and twenty years of age; who pretended to have cast out a devil out of one Katharine Wright, a young wench about seventeen, living in Darbyshire. And after, upon a return of the evil spirit into her, he cast out eight devils more, with which she was pretended to be possessed. A history whereof Darrel writ at large, and communicated some copies thereof to several persons; and among the rest to the lady Bowes: hoping to get applause, and compass other ends hereby. We hear little more of him and of his feats, till nine or ten years after, about the year 1596. And out of a great many more pretendedly possessed persons Darrel cast out their devils: as, out of a boy in Burton, called Tho. Darling, about fourteen years old. Whereof another book was penned by a saddler in that town, confederate, as it seems, with him: which book was revised and contracted by one Denison, a minister; and then published in print; and called, *The book of the dispossession of the boy of Burton.* This spread Darrel's fame throughout the country. So that afterwards he was sent for in Lancashire unto Mr. Starkie there; in whose house were seven persons possessed with as many devils; all which he cast out. Whereof one was called Anne Ashton: who after fell into the hands of certain seminary priests, (thinking how by her tricks she might be of service to them,) and was carried by them up and down the country to sundry recusants' houses; and by her cunning counterfeiting of certain fits, and staying herself for the secret directions of the said priests, she had her gains, and the priests gained great credit to them and their doctrine among the ignorant people.

There was also one Sommers of Nottingham, a youth likewise, with whom this wonder-working man had much ado, by reason of his violent fits, to master the unclean spirit that acted him: but dispossessed he was at last. Many friends this impostor had, pretending to do all by prayer and fasting. In short, he was at last summoned up

to Lambeth, with one Moor, another minister that held with him, before the archbishop and commissioners ecclesiastical; and found a gross impostor; and committed both to close prison. A particular relation of all this was set forth afterwards in a book by Dr. S. Harsnet, who was chaplain to bishop Bancroft; exposing the man and his cheats and impostures. CHAP. VII. Anno 1586.

Another such an impostor was one John White, a shoemaker, of Raleigh in Essex, an anabaptist, or of the sect of the *family of love*; who held himself to be John Baptist; and gave out very odd and vile speeches under pretence of religion. The report of this man spread. And at last it was thought convenient to the magistrate to call him, and those he pretended to teach, into examination. Which take as I find it in one of the bundles of paper in the king's Paper-house, Westminster. One gives out himself to be John Baptist.

The examination of John White of Raleigh, shoemaker, aged 24: *taken by Arthur Herrys, justice of the peace, living at Woodham Mortymer, Oct.* 1586. 433

" That he came to the shop of one John Warley of Ra- Depositions taken concerning him.
" leigh; and said to John Young in the said shop, I come
" to do you good. The said J. Young, examinate, asked
" him, What good? He replied, You can never glorify
" God aright, until you have fulfilled all your lusts. He
" asked him, What they were? Ye must, saith he, if ye
" have a mind to a woman, marry her. If ye like her not,
" put her away, and take another. If you like not her, take
" a third; and so as many as ye can: and when ye can
" obtain no more, take maids, and take away their beauty;
" meaning, to deflour them, as this examinate understood
" him. The examinate asked him, What warrant he had
" for these things? He answered, David could never see
" his sins, until such time as he had fulfilled all his lust;
" nor Solomon, until such time as he had accomplished all
" his desire. To this the other answered, That this was con-
" trary to the word and law of God, and that he falsified
" the scripture. The other answered, What have we to do

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" with the law? the gospel is above the law. To this the " examinate said again, that the Lord would judge us ac- " cording to the rigour of his law, unless we endeavoured " by all possible means to fulfil it. I think, saith this exa- " minate, ye are an anabaptist, or one of the *family of love.*

Calls himself John of Baptist.

" To this the other said, If ye had said a John of Baptist, " ye had said right: for there was but one before Christ, " and another after.

" These speeches ended, John Warely, the master of this " examinate, called him away; and willed the other to de- " part from the shop, saying, that he was not the man he " took him for.

" At the same time another person present deposed, that " he said, It is good for you to take time while it lasts. Go " into the gardens, and see all the herbs: for *time* is the " bravest herb that groweth. Our queen shall live but a " little while: she will be gone ere summer come.

" Another shoemaker of Raleigh deposed, that this John " Young, alias Snelling, came as a stranger to offer service " to him, who took him into service about a month last past. " And that for that month he behaved himself orderly, " until Wednesday last in the morning, he began to enter " into a vain talk lunaticly; altogether touching divinity, " and matter of religion: that he went from his shop down " the street, to the shop of a neighbour of his; where " he had some speeches; for which he was apprehended." [Which speeches, as it seems, were concerning the sudden death of the queen, as he had heard from the abovesaid enthusiast.]

" Then John White examined said, That being at War- " ly's shop, he prayed that God would take away, for the " sins of the people, our good prince: that the people for " their sins might be punished with some tyrant: and be-
434 " ing touched concerning other of his speeches makes no " certain answer; but behaveth himself in word and ges- " tures lunaticly." Then follows:

Arthur Herrys sent this examination to the lord chancellor Bromeley, to know his order what to do with the

man; but concludeth him lunatic, or of imperfect sense. Whether so indeed, or but feigned, he knew not certainly: but if he might utter his opinion, he thought him to be a man overstudied with anabaptistical conceits. And therewithal partly entered into lunacy or phrensy.

Anno 1586.

Judged lunatic.

This year the disciplinarians struggled hard in parliament for a reformation of the present church, according to their model prepared and offered in the house. Some account whereof was given in the Life of Archbishop Whitgift. Many were the speeches and discourses *pro* and *con* then delivered. The heads of some of them in behalf of the established church, and against any innovations to be introduced, were these: That the present form of our ecclesiastical government in England is both godly and necessary. Another head of discourse was, that the ordinances of our church and the means appointed for the execution are good and commendable. Another, that if any thing be generally amiss in ecclesiastical affairs, it appertaineth, under her majesty, to the clergy in the convocation house, or synod, to be reformed. Another head of discourse was, that when orders are agreed upon by the clergy, and confirmed by her majesty, those men ought to be punished that wilfully oppose themselves, and will not obey them. Another went on this head, certain mischiefs ensuing the puritans' demands and platform. And lastly, another, entitled, *The errors and untruths in the bill exhibited for a reformation.* These arguments, and other, such like, may be found and read in a volume in the Lambeth library, endorsed, *Memoirs*, in archbishop Whitgift's time.

Discourses in parliament against the disciplinarian model.

Book iii. ch. 17.

And as these controversies about religion made discontents and disturbances among the queen's subjects; so there happened now a matter of another nature, that gave many of them trouble and distress, and that was, a great dearth. Provision for food grown scarce, and the prices of victuals enhanced; by reason of very unseasonable weather the last year, and now by withholding corn and provision, and not bringing it to the markets by means of engrossers. The queen moved with a compassion towards her poorer sort of sub-

A dearth.

The cause thereof.

BOOK II.

jects, issued forth her proclamation, Jan. the 2d, to remedy this as much as she could, by requiring corn-masters to sell their corn, and appointing victuals to be sold at reasonable prices, set down.

Anno 1586.

The queen's proclamation.

" Declaring therein, how the dearth was in sundry parts " of the realm, first grown by the visitation of Almighty " God in the alteration of seasonable weather in the last " year: which yet was not so extreme in this realm as in " many other countries adjoining; whereof the dearth was " by many occasions known manifestly to be far greater " than it was in this realm hitherto, or by God's goodness " like to be.

" That it was manifestly known, the said dearth to have " been wilfully increased in very many places of the realm, 435 " not only by and through the covetousness of many en- " grossers of corn and corn-masters, but also by unlawful " transportation of grain, and lack also of preservation of " store in time requisite.

" The queen acknowledged this manner of God's mercy " and favour, in a more favourable measure towards her coun- " try and her people, than in any other foreign parts ad- " joining; and that she thought good and necessary for " a further remedy against the uncharitable covetousness " of the corn-masters, as cause should require, to notify, " that if such as were great corn-masters and owners of " grain, or of other necessary victually for food of the poor, " should not be willing, or did not perform certain orders " that she intended to set forth, whereby the poorer sort " might be relieved in the markets at reasonable prices; or " that it should appear that other needful victuals should " by covetousness of any person grow to excessive prices, " to the pinching of the poorer sort; she did hereby signify " that she would not only severely punish the offenders for " their cruel covetousness and offences against her orders; " but would also, for the excessive prices of other needful " victuals, give order, that reasonable prices should be set " both on corn and other victuals, to be sold for the relief " of her majesty's poor subjects, according to both her pre-

" rogative royal, and to the order of justice as by special CHAP
" law of parliament therefore made in the 25th year of the VII.
" reign of her late noble and dear father king Henry VIII. Anno 1586.
" was especially in such cases provided. Given at Green-
" wich, the 2d of January, 1586, in the 29th year of her
" reign."

But this special order for setting particular prices for the selling of all sorts of corn and grain, and all other victuals, I do not find added in this declaration till the year 1588; and then joined to another at large.

The preamble to the queen's proclamation abovesaid shewed her princely affection and tender compassion towards her poor subjects; which inclineth me to add it here, viz.

" That she foreseeing the general dearth grown of corn, The queen's affection to her poor subjects.
" and other victuals, partly through the unseasonableness
" of the year past; whereby want had grown more in some
" countries than in others; and most of all generally
" through the covetousness and uncharitable greediness of
" such as were great corn-masters and engrossers of corn;
" using all subtile means they could to work their own
" present and unconscionable gain against the rules of cha-
" rity; which her majesty, of her princely care and love to-
" wards her people, utterly condemned, and earnestly de-
" sired to remedy, for the relief of the poorer sort; and
" therefore, out of her said princely care toward all her
" people, having with the advice of her council had good
" consideration hereof, did by her proclamation give ex-
" press commandment and charge unto all such unto whom
" it shall or might appertain, that such good orders as her
" majesty had commanded to be devised for that purpose,
" and now also sent into all parts of her realm, be diligently
" and effectually put in speedy execution, signifying to all
" her good and loving subjects, that if any should be found
" obstinate or negligent in the due execution, or otherwise 436
" observation thereof; that then, upon due information and
" proof thereof made unto her highness' council, which she
" required not to be spared by any having just cause of

BOOK II. Anno 1586.

" complaint, for respect of any person, she had given spe-
" cial command and order, that they should be speedily
" called to answer; and thereupon, according to the quality
" of their offences, they should receive sharp punishment.
" Whereby others might take example to avoid the like
" contempt, negligences, and other defaults."

But now to descend to matters less public happening this year in the university.

Whitaker stands for the mastership of St. John's college in Cambridge.

Dr. Howland had for some time held the mastership of St. John's college in Cambridge, with his bishopric of Peterburgh. Nor wanted there such in the college as looked earnestly to succeed; and namely, Watson and Stanton, according as both parties had their friends in the college; and also Dr. Whitaker of Trinity college, the queen's public professor of divinity: for whom the lord Burghley, sometime of St. John's college, and styled a patron to it, was concerned; knowing him a learned and sober man. And the bishop of Peterburgh held the mastership the longer, till a favourable opportunity might present, for the election of him or some other worthy man. The bishop being now desirous to resign, as finding it too difficult to take that due care of the college, and his see also, as was requisite, signified his mind to the said lord: and the rather now, the college, that in former times was in great disorders, being pretty well quieted. The bishop was then at the college, when he wrote his letter declaring his intent; and wherein this present college affair appearing more plainly, I shall give the tenor of it from the original before me.

Bishop Howland, master of the college, to the lord Burghley, concerning Whitaker's interest.

" That he could not enter so far into the affection of the
" college for Mr. Whitaker as he purposed: but yet so far
" he went, that he was fully persuaded he might be chosen
" by voice; but not without a strong faction for Mr. Wat-
" son, as was pretended, but he thought, in truth, for Mr.
" Stanton: which, as he added, would greatly hinder the
" government, and alter the quiet state of the college; the
" good whereof he knew his lordship did greatly tender.
" And that therefore, if it should please his lordship, at his
" next return, which should be before Michaelmas, God

" willing, to vouchsafe his letters unto the fellows in favour " of Mr. Whitaker, upon his relinquishing the place, he did " not doubt to draw them, if not to a general consent, yet " not to repugn the same at the least: that so it will appear " what course was to be taken; whereupon he would not " only give over the place, but do what further his lordship " will him herein. Anno 1586.

" For that besides his honourable care for the man and " college, he found it chargeable unto him to keep two " places; either place besides requiring a whole man. Nor " that was it his mind ever to keep it any longer than to " make things fit for his lordship's determination, and to " leave the same with credit. Humbly praying, that God " would still bless them, that it might continue in as good " peace and quiet as, by God's great mercies, he should " now leave it, the state of Cambridge and studies this time 437 " considered."

St. John's college to the lord Burghley, upon their master's being made bishop.

But to understand this matter better, we must go a year or two back. The seniors and other fellows of that college, upon the advancement of Dr. Howland unto the aforesaid bishopric, in a letter to the lord Burghley, earnestly expressed their desire for Whitaker to be their master in his room, upon account of his great merit. They thanked him for honouring their master, Dr. Howland, in raising him by his interest to so high a degree in the church as that of a bishop. They expressed a great sorrow to be deprived of him: *Quocum annis multis jam tum magna collegii dignitate tranquille picque viximus.* And that now the queen being of course to send them a master, having taken the other from them, they were very solicitous whom she would send them, since many were now candidates. But that they, the fellows of the house, that wrote this letter to his lordship, judged, that Whitaker was beyond them all. *Unus Whitakerus, qui vir, Deus bone! quanta virtute, quam excellenti doctrina præditus!* They acknowledged that they did sometimes in discourse among themselves look on it as a neglect in him, [the lord Burghley,] and other great men

Whitaker recommended by them.

BOOK II.

of the court, that they thought no more of preferring this man.

Anno 1586. They went on in these words: *Si non esset Whitakerus, aut si noster non esset, aliumne athletam habemus illi parem, quem Rhemensibus præclarisque Jesuitis, et omnibus papistarum emissariis objiceremus?* So that he was now esteemed the great champion of the protestant cause. And that whereas about that time, (viz. an. 1584,) the popish scholars did fly up and down the kingdom, and make great boasts, and seemed to carry all before them, that they doubted not but by his [this learned man's] pains and assistance they should be beaten, and forced to give place. They added, that he had by his book, most accurately written, and published, overthrown that whole stock, and all our fugitives and followers of the pope.

Whitaker lived at this time in a little house near the college: which gave these fellows occasion to add, *Tantum tali ingenio præditum, tam bene de ecclesia et evangelio meritum, inter oppidanos*, &c. i. e. Should we suffer such a great man, furnished with such parts, that hath so well deserved of the church and the gospel, to live in a poor, strait, hired house of his own, among the townsmen? Shall there be no place among all these large colleges to receive him according to his worth? And so they ended, earnestly begging that Whitaker might be their master. There was but eleven subscribed this letter: but they seemed to be the seniors, whereof Andrew Downes was the first, who was Greek professor.

But notwithstanding this earnest letter, there was great opposition by others in the college against him. And he was chosen with much ado, the lord Burghley resolving to put him in. But it seems upon second thoughts, and to avoid contention, it was resolved that bishop Howland should continue their master. And so he was till February 1586, when Whitaker, not without difficulty, was elected master. But the election being dubious, the matter was determined by the bishop of Ely and the other visitors of the college.

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But bishop Howland was this summer retiring from the college to Peterburgh, soon after the commencement; and minded to take along with him some young gentlemen of that college, (to whom the lord Burghley had a more particular regard and oversight,) it being now a time of leisure to the students, and to prevent the danger of sickness in regard of the multitude and the heat of summer, and withal for their recreation. But the bishop thought it advisable first to obtain that lord's leave for them. For thus his former letter concludes: "I am most humbly to request your "lordship's favour, (for without it we dare not,) that the "earl of Southampton, Mr. Cecill, [lord Burghley's grand-"son,] and Mr. Denny, [grandson, as it seems, to sir An-"thony Denny, an eminent statesman in king Henry and "king Edward's reigns,] might come over unto Peterburgh "for two or three weeks, now after the commencement, to "the avoiding of our pestered house in this heat of sum-"mer, and for their recreation: which I trust shall be for "their good. Dated from St. John's college the 27th of "June, 1586."

Bishop Howland takes some gentlemen of the college with him to Peterburgh.

Puritanism prevailed now in Christ's college; Gold and Usher being proceeded with for that cause: Gold for a sermon preached at St. Mary's; who was thought and also reported to have spoken against the *cross*, and the use of the same, now received in the church of England: for which he was cited before the vice-chancellor and heads, June the 10th. Where before Dr. Tyndal, vice-chancellor, and Fulk, Goad, Norgate, and Lorkin, he openly protested that he had no such intendment; and that he did not disallow or condemn the cross, or the sign of the same, but thinketh it to be tolerable. *Et sic absolutus est ab ulteriori*, &c.

Gold, of Christ's college, preaches against the cross.

MSS. acad. rev. T. Bak.

Regist. acad.

The trouble brought upon Christopher Usher, A. B. of the same college, was occasioned from some table-talk between him and Thomas Bowes, A. M. who had taken some offence at certain words which passed, as he thought, from the said Christopher, as derogating from the queen's majesty's authority, preeminence, and title. And thereupon

Usher of that college, his trouble.

BOOK II. Anno 1586.

humbly requested Dr. Tyndal, vice-chancellor, that he would cause the said Christopher to set down, and plainly to express his meaning in the former talk. The said Christopher for this appeared before the said vice-chancellor and Mr. Dr. Still, justices of the peace, and of the quorum. He protested that he spake no such words as were laid to his charge.

Whereupon one William Prat, A. M. and two more scholars of the house, then present at such talk, were examined by the justices: who denied any such words, as the said Christopher was burdened withal, to have been spoken or uttered in their hearing. And further, the said Tho. Bowes, being demanded of Mr. Vice-chancellor, answered and said, that he did believe, that the said Christopher did speak these words, which he did lay to his charge, not of any cankered or malicious stomach, but only in way of talk, and rash *contradicendi studio*, rather than for any thing else. Whereupon the said justices, after a godly exhortation given unto the said Christopher, to be circumspect and wise in talking of princes' matters, and to either of them to live in unity and peace, dismissed the said Christopher.

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Christ's college visited, upon the breach of the statutes.

I have some further remark to make of this college. This house was this year found guilty of divers faults, and matters that required inspection and redress: insomuch, that in the month of December Dr. Copcotts, being now vice-chancellor, an honest, stirring man, and perceiving the affairs of that college complained of, as mightily out of order, (almost every statute of the foundress transgressed,) proceeded to visit the college: for the chancellor of that university, or his vice-chancellor, was yearly visitor of it.

Information of abuses practised there.

At Dr. Hawford's death, which was in the year 1579, (who was the former master,) there was in their college treasury 700*l.*: of which they laid out 400*l.* for a purchase: whereof they raised the fellows' commons to three shillings a week, which by statute was but twelve pence. They took no care to restore in time the common treasury, or to increase what was left; but took all commodities of fines for

leases, and of wood-sales to themselves. They had a dividend at the baker's hands, who allowed 15 to the dozen. The commodity whereof went to the fellows. The scholars' size in that respect was the less, &c. Dr. Copcots thought therefore to give injunctions to the college, and had drawn them up, to the number of 21: which he sent to the chancellor, entreating him to peruse, and to amend and ratify them: asserting that there was not one clause in the whole, but met with some disorder or abuse, or some breach of statute. Anno 1586

What injunctions the visitor gave to the college, the master was bound within a month to see them executed; else to be admonished the second time. If still neglected, it was loss of his place. This is the sum of a letter to the chancellor by the vice-chancellor, acquainting him with this college affair; expecting his order, and confirmation of what he had done: which letter I have transcribed from the original, and reserved in the Appendix. No. XVI.

Ill practices in the college.

The injunctions are too long to be here set down: but by them it appears, that nonconformity was gotten in greatly into the college: that the fellows neglected public prayers as to the time and habit appointed by the statutes of the university and college: and so was the partaking of the holy communion neglected too: that in their common places their practice was, to reflect upon particular persons, [whose doctrines or persons they liked not.] And their common places were so tedious and long in the chapel, that the lectures in the hall were omitted. They neglected to speak Latin in the court and in the hall. Those that were to perform divine offices, or scholastic exercises, did neglect their duties. They ordinarily dined and supped out of the college. They wore not caps. They would go into the town, not in their academical habits: which it seems the master himself, Dr. Barwel, neglected, with other charges laid against him. When they disputed publicly, or did their exercise *ad clerum*, the members of the college did not accompany them either to the schools or St. Mary's. But see these injunctions at length in the Appendix. No. XVII.

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This visitation continued.

This visitation the vice-chancellor continued and prorogued from time to time, in order to examine those of the house that were from home at the time of administering the interrogatories to them: which continuation lasted beyond the time of the vice-chancellor's year or office. Of these injunctions and proceedings the master and fellows informed the lord Burghley, the high chancellor, in order to their own vindication; complaining of their visitor for misrepresenting them, in charging them with such misdemeanours, and endeavouring to clear themselves of them: and asserting, that he could not prorogue the visitation so long by their statute, delivering the injunctions but in February the 22d: and continuing it further to the 22d of March, which was the sixth time: and thereby that he had broke the statute, which limited the time of such visitation.

The college represents their case to the chancellor, lord Burghley.

And whereas it was charged upon them by their visitor, that they had used unseemly words and behaviour towards him, they set down in their letter, dated February 26, to that lord, the very words, and the occasion of speaking them; viz. "That the master, having signified before his mind "concerning this endless visitation, one of the fellows, being "thereunto appointed by the company, used these words: "'I beseech your worship, Mr. Vice-chancellor, to hear me "speak unto you in the name of the fellows, (they being "present to justify the same:) Considering the injury that "our college hath received by your often continuance of "this visitation, we signify thus much, that reserving all "reverence and duty to you, as Mr. Vice-chancellor, we are "minded to appear no more at your commandment by the "name of our *visitor*."

The college refuse the visitor's injunctions: and why.

The lord Burghley had written them a letter, upon complaint of his vice-chancellor concerning them; mentioning to him, how they had irreverendly behaved themselves towards him, his deputy, their visitor, and concerning their refusal in receiving his injunctions. To the former the college gave that lord their answer, as abovesaid. Touching receiving the injunctions, thus they answered; "That so "far forth as they pertained to the reformation of the breach

" of such statutes as wherein there was any offence com-
" mitted, they would dutifully yield unto his lawful autho-
" rity; for so far and no farther their statutes limited him. Anno 1586.
" That as for other statutes, which he termed by the name
" of *injunctions*, they could not yield unto them without the
" discredit of their house, the overthrow of their liberty, and
" the utter subversion of the state of their government. The
" end of which his injunctions, if he could as well see what
" confusion it would breed in their house, as by their expe-
" rience they throughly knew, they believed he would be
" more sparing in challenging more authority than he
" might. And yet they offered him, that if there were any
" disorder which he misliked, and would have reformed,
" upon proof thereof, they would take order, as by statute
" they had power within themselves to do, that not for the
" time present only, but for ever hereafter it should be re-
" formed in as effectual a manner as any man could require. 441
" But that, for aught they saw, Mr. Vice-chancellor's drift
" was, to alter the whole government of their house; and to
" bring it hereafter from the college to the vice-chancellor:
" that is, from a whole corporation to one private man. For
" otherwise, if the reformation of errors only were sought,
" he would never have stood so much in this matter, seeing
" that might be done with the hundredth part of this great
" ado."

Adding in the conclusion of this their brisk letter, " That
" it could not stand with the credit of government in their
" college, for Mr. Vice-chancellor to come as their visitor,
" and go out their founder." This was signed by the master and fellows: some of whom were, Andrew Williat, Cutbert Bainbrig, Will. Perkins, Francis Johnson, George Downham, who were puritans.

This controversy between the college and Dr. Copcot held to August the next year: when the lord Burghley was fain to appoint certain persons of that university to examine and judge of the matters between them. And so it ended. For which the college returned him (in another of their letters)

BOOK II. *quam maximas quamque mens hominis capere potest, amplissimas gratias ob maximum æternumque beneficium:* as Anno 1586. we shall take notice under the next year.

CHAP. VIII.

The printing-press at Cambridge. The archbishop's order to the university about books to be printed there. His letter about the university preachers. The university and town of Cambridge at difference. Their petition to the lord Burghley, their chancellor. Duchess of Somerset, her last will: her jewels: her letter to secretary Cecil, concerning the lord Hertford, her son, in the Tower. Sir Philip Sidney's last will. A letter of the young earl of Essex. Character of Davison, late secretary. Fleetwood, recorder of London, his diary. Books printed. P. Bizarus, a learned Italian, here. His writings.

I HAVE a remark or two more to make of the aforesaid university, before I leave it.

The archbishop to the university about their printing-press.

It was shewed before how the art of printing was set up, and began in Cambridge, by the advice and care of the heads and governors thereof. But there was a jealousy of the liberty of printing books there, the purposes whereof 442 sometimes might tend to more harm than good; namely, such as might either disturb the government, or the peace of the church. And therefore, for the preventing any such inconveniencies, the lords of the council had lately ordered, that no book should be printed in London, or in either of the universities, but the copies to be first reviewed and allowed by the archbishop of Canterbury or the bishop of London. And of this the careful archbishop gave the university of Cambridge information; and that on occasion of a book now in printing there, called, *The harmony of confessions*, &c. translated out of Latin into English; which, for some reasons, was not allowed in London to be printed. This the archbishop understanding was going in hand with these in Cambridge, sent his letter to the vice-chancellor and

Harmony of Confessions forbid printing.

heads, to cause the said book to be stayed from printing, and that presently upon the receipt thereof, until they should receive further direction from him. And that in regard of that late order of the council, he required them to take special care, that nothing should be printed there but what should be authorized accordingly. This letter, as taken from the records of that university, may be read in the Appendix. And yet, however it came to pass, the said book was printed and published this year, in octavo, at Cambridge, by Tho. Thomas, who was the university printer, (as my learned friend hath observed,) with this title, *An harmony of the confessions of the reformed churches*, &c. No doubt the printing of the book had the permission of the archbishop, after some review or correction of it.

Anno 1586.

No. XVIII.

Vid. Mansel's Catal.

Rev. T. Baker.

The archbishop also took care about the university preachers, who had their licence from the university: a privilege which they had, to nominate an university preacher, and some others, to a certain number, as it seems. But by this means several of that university had gotten to be preachers, that were disaffected to the doctrine, or rites, or constitution of the church, as established. To prevent or remedy this, the said watchful archbishop sent another letter this same year to the vice-chancellor and heads; requiring them, that whosoever should be by them admitted to preach in their university or elsewhere, should first subscribe the three articles agreed upon and confirmed by her majesty's authority; and threatening them, in case of their neglect in this matter of subscription, to call in question their authority to admit so many preachers; which how slender it was he well knew. This letter also I join to the former, to preserve, as much as we can, the memory and deserts of this great prelate.

University preachers to subscribe the three articles.

The archbishop's letter to that purpose.

No. XIX.

There was about this time a great difference and contest between the university and the town. What the first occasion or offence was, I inquire not. But so hot the people of the town were against the scholars, that about the time of Sturbridge fair, the mayor and others of the freemen made these orders, that no scholars or their servants

Difference between the town and university.

BOOK II. Anno 1586.

should have any booths in the fair, nor have any commodity belonging to the town. And furthermore, in other respects, shewing great ingratitude towards them of the university; bending themselves with much contention against them, more than had been known heretofore.

443 The course the university took.

The heads of the university, in their own right, and withal to be even with the town for their ingratitude, (who had such a dependence upon the scholars,) came to this resolution, to humble them, with the leave and concurrence of their high chancellor, viz. that no college, scholar, or scholar's servant, should sell or let any lands or tenements to any townsman, without it were with the consent of the chancellor and whole body of the university. Nor that any scholar or scholar's servant should buy any thing of them; as cloth, apparel, or victuals, or any thing else. And that none, either scholar, or servant of any scholar, or foreigner, taking to farm any house or land from the university, become after a freeman of the town, or let or set over any such house or land, or parcel thereof, to any townsman: or if so, the lease to cease and become void. And further, that no townsmen should partake of any benefit from a privilege granted to the university for the provision of corn and victuals for five miles compass from Cambridge. Other orders the heads agreed upon to straiten the townsmen, and to recover their privilege at Sturbridge fair. For this purpose, and that this their consultation might take effect, they preferred a petition to their chancellor, the lord Burghley; which was delivered to him by the hands of Perne, one of the ancientest heads of the university, and of venerable esteem. Which I leave to be read in the Appendix.

N°. XX.

Now I will proceed to make some observations of a few particular persons of note, as fall this year within our view.

Duchess of Somerset's last will.

This year the duchess of Somerset, a lofty lady, (relict of the great duke of Somerset, uncle to king Edward VI. and protector of his realms,) made her last will, dated July 14, though she died not till the year following. Several particulars, being the sum thereof, I will set down, as I have them from an authentic copy. Wherein will appear her vast

wealth, her children and posterity, her relations and servants, by the legacies she left them.

Anno 1586.

" First, she thanked God in Christ Jesus, that he had " long ago called her to the knowledge and love of the gos- " pel; and ever since kept her therein, to an assured hope " of life everlasting, through faith in the righteousness of " Jesus Christ alone. She gave to her son Edward, earl of " Hertford, and his heirs, all her mansion-house, situate in " Chanon-row within Westminster, with the household stuff " and furniture. *Item*, she gave him a glass of crystal, " dressed with gold: a basin and ewer, all gilt plate: a pair " of gilt pots; a pair of flagons: three gilt trenchers: a " spoon of gold; three other spoons, gilt antique fashions: " two of the fairest gilt boles, with covers: a salt of cry- " stal: best chain of pearls, with long beads of gold be- " tween: a fair jewel diamond: a great pearl, by estima- " tion worth 30*l.* To his wife, my daughter of Hertford, " [lady Katharine Gray,] a fair tablet to wear, with antique " work on one side, and a rose diamond on the other: a " clock of gold, worth about 30*l.*

" To my son, lord Henry Seymour, thirteen hundred " pounds, over and above the seven hundred I have already " given him, towards the payment of his debts. *Item*, I give " him a fair jewel of an egret, with divers stones: three 444 " boles of silver and gilt, with covers, and a basin and ewer " of silver." [And that was all to this son, whom she did not love.] She had two daughters married, and alive; to whom also she gave legacies, viz. the lady Mary Rogers, and the lady Elizabeth Knightly.

" To my son, Beauchamp, [i. e. eldest son to the earl of " Hertford,] 200*l.* and a chain of pearls and gold, with " friars knots; the gold by estimation worth 80*l.* To my " son, Thomas Seymour, [i. e. the earl of Hertford's second " son,] 100*l.* and a chain, worth about 60*l.* To my son " Beauchamp's wife, [Honora, daughter of sir Richard " Rogers,] a book of gold, kept in a green purse, and a " pair of bracelets without stones. To my daughter Mary's " husband, [i. e. Andrew Rogers, esq.] one of my rings that

BOOK II. Anno 1586.

"hath the best diamond. To my god-daughter, Anne "Knightley, [viz. her granddaughter,] 500*l.* and a rope of "small pearl. To my lord treasurer [lord Burghley] a jug "of crystal, with a cover dressed with silver and gilt, and "a ring with an emerald."

Somewhat also she bequeathed to her two nephews, John and Michael Stanhope: to her servants: to her yeomen, grooms, and others. To the godly poor in the two universities, 20*l.* and to poor prisoners in London 20 mark. And no more in charity, for aught I find. All the rest to the earl of Hertford; whom she made sole executor.

Her treasure of money and jewels.

To this copy of the duchess's last will, (found among the MSS. of the lord Burghley,) there was found also another paper, being an inventory of her money and jewels, (which was vast,) taken by order from her majesty, April 21, 1587, by John Wolley, one of the privy-chamber, and John Fortescue, master of her great wardrobe; in presence of the earl of Hertford, Henry lord Seymour, sir Richard Knightly, and Andrew Rogers, esquires, her sons and sons-in-law. Such a huge treasure, that it would take up too much room here to inscribe the said inventory; and yet it is pity it should not have a place in this history. And therefore I have transferred it to the Appendix.

N°. XXI.

The queen's message to the duchess about her will.

It was not many days before this duchess's death that something of remark happened concerning her last will. For the queen coming to understand that she had made her eldest son, the earl of Hertford, her sole executor, and excluding the lord Henry, her second son, whose circumstances were somewhat strait, she sent sir Tho. Gorges to the duchess, lying now on her death-bed, at her seat in Hanworth, to move her, in her majesty's name, to join her said second son in the executorship with the elder: and Gorges argued with her earnestly, as the queen appointed him so to do. At length she promised she would; but (as appeared by the will) did not. Whereupon, after her death, some trouble arose, and examinations were taken: which I shall refer to the next year, when it happened.

I have but one thing more to add of this great duchess,

which will leave some further memory of her to posterity: and that is, a letter of her own hand, which she wrote many years past, to Cecill, the queen's secretary; as she had at the same time writ another to the earl of Leicester; to join their interests in an earnest address to the queen, for the lord Hertford, her eldest son, and the lady Katharine his wife, for their liberties, both then remaining in the Tower, under the queen's displeasure, for marrying without her knowledge or consent; the lady his wife being of royal blood. The letter follows, as I transcribed it from the original.

Anno 1586. The duchess's letter to secretary Cecil for lord Hertford's liberty. 445

" Good Mr. Secretary. After this long silence, and for " that as yet my old occasion lets my attendance, I have " presumed by letter to renew my suit for my son to the " queen's majesty; and have likewise written to my lord of " Leicester; praying you to set in your helping hand to end " this tedious suit. Wherein for me to reason how much " her highness' displeasure is too long lasting, or how un- " meet it is this young couple should thus wax old in pri- " son, or how far better it were for them to be abroad, and " learn to serve, I will not [say,] but leave all such speeches " to the friendly setting forth of my good lord and you. " Only my seeking is, that as there is none other cause, " since her majesty's reign, but hath had some favourable " order or end; so by your earnest conferring and joining " with my good lord, this young couple may feel some like " of her majesty's plentiful mercy. To the procurement " whereof, the more earnest my lord and you shew your- " selves, the more shall you set forth the queen's majesty's " honour; and, as a mother, I must needs say, the better " discharge your callings and credit. And so resting in " prayer that God would bless your travail to some com- " fortable end, I take my leave.

" Your assured loving friend,

" Anne Somerset."

This was writ by the duchess in January, 1565. But neither her nor their intercession prevailed with the queen for the liberty of her son and the lady Katharine till many

BOOK years after, though she, by reason of her sickness, was permitted to retire for some time to Pyrgo, her brother, the lord John Gray's seat, in Essex.

Anno 1586.

A clause in sir Philip Sidney's last will.

As this year put an end to the life of that famous and accomplished gentleman, sir Philip Sidney, who was slain at Zutphen, in Flanders, in the queen's service, so I cannot but give a clause of his last will. Which will shew, among the rest of his admirable qualities, his justice and integrity: viz. "*Item*, I will and absolutely authorize the right honourable "sir Francis Walsingham, and my brother Robert Sidney, "or either of them, to sell so much of my lands lying within "the counties of Lincoln, Sussex, or Southampton, as shall "pay all my debts, as well those of my father deceased, as "of mine own. Beseeching them to hasten the same, and "to pay the creditors with all possible speed, according to "that letter of attorney which sir Francis Walsingham al-"ready hath, sealed and subscribed by me to that end. "Which letter of attorney I do hereby confirm and ratify, "so far forth as concerneth that purpose to all effects of "law."

446 To add a word here of another young and brave nobleman, Robert, earl of Essex, his father, Walter Devereux, earl of Essex, dead ten years before. This Robert made himself famous from his youth for his warlike disposition: as in the year 1589, being in an expedition against Spain, where he fought with a Spaniard hand to hand: afterwards sent with forces into France, as our histories relate. But something before these exploits of his, viz. this year, when he was little above 20 years of age, I have to relate, to shew his aspiring spirit, in the language he treated sergeant Puckring, a man of eminence in the law, and not long after the queen's solicitor, and a judge. He had been a counsel against one Vaughan, a retainer of the earl's, or an arbitrator in that cause; wherein the sergeant favoured him not. Which stirred up the young nobleman, when he heard of it, to much displeasure, that he gave his mind somewhat proudly in a threatening letter to the said sergeant, in the terms that follow; as I transcribe it from the original.

Anno 1586. The earl of Essex his lofty letter to sergeant Puckring.

"That he was sorry to hear that he should prosecute that "matter against his servant, Mr. Vaughan. Whom he "perceived, since his absence, had hard measure offered. "Which how he [the earl] should redress, because he was "now far from him, he knew not. But, as he proceeded, I "will do my best. And when I see England, if I and all "the friends I have can help it, it shall take no wrong. He "hath, like a gentleman and an honest man, followed me "and my house. Therefore as long as he may stand by my "help, he shall not fall. I did not look that either Mr. "Atkis or yourself should strive for this victory over any of "mine. But you are judges, and therefore severe men; "and therefore willing to revenge: in authority, and there- "fore able. To help that which is already past, I have "already determined my course. For any thing that is to "come, entreat you I will not, since my best friends are "already rejected. Exasperate you I need not. For I "think you have already done your worst. But I am sorry "every thing falls out so ill, that my man should be con- "demned; yourselves, whom before I loved, should prose- "cute; and I absent, who might yield him some help. I "hear D. Williams hath used his kinsman very well. But "it is not the first time he hath played the knave. I shall "one day make even with him for many old debts.

"For yourselves I wish you no harm; but that you may "not have your wills in this. In haste, this 18th of June, "1586. *He that loved you, if you could have loved him, "and is,*

"R. Essex."

By this we see a specimen of this young earl's spirit; which brought him at last to an untimely end, as our histories relate.

I make a note here in this period of another memorable man, William Davison, late secretary of state; who was lately censured, and deeply fined, and cast into the Tower, for too hastily despatching the queen's warrant for the execution of the Scotch queen: whereof relation hath been

BOOK II. Anno 1586. 447

given before. But still the good character of the man remained. Of whom Tho. Newton, a poet in those times, gave this character, in a copy of verses to him, as follows:

Ad ornatissimum virum, Guilielmum Davisonum, regineum secretarium.

Tempora læta diu vidisti, tempora dura
Sensisti, et variis fata inimica modis.
Flante, reflante tamen fortuna, semper eundem
Te præstas, fortem scilicet, atque pium.
Macte animo, Davisone, tuo: sic itur ad astra.
Præmiolum virtus assolet esse sui.

Davison, late secretary, his character.

Of the abilities and deserts of this gentleman, however now fallen under the queen's displeasure, the lord treasurer thus observed to her; "That he knew not a man in Eng- "land furnished so universally for the place he lately had "under her majesty; neither knew he any that could come "near him. And that for a servant of the queen in that "place, he thought it hard to find a like qualified person." More of him hath been told before.

Minutes of what passed at the sessions in London.

I have a few passages to set down concerning some transactions in the city of London, as I find them in a diary of sergeant Fleetwood, recorder; in which he used to set down minutes of what passed at the sessions, or otherwise: sending them customarily to the lord treasurer. I transcribe from that diary, as follows.

"Whitsunday, May the 23d. Upon Friday, at after- "noon, I sat in the commission ecclesiastical at Lambeth, "with my lord's grace: where three Oxford preachers were "charged, for that they would have all temporal causes to "be decided by the seniors of the church. And that her "majesty had not to deal in causes ecclesiastical: with such "like matters. My lord almoner[a] did bear much with "them.

Oxford preachers' doctrine.

[a] Pierce, bishop of Sarum, if I mistake not.

"Saturday was by me employed to abbreviate and ex- "plain a new commission, granted for the relief of the "Fleet and King's Bench. And that I did by the command "of my lord of Canterbury his grace.

CHAP. VIII.

" Wednesday was spent at the gaol of Newgate, where " we had little or nothing to do. The matters there were " slender, and of no great importance. There were none " executed. Anno 1586.

" Your good lordship peradventure may marvail, why we " have had so few dealings in criminal causes at this our " late sessions. The reason is this. We have in prison " here in Newgate the most principal thieves of this realm. " We lack none but Mannering; who doth daily gather " into his society lewd persons, who commit, in all parts of " the realm, most dangerous robberies. I hear that the " *genn*, or ingen, [engine,] is in your lordship's custody. " The want whereof is a great stay of many burglaries. The principal thieves in the realm now in Newgate.

" September 6, at evening, 1586. That at the sending " away his man that Wednesday morning, all the bells of " London did ring for joy. That upon the 7th of this " month, being as this day anno 28 Hen. VIII. her grace " was born. There was this day, but specially at supper, " great feasting. That he had been bidden out to supper " that night in six or seven places." The citizens now shewing their loyalty to the queen, and their joy, upon the late discovery of a plot against her life, and the execution of the conspirators; and when such plots were carrying on, to set up the queen of Scots, and dethrone their beloved queen Elizabeth. 448 The queen's birthday celebrated at London.

Francis Thinn set forth this year the Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury: beginning at Augustin the monk: being put upon the work by some of his friends. He confessed he had taken what he had written out of Matth. Parker, [the late archbishop,] who, he said, had learnedly in Latin writ the lives of the LXX archbishops of that see. The lives contained in this book are digested into Holinshed's Chronicle under the year 1586. Lives of the Archbishops of Cant. Writ by Fr. Thinn. P. 1435.

I add to this another writer, named Petrus Bizarus, an Italian, dwelling here in England; a man of learning; entertained divers years with the earl of Bedford. And expecting preferment here, failing of it, in discontent he departed, and lived abroad. Where he applied himself to P. Bizarus, a writer.

BOOK II. write in Latin relations of history of wars in several kingdoms, and then publishing them to the world. The lord Anno 1586. Burghley seemed to have an esteem for him; and affecting learning himself, desired once of Bizarus to know what he had published. Which caused him to send a letter to the said lord, giving him therein an account of his books; and sending him withal his last book, viz. certain verses. It was writ from the Hague, and ran in this tenor.

His books published. *Illustrissime D. D. clementissime, et observantissime, &c. Post meas elucubrationes, &c.* " That after his pains, published as well at Venice as Basil, viz. *De bello Cyprio, et* " *De bello Pannonico;* together with an epitome of sundry " things, and other matters; he had set forth a great and " vast work; to wit, *The history and annals of the republic of Genua.* Wherein, besides other things, most honourable mention was made by him of the most serene " queen [Elizabeth;] and that very many things were inserted *de nefario ac detestabili scelere reginæ Scotiæ:* " namely, how by her consent her husband was slain; and " then married the parricide. And that all these things he " wrote, *non adulatorie, sed vere;* i. e. *not to flatter, but to* " *speak the truth;* and according to the genuine history, " *ut veridicum historicum decebat; as became an historian* " *that dared to speak the truth.*

" And that because in the same work mention was made " of his illustrious lordship, he had sent him a copy, by the " worthy gentleman, Mr. Rob. Beal, [the queen's agent, it " seems, now in those parts,] who he knew would faithfully " deliver it to him.

" But that although, as he proceeded, the state of Genua, " by reason of different religion, was barbarous, and very " ingrateful towards him, it should never work him off from " his labours and watchings, since virtue itself was his true " wages and reward. After that time he wrote the history
449 " of the Persian affairs: beginning from Cyrus, the founder " of the Persian monarchy, by a deduced series to these " present times: which work was in folio, printed likewise " by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp; and was dedicated

" to the most illustrious prince D. Augustus, elector of
" Saxony. Whom, he added, next to the most serene
" queen, was his prince for fourteen years, and honoured Anno 1586.
" him with a yearly stipend; and for that work was bene-
" ficent and liberal towards him.

" Lastly, that he wrote a Latin work of the four chief
" empires or monarchies, very clear. Which he sent to
" Frankford to be printed. Here, as he concludes, you
" have, honourable sir, an account of my studies, from the
" time I left the English court. Wherein, I saw, I spent
" in vain my time and hope, while for so many years I
" served the most illustrious earl of Bedford, of happy and
" pious memory. But although now a great many years
" are past, since I wrote nothing to the same illustrious
" lord, that I might easily have been forgotten by him;
" yet I have ever retained his memory with the chiefest
" observance. And I pray the great and good God to keep
" him safe and happy: as also I do for your lordship. For
" whom, as I said, I do yet pray, and will pray, as long as
" I shall live. I have now withal sent these my verses,
" lately printed, to your lordship. And finally, beseeching
" God, that his illustrious lordship, with his whole family,
" and chiefly the queen's majesty, within all her majesty's
" kingdoms, might perpetually flourish. In haste. From
" the Hague, the 23d of November, new stile, 1586.

Vestræ illustrissimæ dom. longe addictiss. et
Observantiss.
Petrus Bizarus.

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CHAP. IX.

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The miserable condition of don Antonio: represented to the lord treasurer. Sir Fran. Drake takes a rich ship of Portugal: his success at Cales. Intelligence from Scotland by a priest there. Remembrance for Portland castle, sent to the lord treasurer from sir Walter Raleigh. Orders for the lieutenancy of Hampshire. Care taken about the justices of peace. Bishop of Peterburgh, his letter concerning them in his diocese. Letters also of the same concern from the bishops of Hereford, Norwich, Winchester, Bath and Wells, and York. A letter from Dr. Knibbius to Dan. Rogers, the queen's ambassador, concerning the earl of Leicester's departure from Holland. Two military discourses; seasonable at this juncture: by Rafe Lane.

The mean condition of don Antonio.

AS the queen had assisted don Antonio to recover his kingdom of Portugal, according to his claimed right to it against Philip king of Spain; so his condition now grew very mean; so as he became an object of compassion for his poverty, and inability even to pay his servants. Which occasioned one Edward Prince, a person near him, to acquaint the lord treasurer with his circumstances; especially now upon the success of a late voyage, undertaken by the queen's permission. Wherein sir Francis Drake took a very rich ship of Portugal, [called, *the great Carack.*] "Where-upon many merchants and noblemen in France, as Prince "writ to the said treasurer, were of opinion, that the queen "would lend that king his master out of that rich prize "200,000 crowns, to enable him to levy an army for the "voyage of Portugal: adding, that the king assured himself "not less of her majesty, if the time gave opportunity. But "that putting aside these great matters, that in loyal duty "he was bound to shew his honour, that the miserable state "of the poor king was such, that her majesty might do well "to cause some of the king's poor creditors to be paid. All "which 12 or 13*l.* would discharge. And that by this

Camd. Eliz. p. 396. Sir Francis Drake takes a rich ship of Portugal.

" means the poor king (as he went on in his letter) might CHAP. IX.
" come out of extremity and great discredit; which he did
" assure his honour would befall him, if at Michaelmas Anno 1587.
" next there were not some good order taken with these
" poor men, which were in great danger of undoing."

He solicits further in the behalf of this dethroned king, in this manner: " I could be large in shewing the most
" pitiful estate of this poor king. In honour, my good 451
" lord, her majesty should take pity of the distressed king,
" and cause the same sum above named to be paid unto the
" poor creditors in this poor king's misery; weighing his
" poor estate with your true balances. And use herein
" your honourable favours. Under which the state of this
" poor house dependeth, having no other refuge but in
" your honour."

What favour was shewn don Antonio and his creditors out of that rich carack, I know not; but before the taking of it, Drake had glorious success in the said expedition before Cales, with four of the queen's ships, and some few others. Where he chased six galleys under their forts, and sunk, took, and fired about an hundred vessels; and among them two great galleons; and so went onwards on that coast with continued success. But of this expedition, and some other particulars of it, sir Francis Drake himself shall tell us in a letter of his own writing to the lord treasurer, from aboard his own ship, the Elizabeth Bonaventure; which I transcribe from the very original. Wherein the said captain also gave intelligence, what mighty preparations were making there for the invading of England.

Drake's victory and success at Cales.

" Right honourable and my very good lord, having occa- His letter, giving account thereof.
" sion, by means of our late happy success at Cales in
" Spain, to write unto my honourable good lords at the
" court, I have thought good to certify your lordship of
" the particulars of our proceedings.

" The 2d of this month we departed from the Sound of
" Plymouth. The 5th we had sight of the cape Venester.
" We were encountered by a vehement storm the space of
" five days. By which means our fleet was severed; and

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" a great leak sprang upon the Drednought. We met all " together at the rock the 16th; and the 19th we arrived " into the road of Cales. Where we found sundry shipping " of very great portage, laden with the king's provisions for " England." We remained there until the 21st. In which " time, notwithstanding the often encounters of 12 galleys, " of whom we sunk two, and repulsed the rest; and the " continual thundering of the great ordnance from the " shore, we burnt a ship of the marquis of S. Cruce of " 1500 ton, a biskain of 1200 ton, and 31 ships more of " 1000, 800, 600, 400, to 200 ton the piece. Carried away " with us four ships, laden with provisions; and departed " thence at our pleasure, with as much honour and victory " as any man in the world could wish for; being very cour- " teously written unto by don Pedro, general of those gal- " leys.

" Assuredly there was never heard of or known so great " preparations as the king of Spain hath, and daily maketh " ready for the invasion of England, as well out of the " Straits, from whence he hath great aid from sundry " mighty princes, as also from divers other places in his

Spain's vast preparations against England.

" own country. And his provisions of bread and wine are " sufficient for 40,000 men a whole year. The uniting of " all which forces will be very dangerous, unless their meet- " ing be prevented: which by all possible means we will " seek to perform, as far as our lives will extend. No

452 " doubt but this which God hath permitted us to do will " cause them to make great alteration of their intents.

" Nevertheless it is very necessary that all possible pre- " paration for defence be speedily made. I would set down " unto your lordship the large discourse of this whole event, " but want of convenient leisure causeth me to abridge the " same: leaving it unto the report of this bearer. And " thus in very great haste I humbly take my leave of your " good lordship. From aboard her majesty's good ship the " Elizabeth Bonaventure, the 27th of April, 1587.

" Your lordship's most ready to be commanded,

" Fra. Drake."

It made up a part of intelligence sent this summer from a Scotch priest, called John Murdock, to father John Gibbon, rector of the society of Jesus at Trevir; "That there "was a report, that the king of Scotland was fled to the "north parts, to unite his subjects, whereby he might re- "venge his mother from Scotland, and for the injuries done "them by the English." Anno 1587. Report of the king of Scots.

Which revenge indeed the king meditated with great earnestness at first, and continued so for some time. For this letter was writ in June, several months after that queen's death; that king having been stirred up chiefly by the popish faction. But upon more mature deliberation put it up, and entered into a friendship and good accord with the queen; as was shewn before.

Other intelligence sent in the same letter was, "That "M. Grey" [a false Scot, who was sent by the king to queen Elizabeth, to dissuade her not to put his mother to death, but secretly persuaded her to do it, using those words to her, *Mortua non mordet*, as our historian relates it] "was cast into the Tower of Edenburgh, that without "the king's knowledge he would restore religion. *Recte* "*sane*, addeth the writer; for the Lord will not use, I "conjecture, that the catholic faith should be published "through Scotland *tali authore*. And that father Creitton" [a busy Scotch Jesuit in the late treasons in England] "was safe come to Paris, from London, about the end of "May. What to do, God knoweth." Written from Mussiponte, the 18th of June. For the queen of Scots being taken off, their hopes began to flag. Camd. Eliz. p. 379.

Care was now taken for the seaports, when the kingdom was threatened so much with an invasion by the popish princes. Particularly, provision was thought fit to be made for Portland castle in Dorsetshire, by a remembrance sent up from sir W. R. [Walter Raleigh,] governor, as it seems, of it. There is this note of it among the lord treasurer's papers, endorsed, *Remembrance for the right honourable the lord treasurer*, touching the request of sir W. R. knt. Remembrance for Portland castle.

"First, he requests your honour for five cast pieces of

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Sir Walter Raleigh's care for provision of arms.

" brass, lying at Woolwich, for the said castle. He likewise requesteth your lordship to direct your letters to the " lord marquis of Winchester, [lord lieutenant of the " county,] that there may be appointed an hundred men for " the defence of the castle and island of Portland, with armour accordingly. 3. He moveth for a supply of powder " for the said castle: for that there is but one last in all; " which he supposeth to be very little in time of service. " 4. It may please your honour, as he proceeded, to take " some order, that the ordnance which is unserviceable, and " lying in the said castle, may be conveyed to London. " 5. If it may please your lordship, that my lord marquis " do give order for his said hundred men, by his commission directed to the lieutenant of Portland. And he will " undertake to collect an hundred sufficient men; and not " of the trained number. 6. And lastly, your lordship's " good remembrance for the towns of Weymouth and Melcomb Regis." Which places sir Walter Raleigh seemed to have the care of.

Hampshire lying on the seacoast that way, orders also were sent thither, touching the lieutenancy of that county: committed to the lord marquis of Winchester and the earl of Sussex: for their manner of government: May 1587. Which follow, as I transcribe from the minutes of the lord Burghley's own hand.

Orders for the lieutenancy of Hampshire to the lords lieutenants.

" First, they shall jointly do their endeavour to execute " all the parts and contents of their commission, without " any private manner; by way of dividing the shire be" tween them into parts; or that any one of them shall inter" meddle in the execution of their commission alone, as a " sole lieutenant: but with the privity of one another: ex" cept the one of them shall by sickness be occasioned to " forbear the doing of such services as shall be requisite: " or that by the absence of one out of the country, the ser" vice should be hindered, if the other, being present, should " not proceed to execute the same alone. In which case the " lieutenant resident shall do his best endeavour to perform " that service that shall be needful.

"*Item*, Whensoever any direction by letters from her "majesty or from the council shall be sent to them, or to "any of them, he to whose hand the same shall come shall "immediately certify the other thereof; and shall appoint "a time and place of meeting to consider thereof. And "thereupon shall jointly expedite the matter and contents "of the same letter."

Care taken about the justices of peace.

Another care was now taken concerning the justices of the peace throughout the kingdom. That none might be intrusted with that weighty charge, but such gentlemen as might be assured to be hearty men, zealous in the queen's affairs, and true to the government established: some being justly suspected, and others weak, or unactive, or poor.

Private letters to the bishops.

Therefore the lord treasurer, who had indeed the great care of all lying upon him under the queen, directed his private letters to all the bishops of the several dioceses, to inform him concerning the conditions of the justices in their respective dioceses. Though to take off the odium, other reasons were assigned of the queen's ordering the lord chancellor, and others of her council, to inquire concerning them, as to their great numbers, and unnecessary charges, arising thence. But see the said lord treasurer's letter to the bishops elsewhere at large.

Life of Abp. Whitgift, b. iii. c. 19.

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Bishop of Peterburgh's letter concerning the justices in his diocese.

Howland, bishop of Peterburgh, accordingly sent up a certificate of the justices within his diocese, accompanied with his letter to the lord treasurer: importing, "That his "lordship's letter of the 4th of September he received: "and for his great care therein shewed for the due admini-"stration of justice, as he thanked God, desiring him to "bless his good purpose, with all other his honourable "studies for the peace of the church and this realm; so he "was heartily sorry that he was not able to perform that "duty therein, which that lord had so lovingly laid upon "him, and he would willingly discharge; but by reason of "the shortness of time, and want of the knowledge, as yet, "of the country, with the great diversity in reports, (and "that from even good men sometimes,) nourishing their own "humours and partial conceits, by means whereof he knew

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" not what to write. For as he would be loath to commend " any man that should not be found fit for the place; so " to disable any, whom he did not know, upon any man's " report, would be a great rashness in him, and a greater " injury unto them. For

" *Turpius ejicitur, quam non admittitur hospes.*"

But this bishop's letter being somewhat long, and by which one may partly gather some character of him, shall have a place in the Appendix, together with his certificate of the justices.

N°. XXII.

Lord treasurer's good service herein noted.

This was one of the commendable counsels of that wise statesman; viz. to make a regulation of the justices of the peace in every county; and to take this course for his better and truer information of the gentlemen, and their abilities. That none might be put into those places of trust, and distribution of justice and right unto the inhabitants, but honest and able men. Whereof there had been no little want; and much partiality used; and not seldom such as favoured the queen's enemies. And hence happened oftentimes the putting persons in and out of the commission: which gave occasion of speeches. This that good lord knew well enough; and therefore endeavoured by this means of secretly applying to the bishops of the several dioceses, to obtain true characters of the gentry in their parts. This the abovesaid bishop in his letter thought very convenient to take notice of to that lord. " That understanding he " had taken this cause in hand, as in other things he had " done, so in this also, upon sound information, he would " lay a firm and honourable foundation. Praying his lord- " ship to go forward: assuring him, that as he had done " many other things of great import to the benefit of the " realm, so for the sound settling of the whole realm in " firm obedience to their sovereign, and for the preservation " of love in every member, he could never take a more " honourable cause in hand, and more acceptable to the " people."

How the justices stood affected in other parts of the

kingdom, and what their abilities were, the other bishops wrote their letters, as the aforesaid bishop had done, on the like message sent to them. Thus as the lord Burghley had sent his letter to Westphaling, bishop of Hereford, to certify him concerning the justices of the peace within his diocese, either such as had been lately left out of the commission, or meet to be left out hereafter, or to be put in again; the bishop's answer, dated October 7, was to this tenor: Anno 1587. 455

Bishop of Hereford to the lord treasurer concerning the justices in his diocese.

" That he had made his inquiries with as much circum-
" spection and diligence as his small acquaintance as yet in
" that country, his little knowledge of men's discretions
" and secrecy, and some urgent and necessary occasions,
" and that shortness of time, would suffer him. He men-
" tioned some commissions that he was bound to sit upon,
" that would be some hinderance to this service; but that
" he would, by God's leave, as he should come to more
" knowledge, supply the same with all convenient speed.
" But highly approving that lord's purpose, added, that he
" certainly persuaded himself that this his lordship's care
" and course (if it should be answered accordingly) would
" in a short space work a very sensible and great effect, be-
" neficial both to the state and true religion. Which he
" must (he said) with the rest of his brethren acknowledge
" himself most bound to seek for, and to the uttermost of
" his power to promote." This bishop's whole letter I leave also to be read in the Appendix, with his notes of the justices at the conclusion. No. XXIII.

The bishop of Worcester's letter concerning the justices in that diocese.

Upon the like letter from the lord treasurer to Freake, bishop of Worcester, he also sent an account back of the justices in that diocese, according to the particulars specified: as, concerning their affection to religion; whether they lived in the county; whether any of their relations were Roman catholics. And then, concerning some lately put out of the commission, and some other matters inquired of. An account whereof the bishop reported to his lordship in his letter in answer; " That he had with all possible dili-
" gence and secrecy inquired concerning the justices in the
" county of Wigorn, and had given his opinion and know-

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" ledge of those that were continued in commission. That " divers of them were but superficial, either for advice, or " execution of any weighty affair of the country. And " that for matter of religion, they were conformable enough " outwardly, and forward in outward obedience and ser- " vice. Yet he did not observe any such fervent zeal in- " deed in some of them as he could wish. That in the " administration of justice, they carried themselves modest- " ly: and that they were the principalest gentlemen, for " living and countenance, as were in the shire. That as " for those that were left out, he could not accuse some of " them for recusancy, though their wives were such. That " that exception set apart, they were, for wisdom, livelihood, " reputation, and discretion in government, some of the " best and meetest men that were in that association." But

N°. XXIV. the whole letter I leave also in the Appendix, for some memorial of this bishop: together with his calendar enclosed, containing the names of the justices, their conditions, and affections toward religion, and the valuations of their estates in the subsidy books, set in three columns. Which and his

456 letter he desired the lord treasurer to conceal, by reason of the dependency of the displeasure that might arise to him by this service, and depending upon his promised secrecy.

Letters of other bishops concerning the justices in their dioceses.

To these I cannot forbear to subjoin the letters of the like concern (which I have among my collections) to the lord treasurer, written from three other bishops; containing their characters and accounts of the justices within their respective dioceses: specially, since hereby we may come to pass some judgment of the estates and qualifications of the gentlemen in those several counties where they lived, and how disposed to religion in those dangerous times: and likewise to observe the use made of the bishops, and their care and diligence to inform and advise. Whereby we may attain to some further knowledge of those venerable fathers of the church in those days: whereof our histories are but scanty. The said letters are from Scambler, bishop of Norwich, Cooper, bishop of Winchester, Godwin, bishop of Bath and Wells. And one letter more from the other pro-

vince, writ by Sandys, archbishop of York. Which are all transcribed and entered into the Appendix. CHAP. IX.

Some motions were now made towards a peace with Spain, even in the midst of these preparations and attempts of war. And in this some of the cities of the Netherlands were concerned; chiefly moved by the earl of Leicester, when governor of the Low Countries: whom the people greatly disgusted, as too rigorous and haughty. What follows will open this cause more at large. Anno 1587. N°. XXV. —XXVIII. A motion of peace with Spain.

Daniel Rogers was now the queen's ambassador there. And Dr. Knibbius, an eminent person in Holland, communicated thus his thoughts to him from Flushing; shewing the sentiments of the Hollanders, concerning the consequences that would follow upon the making a peace with Spain; and concerning the state of Holland, and their affection to the queen; and of Leicester's government; he being now gone from thence into England, and had left many enemies there: but yet his return thought very advisable. The ill consequences thereof.

The letter thus began: *S. P. Heri vespere demum accepi literas tuas, kalendis Martii datas*, &c. In English thus: "That yesterday he received his [Rogers's] letter, "dated the calends of March; which he suspected to have "been intercepted: and with his letters a book, which he "learned was made by the son of your Nestor, [as he "styled the lord treasurer Burghley,] containing those de- "liberations that went before the death of that Scottish "[queen:] which was very acceptable to him; although "he had seen it all translated into their idiom two months "before. That in those letters there was nothing that "needed answer." Knibbius to Rogers, the queen's ambassador, thereupon.

Then the writer proceeded in these words: "Here hath "been sprinkled privately, that you [in the English court] "are attempting I know not what concerning a peace. And "this is that very thing whereby, as by a prop and basis, "they support themselves who seek new things. Nor is it "yet commonly known; nor do I think it profitable it

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"should be made known; because it would move the very "best men to desperation, who, while the king of Spain is "alive, expect by peace nothing but [*extrema quæque*] ex- "tremity in every thing: as well because whatsoever con- "ditions at length should be proposed, they shew to be the 457 "hardest, or impossible. And indeed nothing but traps "and snares were to hold us fast in a straiter yoke of Spa- "niards.

"He understood that there was to be a convention in- "dicted at Utrecht; where ambassadors were to meet from "Arheim, Levardia, and the rest of the neighbour pro- "vinces, and also from some towns in Holland, to oppose "themselves against those that follow the party of Hollach. "But that neither did prudent men approve this way; be- "cause it paved a causey to a schism between the states of "Belgium. And that the only remedy would be the sud- "den and unexpected return of the earl of Leicester; [who "was lately gone back to England upon some disgust;] "and would render void whatsoever things in his absence "were innovated or attempted. Nor was there any pro- "vince which he had, or should have, adverse to his go- "vernment, besides Delph, Gouda, Leiden, Amsterdam. "For the other cities of Holland, if any were of that num- "ber, now it repented them; as of those that were men- "tioned, there was hope, when the earl should come: and "although Hollach, Busius, and their followers, had heaped "up divers pretences, partly false, partly wrested on the "sinister side; whereby they might render the earl of Lei- "cester hated by the states of Holland; yet, as he would "open it ingenuously, what it was that offended the most "part, and those evil persons, (whereby, for the future, care "might be taken,) the chief was, that, upon Ringout's per- "suasion, he [the earl] suffered inquiry to be made by "some vile men into things that were past, and would have "the books of the merchants, as they said, laid open. "Which kind of men, every one knew, did not want fraud. "Which they very unwillingly suffered to be exposed to

" the common people. They did not bear it hardly, that " caution should be taken for the future, because that being " forewarned, they might take care."

He added; " That this almost was the beginning of the " exacerbation of very many of the city, while the earl of " Leicester as yet was there. That impediment taken away, " and such being taken into counsel, not altogether such as " they should choose, but such as were without fault, or " when they could not refuse by any just cause; there " would be the greatest hope that the fear would cease, " which of itself brought forth hatred. That of the rest " there needed no trouble to be taken: for they would be " quieted of their own accord. But (as he went on) if the " queen had taken the chief power over them, [which she " would not do,] there had been no need of these cautions. " For then she might have done all things by right towards " her own subjects, [as they all then should have been.] " But now the States had occasion of contending, that the " queen's ambassador had not more ample power, than as " much as was granted her by the States. And that there- " fore without their consent he could appoint nothing. And " now he heard these things were pretended by the States, " that in appearance they seemed not to have offended in " those things which had been innovated. Which he " thought to be plainly worthy of consideration.

" Lastly, that he [the ambassador] should bid the earl 458
" of Leicester to think very well of the Zealanders; who " had not known nor approved any thing of those things " which for some time had been acted under the name of " the States, who were about to accuse them of an *ill ma-* " *naged embassy*[a] who sent to the States; and (unless he " mistook) were also about to send certain persons to the " queen concerning that matter, after the example of the " inhabitants of Leward. Neither should it be unadvised " for the earl of Leicester, when he should come, to call to- " gether the states of Middleburgh; and there to discourse " of the whole state of things, before he proceeded further. " Because that province was more moderate than the rest,

[a] Παραπρεσβείας.

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" and less suspected by both parties; in the mean time " most devoted for the queen and earl's taking on them the " rule [a].

[a] Imperium.

" That there remained one thing, which the writer be- " lieved he already understood; that he that sought to " succeed Sydney [sir Philip Sydney, slain] in obtaining the " office of colonel of Zealand, obtained it from the States " by the means of Hollach, [chief of the faction against the " earl.] But that the next day the states of Zealand would " meet at Middleburgh, to hinder the way to get it, and to " defer it to the coming of the earl of Leicester.

" That it was given them to understand, that the counsel " of Aldegond and Viller to be different from the conceipt " of Hollach and Busius; nor did tend to distraction. He " rather wished they would rightly counsel count Maurice, " that he suffered not himself to be imposed upon by Hol- " lach; nor to take any authority upon himself, without " the will of the queen and the earl of Leicester. Which " he believed they would do. For that they sufficiently " weighed with what mind these things might be received " by the people, which Hollach was transacting with his " party. That the princes of Aurenge were not ignorant, " that the safety of posterity did depend upon the protec- " tion and good-will of the queen. From whom disjoining " themselves, he would loose himself and country."

And then concerning news, thus he went on: " I have " nothing of news here, unless that there is an extreme " dearth with the enemy; especially of bread-corn; and " that we shall never have the occasion we now have of in- " vading Flanders, if we shall once let it go out of our " hands. Bruges is distressed above the rest; and may in " a short time be overcome by reason of the famine. For " that place being reduced under power, will be the place " of a fort of war. Or whether it should please, that Grave- " ling or Newport should be invaded. For it doth not " seem advisable again to consume the whole summer about " Zutphen; but it will be enough to place strong guards " in the neighbourhood.

" In Calais also and Monstrole, it is reported, the Guises
" attempt some new matter, I know not what, for what
" end. Whether the king being conscious of it, or unwill- Anno 1587.
" ing, as yet we are ignorant. Farewell, honourable sir. 459
" At Flissing, the XXII. of March, 1587.

" *Tibi ex animo deditiss.*

" *Paulus Knibbius.*"

Earl of Leicester returns no more.

This was wrote upon expectation of the earl's return back again to Holland, after his late departure into England, which was in December 1586. But I think he came no more to them; though when he departed he kept the government in his hands, but intrusting it under him to the council of state. But took from them their wonted jurisdiction; and left divers orders with his officers in his absence. He lost himself among the people by his exactions, and laying new payments from their traffic and merchandises; procuring hatred thereby to himself. But, in expectation of his return to them in the spring, this politician thought fit to write the instructions in the letter above specified; as sensible how important the queen's forces were in carrying on their defensive war with the king of Spain. I have set down this letter at large, as serving to illustrate this part of our English history.

A discourse for raising horses offered to the lord treasurer.

Care had now been taken to put the kingdom into a posture of defence. And in order to that, to raise sufficient numbers of soldiers; and to have them in a readiness. Rafe Lane, a brave gentleman, and skilful in arms, and a man of thought and invention in warlike affairs, discovers to the lord treasurer a way to raise horse more than before; in a *discourse* [of his composing] for the raising troops of horses in the several counties. And in token of his dutiful care of her majesty's service, to make a present of it to her. The scope whereof was to shew (as he wrote in his letter to the said lord) a means how to raise far greater troops of horses and geldings for lancers in every shire for her majesty's service, within the realm to be used, (but not to be drawn out of the same,) than hitherto had been presented in any

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musters: with a form also to reduce the same into bands. And that he meant (his lordship and the earl of Leicester
Anno 1587. not misliking) to persuade some practice of it to the deputies and gentlemen of that country wherein he was in commission. This discourse he first presented to the lord treasurer, and next to the earl of Leicester, lieutenant-general of all the queen's forces. "To whose wisdom, as he said, "and experimented judgment, the counsels of all her ma- "jesty's martial actions seemed very specially to be referred." And then he intended to offer it to her majesty.

Another discourse of encamping an army.

The same Lane presented also another discourse, of encamping an army in the field, rather than quartering them in towns and villages. Which he writ in the year 1576; and now thought fit to revive it in this necessary time. This he writ against such as were not for encamping. "Which treatise (as he suggested) he composed for the "glory of her majesty; and that his country's service did "stir him in the present likelihood of some honourable ac- "tion by the same to be taken in hand." Now concerning the necessity of encamping, and avoiding villages and towns,
460 and that even from the first levying of every single band, from their own doors, even unto the place of the general assembly for the whole army, he observed this order in his discourse:

The sum of the discourse.

"First, To declare the sundry inconveniences by lodg- "ing armies, regiments, or single bands, in villages or "towns, while the same is in passing towards the place of "service. Secondly, The sundry commodities of encamp- "ing in the field, growing thereby as well to the soldiers, "as to the countries through the which bands are to march, "either single or in regiment. Thirdly, To deliver some "ready rules and brief principles to reduce a camp into a "certain orderly division, which no unevenness of ground "could easily take away, or make to fail, and that with "great facility to the captain that should diligently observe "the same; with great ease unto the soldiers, that should "be taught orderly to execute the same: and for the whole "army, being fronted at hand by an enemy, of great surety

" and defence: and on the other side, void of all annoyance " unto any friendly country in the passing thereof." And this and such like subjects of discourse were not unseasonable, that the kingdom might be ready with able, disciplined soldiers, and well encamped, while it was in expectation of an invasion this year; and actually happened the next, when the queen had an army ready in Tilbury camp. CHAP. IX. Anno 1587.

Of this martial man we have set down some particular notices before. As, how the warlike earl of Leicester recommended him to secretary Wylson, whom he termed *his very friend, Rafe Lane;* and what an earnest ambition he had to have the queen's leave to go into the Levant service against the Turk, anno 1574.

CHAP. X. 461

Southwel collegiate church endeavoured to be got from the archbishopric of York. The archbishop's application to stop it. Required to be present at the council in York. Barnes, bishop of Durham, dies: some account of him. Endeavours at court for the dean, Dr. Matthew, to succeed him. The dean's letter thereupon. The decay of that bishopric by reason of long leases. Troubles of that collegiate church by reason of suits. The present ill state of the bishopric of St. Asaph. That bishop's commendams. *The queen requires a lease of Dunnington, belonging to the bishopric of Ely, now void. The dean and chapter's letter to the lord treasurer hereupon. A commission of concealment granted to Edward Stafford. Lands of vacant bishoprics.*

BUT now let us pass to matters relating nearer to the church and churchmen, as I have collected them for this year.

I begin with the archbishop of York. There was a strong endeavour to get away the church of Southwel from that see: which was a collegiate church, and where the arch- Endeavours to alienate Southwel from the see of York.

BOOK II.

Anno 1587.

bishop had a seat. The earl of Leicester, who was in debt, laboured with the queen to alienate it, for himself, perhaps, or some of his friends, under pretence of concealment. The archbishop had before, by word of mouth, interceded with her majesty not to grant it away, to the great injury of the bishopric. But now being retired, he applied himself earnestly to his friend, and the common friend of the church, the lord treasurer, in a letter, dated from Bishopthorp: which ran to this tenor:

The archbishop's endeavour to hinder it.

His letter to court.

"That the bringer came from him, for the defence of "the church of Southwel, which was sore assaulted. That "he had spoke to her majesty of it, and gave her a note of "it in writing [concerning the foundation of it, as it seems] "when he took his leave. That the earl of Leicester had "moved her in it. And that he prayed her majesty in the "church's behalf, that if they could not find the gracious "favour which we looked for, that at the least they might "have the benefit of her laws for their defence, which thing "would serve their turn." He added, "That he had at "that time written an earnest letter to the earl of Leicester, "and he would hope that he would deal no further in it. "He heartily prayed his lordship [the lord treasurer] to "continue his good and honourable favour towards that
462 "church, and not suffer those greedy cormorants [the com- "missioners for concealments] to swallow it up: which in "truth have none interest to it. But these men must live "by other men's losses. That he had been at great charges "about that church; had travailed much for it; and that "was all the gain he should ever get by it. And that he "only set before him herein the glory of God, and the "maintenance of learning and religion. Which things to "do, I am, said he, in conscience bound to do. And thus "commending this cause unto his wonted favour and ho- "nourable consideration, he commended his lordship to the "good direction of God's holy Spirit." Dated April 21, 1587. Subscribing,

"Your lordship's most bound,

"E. Ebor."

Anno 1587.

The archbishop came seldom to the council in the north: and why.

The lord treasurer's letter to him on this occasion.

This archbishop did not much appear at York with the president and council there; not liking some that sat there; and by reason of oppositions he met with there. This was taken notice of at court, insomuch that the lord treasurer Burghley quickened him to be more frequently there, especially in this dangerous time. The letter was dated Febr. 20. "Certifying him of the queen's displeasure, that he so "seldom appeared in the commission with the president and "council. And that he was commanded by her majesty to "let him know, that she was not well contented with his "grace; for that she did certainly understand, that he did "not attend, or very seldom repair to the lord president "and council at their sittings, for the hearing and ordering "of the causes of her subjects according to the charge com- "mitted to him by her commission, and the trust she had "reposed in his grace, as she said, for his sincerity, and "good disposition to justice. And though he sought (as "he went on) to defend him to the queen for his absence; "as that he thought his grace given to quietness, and to "refuse to intermeddle in deciding of civil causes; but ra- "ther to give himself wholly to the exercise of his episcopal "office in preaching and governing the church, being his "special charge: yet her majesty not disallowing of his "[the lord treasurer's] opinion, said, she thought that his "grace might do God good service, in assisting the lord "president and council, both in their sessions, and at other "times, as well by his presence personally, for the honour "of her commission, as with his advice and counsel in fur- "therance of justice to her poor people, as their causes "should require. And that further, her majesty added, "that his grace should have opportunity many times, even "for causes of religion, to reform the obstinacy of some, "and the rashness of others; both adversaries in their "kinds to the public state of the church. By which two "sorts she meant (as the treasurer explained it) for the "first and worst, papists and recusants; and for the se- "cond, innovators or breakers of common orders in the "church. And so with many other speeches, tending to

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" blame him for his negligence, or rather, as she said, for " his worldly ease, she commanded him [the treasurer] to " charge him [the archbishop] in her name straitly, that he " should hereafter not forbear to repair to York at sessions, " and there to give his attendance, except by sickness he " should be let.

" And so concluding, he prayed his grace to have regard " to this her majesty's command; and not for any respect " of ease, or saving of charge, to forbear his resort thither; " and to let him have some answer to be given to her ma- " jesty."

Barnes, bishop of Durham, dies.

Barnes, bishop of Durham, died this year in the month of August, St. Bartholomew's eve. Dr. Toby Matthew, the dean of that church, preached his funeral sermon. In a book in the office of Heralds this account is given of him and his stock and family. *Rev. in Christo pater, et venerabilis vir Ricardus Barnes, S. T. P. sive doctor, in comitat. Lancastr. ex honesta familia, quæ a dnis. baronibus de Barnes originem traxit, oriundus. Oxonii apud musas in coll. Æneonasensi educatus. Cui per aliquot annos pie et provide præfuit. Hinc Eboracum evocatus, almæque illius ecclesiæ metropolitanæ cancellarius, ac scholarcha creatus, sacram theologiam inibi ad aliquos annos publice prælegit ac professus est. Deinde episcopus factus. Novissime Dunelmium translatus jam ad Dei gloriam episcopus, illius ecclesiæ habenas ac gubernacula moderatur.*

Vincent. No. 55.

His chancellor.

This bishop had a brother John, who was his chancellor, a bad man, addicted to covetousness and uncleanness. He was to be bribed by money to pass over crimes presented and complained of. Which reflected upon the bishop himself, and gave him an ill name every where. And when these things were brought to the bishop, he would say, Others were in the fault; but it never came to his knowledge. Gilpin, a reverend and pious preacher in those parts, in a sermon preached before him, told him plainly, that whatsoever he did himself, or suffered through his connivency to be done by others, was wholly his own. The bishop took this well, and, taking him by the hand, said, Father Gilpin,

I acknowledge you are fitter to be bishop of Durham, than I to be parson of Houghton; which was Gilpin's parsonage.

Anno 1587.

Toby Matthew, the dean of this cathedral church, was talked of at court to succeed in this bishopric. But the see was not filled till the year 1589. But now at the decease of the former bishop, the revenues were somewhat more nicely looked into. And the said Dr. Matthews could find many alienations, or long leases made, most of them in bishop Barnes's time: no less than ten long leases. So that when Francis Mills, a gentleman attendant of secretary Walsingham, had shewn him, from the said secretary, that he was designed to succeed to that see, (chiefly by the endeavours of the secretary,) the said dean Matthew wrote him a long letter of the condition of the bishopric, and of the great diminution of the revenues: which (with other inconveniencies) seemed to discourage him from the acceptation thereof: viz.

Toby Matthew, the dean, talked of to succeed.

His letter of the state of that bishopric.

"That the bishopric was greatly impaired; the best things "of it demised at length; and no provision at all of corn by "rent, or otherwise. The rate very high in the queen's "books. Seventeen hundred pounds a year, *communibus* "*annis*, going out. The diocese, namely, Northumberland, "specially about the borders, most wretched and miserable, 464 "enough to burst the heart of an honest, well-meaning pas- "tor: so small assistance for the public service of religion. "And the state, both ecclesiastical and civil, no where less, "he thought, in all this realm, or the next. The place ex- "ceeding chargeable in peace, and in war double dangerous. "And so he went on in his account of the condition of this "preferment. And yet however, as he concluded, if God "should send it, it should be welcome; if otherwise, he was "but where he was before; and in better place than haply "he deserved," as he humbly expressed himself. The whole letter, at length, deserves to be preserved, in memory of this pious and worthy man. I have reposited it in the Appendix, as I transcribed it from the Cotton library. To which I shall subjoin the *particulars* of the ten long leases, granted to the queen by the former bishop and his predecessor, with the date of the leases, number of years, and yearly rent.

No. XXIX.

No. XXX.

BOOK II.

About this time the said dean Matthew sent a letter of thanks to sir Francis Walsingham for his great favour in respect of the said bishopric; and therein thought fit to consult with him [the said secretary] concerning making his application to two other great favourites with the queen, the earls of Leicester and Essex.

Anno 1587.

His letter to secretary Walsingham; advising with him about it.

He began his letter with his thankful acknowledgment, in the name of that church of Durham, of some great favour shewn to them, the dean and chapter, and the whole body of the queen's foundation, upon some contest with the archbishop of York, attempting to infringe their liberties. And then for his own part in special manner, "That he was tied "to honour and serve such a patron [as he, the secretary] "while he had breath, carrying such a regard, care, and "study of his preferment, being so long and so well ac- "quainted with his exceeding great favour towards him. "But that the less his desert was to his honour, the more "was his debt."

Then he advised with sir Francis concerning the earl of Essex, (who was his son-in-law,) concerning addressing a letter to him in this affair, who was his friend, and might yet be more, "Lest, by his slackness, he might have made "a fault, in not taking knowledge of his good-will he had "done him, or might do for his [the secretary's] sake. That "as to the lord steward, [i. e. the earl of Leicester,] his "singular good lord and old master, he suggested to the "secretary, in the same letter, that he would gladly take "notice of his disposition; that is, whether his inclination "was for some other to be preferred to that see. Which if "so, that he would neither seem nor seek to impeach, for "all the promotions (as he added) of the realm." But the dean's letter at large I leave to be read in the Appendix.

No. XXXI.

Leicester endeavours a remove of the bishop of Sarum to Durham.

It was not long after, that dean Matthew understood by the earl of Leicester's secretary, that he was making interest with the queen in behalf of Pierse, bishop of Sarum, to be translated to Durham; and that the earl would endeavour to procure the said dean's remove to Sarum. But that did not accord with the dean. And that because it would put

an end to his endeavours now for five years past, to accommodate himself and his service, for the benefit of those rude, remote, northern parts; and that not without some fruits, as he trusted: which had cost him some pains and charge. 465 But take the dean's own words in another letter to the secretary, more amply declaring his mind in this case. Anno 1587.

Another letter of the dean's to the secretary.

" Pleaseth it your honour to be certified, that by Mr. " Lyndsey's letter of the 3d of this present, [February,] re- " ceiving advice as from your honour, that I mought be- " come a thanksgiver to my lord steward, and his honour- " able disposition and liking to have me succeed the late " bishop of Duresm in this see, I did accordingly write unto " his lordship the 18th of this instant. Howbeit for so much " as Mr. Aty, his lordship's secretary, by his of the 16th of " this present, about another matter, which came to me the " 21st, gave me therewith to understand, that his lordship's " promise for this bishopric was passed to my lord of Sa- " rum, with a purpose, if the place should be offered to me; " wherein he craved speedily to know my mind; I could " not but in duty and reason acquaint your honour with so " much as was imparted to me. But withal humbly desire " your honour, so to interrupt the course of that proceed- " ing, so that no such remove be tendered unto me; having " now near these five years altogether accommodated myself " and my things to the most commodity and service of these " rude, remote parts; and not without some fruit, I trust, " and not without some studious endeavour and charge, I " am well assured.

" So that if by any such plot I shall be discarded out of " this country, to make another man's game the fairer, and " mine own the worse, though percase not in value of the " promotion, yet for the order of teaching, and manner of " living that I have now undertaken; I could not take it, " but for a disadvantage with a disgrace. Which, I hope, " I shall never either receive or deserve at her majesty's " hand, my most gracious sovereign. By whose bountiful " gift, and your honour's means, I possess this place to my " good contentation. Which I shall be hardly persuaded to

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" depart with, but for that bishopric only, which your ho-
" nour hath dealt in for me. In respect whereof I confess
" myself more deeply to your honour indebted, than I can
" well express. So trusting your honour will have regard
" in time, that if this bishopric may not conveniently be ob-
" tained, yet I may rest upon my deanery without offence;
" I humbly betake your honour to God, my estate to your
" consideration, my service, during life, to your command-
" ment. From Duresm, the 26th of February, 1587.

" Your honour's humble and bounden for ever,

" Toby Matthew."

In short, neither the one nor the other succeeded to this bishopric; I mean, neither the bishop of Sarum, nor Matthew, dean of Durham; but, after a pretty long vacancy, it fell to another Matthew, namely, Matthew Hutton, dean of
466 York. Nor yet when, some years after, the said bishopric of Durham fell void again, and this Dr. Matthew nominated for it, it fell to another, he not accepting it, not liking certain terms propounded to him by sir Walter Raleigh; who held the castle and manor of Sherburn of that bishopric. But at last that episcopal see of Durham fell to his lot.

Spelm. History of Sacrilege.

Endeavour to disseize the dean of a corps of that deanery.

Our dean had at this time another concern, viz. the troubled state of his deanery, (for so he termed it in a letter to his friend and patron, Walsingham,) partly upon an incumbrance he was like to receive from Rob. Cary, son to the lord chamberlain, [lord Hunsdon,] who was endeavouring to disseize the dean of the greatest part of his corps there, called Billingham and Holme, upon pretence, as it seems, of *concealed* lands, given for superstitious uses. And was not long before endeavoured to be sued from him by one Brakenbury: which also to lose, as the dean said to his said friend, would have been his undoing. Adding, that by suit to be driven to defend it were much to his loss. And to redeem his claim [that is Cary's] (bad and weak thought to be) God wot, I am unable. " And thus (as he concluded)
" to your honour's bosom I am bold to unfold my care and
" fear: offering the consideration thereof, as of the rest,

" unto your wisdom, together with the prosperous state of " your honour to his protection and providence that worketh " all in all, and ever for the best to them that love him, and " whom he loveth." Words suitable to the piety and contentment of this reverend man.

But beside this care, which more particularly concerned the dean, there was now also another care and trouble lay upon him, for the whole collegiate church; in order to the preserving and vindicating the pretended privileges thereof. Things in many respects being out of order in that church of Durham, the archbishop of York (under whose inspection it was) had instituted a visitation of it. But this was thought an intrusion upon their privileges. Which caused a suit between the see of York and them. This also dean Matthew informed the secretary of, and thanked him for some favours vouchsafed them in this regard by his letters. Thus bespeaking him; " That to their great grief and " astonishment they perceived by Mr. Bunny, one of their " brethren, [prebendaries of that church,] that all his care " and favour towards them could not prevail in the suit be- " tween the see of York and that church; yet their good " hope assuring them, that justice and equity should take " place in the end. Adding, that they were all, and every " of them, to yield his honour their humblest and greatest " thanks the while; as the only patron upon whom they " presumed in the whole cause to repose both the dignity of " that college and the liberty of that country. Beseeching " his honour the rather to continue forth the same his good- " ness and furtherance; for that they were otherwise the " more overlaid and overborne by so potent an adversary " and so partial judges; together with so vain and frivolous " delays. Professing, that as they must most justly acknow- " ledge themselves more bound to his honour than to any " man, or all men besides, so should their hearts and services " be more devoted to his honour than any church in all this " realm, when opportunity should be offered to make de- " monstration thereof."

Suit between the archbishop of York and the church of Durham.

The dean's letter to the secretary. Their case. Cott. libr. Titus, b. 2.

Some of the Welsh bishopries were fleeced by the re-

BOOK II.

spective bishops; retaining in their hands the best rectories and other dignities; as was shewed before, in the year 1582, in the bishopric of St. David's. Hughes, bishop of St. Asaph, served himself after this manner in his bishopric. Indeed, the former bishop, Thomas Davies, had some benefices in the diocese by *commendams*. For which archbishop Parker gave his judgment to secretary Cecil, for the queen to grant them to him, in order to the better keeping up the port of a bishop, and maintaining hospitality: see his letter, March 18, 1563, in that Archbishop's Life. But it seems by this time the liberty of the bishop or bishops of this see was talked so much of, that the report of it came to court; insomuch that an account of the state of this bishopric was sent up this year. Thus endorsed by the lord treasurer's own hand, *A discovery of the present state of the bishopric of St. Asaph, Feb.* 24, 1587. Dr. Hughes, some time of Oxford, bishop. I found it in a book that had some notes of that lord's hand, of things laid before him, I suppose, in complaint and for redress. It contained mention of the great livings within the diocese, some with cure of souls, and some without cure, which were either holden by the lord bishop himself *in commendam*, or else in the possession of such as dwelt out of the country. Then follows a particular at large of these benefices. Whereof an archdeaconry, and nine cures, and seven sine-cures were held by him: this paper I have laid in the Appendix. Therein also is specified the parcels of the bishopric leased out, and to whom; and on what terms: also that bishop's misgovernment and neglects: and likewise of his courts: and the want of hospitality by the means of non-residency.

Anno 1587.

Rectories in the bishopric of St. Asaph retained by that bishop.

Life of Abp. Parker, book ii. c. 17.

Present state of this bishopric.

N°. XXXII.

The queen requires a lease of Donnington, belonging to the bishopric of Ely, for one Ashby.

The see of Ely, now void six years without a bishop, a gentleman had obtained a letter from the queen, to the dean and chapter there, to grant him a lease of certain manors belonging to that bishopric. The letter was brought to Dr. Perne, the dean; signifying, "That it was her majesty's "will and pleasure: and we do hereby (as the letter ran) "authorize you to make a lease unto our trusty and well-"beloved servant, Will. Ashby, esq. and to his assigns, of

" the manor of Dunnington and Thriplow; being together " of the yearly rent of xixl. and of the parsonage of Hinks- " ton, of xvil. rent by year, or thereabouts; parcel of the " temporalties of the bishopric of Ely, now vacant. The same " lease in due and sufficient form made for xxi. years. To " begin after the statute now in being. And to be confirmed " under your chapter seal: reserving the accustomed yearly " rents unto the see of Ely; and under such covenants and " conditions as are in like demise usual. Given under our " signet, at our manor of Greenwich, the 13th of April, " 1587."

CHAP. X.

Anno 1587.

" This letter of her majesty was delivered by Mr. Ashby " to me, Andrew Perne, dean of Ely, the 7th of June, and " opened in the chapter-house in the presence of the pre- " bendaries, the 10th of the same month, 1587." As it was underwritten by the dean, in due observance to the queen, and her pleasure. 468

This letter from the queen was attended with another to the said dean and chapter from secretary Walsingham, importing, " That the queen, having by her special letter written " her pleasure unto them, for granting a lease of certain " things unto that gentleman, her good servant, Mr. Ashby; " and had also been pleased, of her special favour and grace " to him, to will him [the secretary] to let them understand " that her highness had that care of him, that she would " have them know, that no favour should be omitted on " their parts, which any way they might shew him, to the " more benefit: but that they should grant unto him those " things which were specified in her letter, with all the com- " modities belonging to the same, as largely and effectually " as was in them to do, and according to her gracious " meaning: namely, the royalties of the manor of Thrip- " low. Dated from the court at Greenwich, the 15th of " April."

Secretary Walsingham to the dean and chapter of Ely, concerning this lease.

But as these letters from court, or other great men, were seldom very acceptable to bishops or collegiate churches, to abridge them the liberty of bestowing their lands and preferments; so this dean and chapter of Ely found cause to

Their letter to the treasurer on this occasion.

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mention an obstacle to the granting this lease to Ashby, required of them. The lord treasurer had granted Donnington before to Richard Cox [the deceased bishop's son] during the time of the vacancy; and had bestowed several things beside, belonging to the said bishopric. Whence they concluded that all the rest belonged to him during the vacancy. And therefore they had forborne to seal the lease, as they were authorized by the queen, until they understood the lord treasurer's mind, being steward of their church. And whereas, among other grants made by former kings to the prior and convent of the church of Ely, they had the privilege of keeping and receiving all the temporalties during the vacancy; they took this occasion to move the treasurer to obtain of her majesty the like grant of keeping the temporalties *sede vacante*. And then they reckoned they might safely yield to her letters, without prejudice to that see or any other. And this was the sum of a letter from them to the said treasurer; enclosing therein divers grants of her majesty's progenitors under their seals, granting their church this privilege: promising withal that they would not pass any thing belonging to the bishopric, but would first make him privy thereunto, and with his assent. This was signed by the dean, and several others, prebendaries, who were heads of colleges in Cambridge. This letter, transcribed from the original, will be found in the Appendix.

Number XXXIII.

Commission of concealment and other grants, to Edward Stafford.

A mortification of the clergy, as well as others, that had church lands, was the granting commissions for concealed lands; which some obtained of the queen, greedy courtiers, and others; whereby many grievous oppressions were occasioned, and complained of. Of these Edward Stafford, esq. was one, who had obtained such a commission from the queen, of concealment of lands, given to superstitious uses under the

469 times of popery. He procured also a lease from the queen (for his further profit and advantage) of parsonages impropriate. Which was to comprise all this following, (according to a relation of it by the lord treasurer, as I transcribe it from his own hand;) viz.

By lease for a rent.

I. Parsonages impropriate; free chapels, guilds, chan-

tries, lay-prebends, colleges; relinquished, dissolved, or escheated.

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II. All parsonages, vicarages without cure; whereof the parishes are depopulated; the churches profaned, decayed, wasted, defaced; that remain concealed, and which of right ought to belong to the queen; and which may be found out, or challenged by Edward Stafford. By lease for a rent.

III. Advowsons, presentations, nominations, donations of all parsonages, vicarages without cure, as in the second branch.

IV. Advowsons, presentations, nominations, donations of all other parsonages and vicarages, with cure, prebends presentative, and donative, being concealed, detained by any means.

To give, dispose, and present, as often as any of them shall become void during the term.

Of all these, books are to be made, to pass the same from her majesty to Edw. St. [Stafford.] With a proviso to hear the controversies for displacing of any preacher, minister, parson, or vicar, in the exchequer.

A suit to the queen to take some revenues of bishopries for the earl of Leicester.

To mention another assault made this year upon the church; namely, upon the revenues of the bishopries; endeavoured by the earl of Leicester: who in a suit to her majesty, upon the decease of Barnes, bishop of Durham, moved her to take to herself divers bishops' lands, the bishopries being then void, to the value of a thousand two hundred pounds yearly rent; and to settle upon them impropriations in the room thereof. The suit being to this tenor: "That it would please her majesty to resume from "the bishopries of Durham, Ely, Oxford, and Bristol, now "being void, manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, "to the clear yearly value of MCC*l.* And that her majesty "would recompense the same with parsonages impropriate, "tithes, and tenths, to the like clear yearly value of MCC*l.*

"Then it was desired, that after the said MCC*l.* shall be "resumed, and recompense delivered as aforesaid, it would "please her majesty, at the suit of the right honourable the "earl of Leicester, and in consideration he shall assure unto

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" her highness, her heirs and successors, for every of the " manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, to the clear " yearly value of M*l.* To grant unto the said earl and his " heirs for ever, the fee-simple of so much of bishops' lands " and possessions as shall amount to the clear yearly value " of M*l.* and of lands whereof her majesty is in reversion or " remainder, to the clear yearly value of cc*l.*" Whether this suit was granted or no, I know not: but it is sure, the earl, whose death happened the next year, died deep in the queen's debt.

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CHAP. XI.

A synod held by the disciplinarians: orders, consisting of sixteen articles, there concluded. One Durden, in Cambridge, calls himself Elias. His examination; and pretended visions. Letter of intelligence from an English priest in France. Anthony Tyrrel, a priest, renounces his religion: revokes what he had renounced: his protestations, in some letters. Weston, a Jesuit: he with some other priests pretend to cast out evil spirits. A new commission of the peace for Lancashire. The effect of it for discovery of priests. Fleetwood, parson of Wigan, his letter. A commission ecclesiastical. A note taken of the catholic gentlemen, and their livings.

A synod held by the puritans.

HOW the church now stood; first, as to the disciplinarians, whose endeavour was to unsettle the constitution of it by episcopacy, and its liturgy: there was a notable synod held by them this year privately, the place uncertain, whether at Warwick, where Cartwright was placed, or Cambridge. And here divers orders were made for church discipline, and rules to be observed by ministers; and matters to be discoursed in their conferences. And there was a letter of credit or trust in Latin framed, and to be signed by two of the eminentest puritan ministers in the diverse counties, for the oversight and instruction of the rest in those places, as occasion required. The form whereof was:

Salutem in Christo, Amen. Reverende frater, charissimus frater noster, D. N. In English thus: "Reverend "brother, our very dear brother, Mr. N. hath been desired "to come and speak with you. He was desired also to im- "part unto you some things relating to me and certain "other brethren in these places: and if any other are there "to whom the same may profitably be communicated. "Whom therefore I have not comprised in this letter; be- "cause he shall have discourse with you, whose faithfulness "is sufficiently known. To whom I desire you to give "credence in such things as he shall communicate to you "in our name. And so, dear brother, farewell." What was decreed and appointed at this synod was contained in sixteen articles; which, with the aforesaid letter, all in Latin, may be found in the Appendix. Whereby it appears what course and method they took to settle their discipline through the kingdom; and nominated two or more of their brethren, the ministers of chiefest account in each county, to superintend there, and disperse orders.

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The synod's letter of credit.

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As, in Suffolk, D. Knewstub and —— Allen. In Kent, Nichols, Estwel, and Elvyn, Westwel. In Essex, Gifford and Rogers. In Northampton, Barbon and Flood. In Surrey, Rychman and Udall. In London, Field and Egerton. In Hertford, Dyke and Pig. In Warwick, Cartwright and Fen. And in Cambridge, Chadderton.

Persons appointed by the synod for each county, as chief.

And here it is to be noted concerning this synod, that they laboured to vindicate themselves and their party from making a *schism* in the church established. Thus in one of their articles, concerning their *conferences*, they are directed "to wipe off the calumny of *schism;* in that the "brethren communicated with the church in the word and "sacraments, and in all other things, except its corruptions; "and that they assumed no authority to themselves of com- "pelling others to their decrees."

Clear themselves of the scandal of schism.

There was a synod, or *classis*, this year held in Cambridge. Whether these abovesaid were the acts of that synod, I leave to conjecture. What is found in the 13th article may make it probable that it was held at the uni-

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versity; viz. *De ministerio academico deliberandum a fratribus in proximum conventum, si intersint academici.*

Anno 1587.

That is, "that the brethren at the next meeting should "consult concerning the university ministers, if any uni- "versity men were present." See further concerning these puritan societies, in a book written near those times, called

Lib. iii. c. 5, 6.

Dangerous Positions: by Dr. Bancroft; afterwards archbishop of Canterbury.

Matters to be discussed at another convention.

This was one of their conventions, as they had their private stated times and places for others. Thus at this present convention or synod they referred some things to be transacted at their next: as, to discuss the question of the holy and synodical discipline, how it agreed with the word of God, and how far they might lawfully use it with the peace of the church: and then to consult concerning the ministers of the university. For further account of these classical assemblies, I refer the reader to the Life of Archbishop Whitgift.

B. iii. c. 21. p. 290.

What is above writ will serve particularly to shew what Camden in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth writes; viz.

The discipline set up privately. Camd. Eliz. p. 421.

"That the puritans had now begun to exercise their disci- "pline in corners, in despite of the authority of the laws; "holding synods and *classes* in several places, and forming "presbyteries. For which cause Cartwright, Snape, and "some other ministers were called in question."

One calls himself Elias.

One of these, an enthusiast, comes into trouble this year, whose name was Durden, a minister, calling himself Elias. What his principles were appears by a period in one of his papers that were taken; viz. "But what judges be nowa- "days? They command popish and needless ceremonies; "and such as obey not, they call rebellious: as if it were "lawful for kings to command what they will. There is "one lawgiver, which saith, The fear is vain that is taught "by the precepts of men." This man was at length taken at Cambridge, where he had resorted among some of his

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acquaintance, and secretly dispersed his false doctrine; and was brought before Dr. Copcot, the vice-chancellor, and examined. The sum of his examination, with a letter, was

sent from the vice-chancellor to their high chancellor, the lord Burghley: therein giving him information:

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The vice-chancellor's letter to lord Burghley concerning him.

"That one Raphe Durden, B. A. of Pembroke hall, and "after minister in Essex, (from whence he came, and kept "with his friends in Cambridge) was imprisoned by him in "November last, because he named himself Elias; and "being set at liberty would be preaching very disorderly "in every place whither he could come. And that since "that time he had written certain papers, and, as it seemed, "dispersed them abroad: interpreting the Revelation of St. "John after his own fancy. And that both in word and "writing had uttered some dangerous matters touching the "estate of this realm, as by the examination of one Rob. "Williamson [one of Durden's hearers] might appear: as "well by other papers, which he sent to him sealed up; as "he had them from the Tolebooth, where Durden remained "in hold: whither he had also sent Williamson, till he "heard further his lordship's pleasure." This was dated from Trinity college, Cambridge, June 25, 1587.

Now to understand in some particulars what dangerous matters this enthusiast had uttered, both by his speeches and writings, here shall ensue the examination that the said vice-chancellor sent up, signed by the university register.

The examination and confession of Rob. Williamson, of Cambridge, tailor, had and made before Mr. John Copcot, D. D. and vice-chancellor of Cambridge, and Mr. Isaac Baro, doctor of physic.

His prophecies what should happen in this kingdom.

"The said Rob. Williamson saith, that he came first "acquainted with Raphe Durden in the Tolebooth, being "both there prisoners: which Durden nameth himself "Elias. And that D. said, that the 24th of February come "twelvemonth, England shall have a new prince: and that "prince shall reign but five months. And he shall be a "papist.

"*Item*, Dur. said, that all that tarry in England shall be "damned, except they go with him, the said Durden, to "build Jerusalem. *Item*, The said Dur. said, that he him-

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" self, viz. the said Dur. should be king of the whole earth.
" *Item*, This examinate saith, that D. said, he had a mark
Anno 1587. " upon his left thigh; which divers then present would have
" seen. But D. refused so to do. But afterwards he, D.
" shewed it to this examinate; and it was a little round
" spot. And further, D. said, the round circle doth signify,
" that I shall be king of the whole earth. *Item*, This
" examinate saith, that he had a writing of the said D.'s
" opinion about a month past delivered unto him by the
" said D. which he, D. willed the said examinate to shew
" to a learned man. *Item*, This examinate saith, that one
" Henry Reeder, a collier, was in the Tolebooth with this
" examinate, and so came acquainted with him; who of
473 " late passing this examinate's house, desired of him the
" foresaid writing, to shew it to their vicar; and promised
" to bring the said writing back again shortly.

" *Concordat cum original. Ita testor*,
" *Mattheus Stokys, not. publicus.*"

This said writing from Reeder came into the hands of a justice of peace in Suffolk, about twelve miles from Cambridge, and from him to the vice-chancellor; and was one of the papers sent up to the said lord Burghley: in which, by way of letter to Williamson, he concluded, from several places of the old prophecies and the Revelations, these four things: viz. 1. That the Jews were to be brought from among the Gentiles unto the land of Judea. 2. That he was appointed and ordained of God to be their deliverer. And 3dly, That they [of his party] should be sent unto the promised land; and that in the queen's days that then reigned. And 4thly, That shortly after this, all the kings of the world should be gathered together to fight against them in Judea. But they [that should go with him, and were of his side] should have the victory, and all the kings of the world be obedient unto them; and that for a thousand years they should be obedient to the gospel. This whole letter is too large to be inserted here; but being somewhat extraordinary, I shall give it a place in the Appendix.

Foretells the Jews to be brought to their own land by him.

No. XXXV.

In this writing he gave out himself to have an extraordinary calling; and that by that calling he knew he was the person ordained of God to deliver the Jews, who were the 144,000 spoken of in the Revelations: and that the time exactly agreed; and that he was to bring them to their own land; and that because he was the lion of the tribe of Judah, and the root of David. And to prove that he was the person, he had extraordinary visions most like the vision of the seven seals: for that God inwardly informed him of the understanding of the Apocalypse, and Daniel's prophecy. And that he was certified of all this by another property of that person, Apoc. xix. 16. *He had on his thigh a name written, King of kings, and Lord of lords.* Which place he applied to himself, because on his thigh there was a mark or print of a round circle: which he interpreted to signify his proportion of that possession he was promised, that is, the whole world. And that this deliverance of the Jews, which should be effected by him, should commence the 24th of February, an. Dom. 1589. For then the forty-two months, and a time, and two times and half a time, should expire. Anno 1587.

A letter from an English priest in France intercepted.

We have some matters to relate also concerning some of the popish priests and Jesuits, falling out this year. And first, I transcribe here a letter of intelligence sent from an English priest in France in some convent or college there: entitled by the writer, *True Intelligence.* This seems to have been intercepted; and by that means came into the hands of the lord treasurer Burghley; among whose papers I found it. Where notices are given of the present affairs of France, as well as England. I shall set all down as I find it; viz. 474

" Five priests executed in England in divers places;
" whereof four hanged, drawn and quartered; the fifth
" stoned, because he would answer to no interrogatories of
" *ifs*, and I cannot tell what: their names were Pilcher,
" Sandes, Haulley; *reliquos nescio.* The rest are, as I
" hear since, Dakins, Patinson, (but this is not certain.)
" Mr. Peeters at Roan long since is dead. Mr. Panel

BOOK II. Anno 1587.

" taken by prodition [*i. e.* betrayed] by a curate in Mon-
" mouthshire. Mr. Morgan, Mr. Eles, Mr. Morgan Cle-
" nocke, and others, do all well, and much good: [*emis-
" saries*, as it seems.] Here is one Canon [a messenger]
" from them.

" Here arrived upon Saturday queen-mother, [and re-
" gent of France,] with the princess of Lorrain, with Pi-
" nante, [Pinart,] the princess's secretary, Bellieure and
" Lansack, secretaries of estate, and two or three chevaliers
" de S. Esprit, with count Cerny. A monstrous retinue of
" men, viz. the princes of Nemoures, de Montpensier, the
" duke Nemoures, counts, &c. An infinite company there
" is. So that here is such a court as I never saw. She
" lies at St. Peter's, and hath commanded all the dukes and
" princes to lie here about her. So that our scholars are
" thrust out of their chambers. Too too bad.

" The talk is, that Nemours shall marry the princess of
" Lorain here. *Sed non facile videtur.*

" Persecution in England monstrous great. No passage
" at all, but by stealth in Scottish vessels.

" Great talk that Drake is overthrown. *Sed non credo.*

" The lord chancellor [Bromley] is dead: sir Christopher
" Hatton in his place. Sir Rafe Sadler is dead, [chancellor
" of the duchy:] and Walsingham in his place. Rawlie,
" [sir Walter] in Hatton's place. Sir Amias Paulet in
" Walsingham's place. The earl of Rutland is dead also.

" They muster, and play the devil in England. Great
" bruits that Leicester comes over again. *Sed non credo.*
" He is gone to the Bath sick; they say, incurable. *Sed
" nec hoc credo.*

" The lord Paget, sir Francis Englefield, Charles Paget,
" Francis Throgmorton, and the rest, executed in London.
" Their lands are sequestered by act of parliament, notwith-
" standing all conveyances to the contrary.

" One subsidy and two fifteens granted by the clergy
" and temporalty.

" We fear here a beggarly peace, [*i. e.* with the pro-
" testants.] The dukes have no mind at all. And they be

" *pusillanies ;* which the king will never make his vantage " of, to their dishonour.

" At Rome is dead Mr. Wolley, priest: at the Spaw, of Anno 1587. " late, Mr. Allot, priest: at Paris, Mr. Rob. Fenne, a ba- " nished priest, brother to Mr. Fenn at Deventrie."

The last year were given some remarks of Anthony Tyr- Anthony Tyrril comes a- bout again from popery a second time. ril, a priest, that had been discovered and taken up: who at length renounced his popish religion, and was reconciled to that of this reformed church; and so was set at liberty. But soon after revoked his revocation, and returned back again to his first religion; and disavowed all that he had confessed in his former informations against divers popish fugitives. Now (as it seems under some restraint) he is come about again, and become a protestant: and upon this, presumed to make this humble address to the queen in the month of August, 1587. 475

" Since the performance of one good deed in the sight of His letter to the queen. " God is more acceptable than many words, I had rather " seek, most gracious sovereign, to amend my fault by some " well-doing act, than to better myself only by saying. " Once have I fallen most grievously from my faith unto " Almighty God and your majesty. Your highness' wis- " dom can easily discern, whether it were of pure malice " or of infirmity. Had I departed away with a mind obdu- " rate in malice, I never had returned to make repentance. " Wherefore, since it hath been voluntary, I trust it shall " find the more favour in your sight: as I am come " home to embrace a true religion, so am I come to yield " all true obedience. For the one so dependeth on the " other, that the one is hardly kept without the other.

" When I fell into the hands of those that perverted me, " they first shaked me in my faith, before I forgot my duty; " and when by consent I had yielded up the one, I was the " more easily drawn to forget the other: God forgive me " my offence in both. And that your majesty do not cen- " sure me according to my deserving.

" As concerning that *pernicious book* which I penned for

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Anno 1587.

[a] See his letters to the queen and treasurer the last year. Chap. vi.

"the papists before my departure [a]; wherein I repealed for "falsehood which *bona fide* I had uttered unto your majesty, "and my lord treasurer, I am by your favour so far to "assert, as in the publishing thereof they shall have small "gain. Such things as shall concern the defence of God's "truth, the preservation of your majesty, and the safety of "your realms, I am ready (God willing) so to confirm, that "neither fear nor flattery shall cause me to deny again. "Such matters as shall but touch the consciences of your "discovered subjects, I would so spare, as that they find in "me no humour of malice for to remain. For being come "home for the safety of my own soul, I would be loath to "have a mind to persecute my brother. As God by mercy "hath recalled me, so also by mercy he is able to recall "them. And charity would, that as for myself, so should "I pray for them. I leave to trouble your highness any "further; only on my knees I crave pardon for that is past, "and I hope your majesty shall receive better fruit of me "to come. Our Lord preserve you, and grant you long to "reign. London, the of August, 1587.

"Your majesty's loyal and obedient subject,

"Ant. Tyrell."

Offers by any act to manifest his true repentance.

476 And here, to despatch what I have further to say of this man, I find him the next year addressing another letter to the lord treasurer, dated from St. Katharine's: where, I suppose, upon his humble submission and protestations, he might be admitted to abide in favour, and to keep him the faster from revolting again. Yet some further testimony of the sincerity of his change and reality of his repentance was required of him: which to shew his readiness to do, he thus opened and manifested himself to that lord:

"That if he wist which way he might recover some part "of his favour and good-will, which worthily (he confessed) "he had lost, by yielding of any satisfaction that he were "able for his offence committed, he should not only mitigate "some part of his sorrow conceived, but prepare himself

" unto any laudable action with a comfortable spirit. That
" he had in former times been too tedious unto his honour,
" and therefore he dared not at that present adventure to Anno 1587.
" write much: that he was only in all humility to beseech
" his lordship to grant him his wonted favour, and he should
" most gladly and thankfully receive it upon any condition:
" that he did but expect his lordship's good pleasure, and
" (God willing) he should be always ready to perform any
" action which his wisdom should think expedient for the
" manifestation unto the world of his true repentance,
" having scandalized so much for his oft revolting.

" That what it should please his honour to have done
" with his confession, he would gladly be informed. That
" if neither the method nor manner were unto his liking,
" he would, God willing, take in hand some other thing.
" And until he might know his lordship's pleasure, he
" would spare both his labour and his pen.

" I thought it thus my duty," as he went on, " to adver-
" tise your honour of my good-will and readiness; remaining
" in hope of your accustomed goodness, not only pardoning
" of my last offence, but in remembering the great misery,
" which, without your honourable assistance, had altogether
" overwhelmed me. The God of all glory and consolation
" preserve your honour: and as he hath quite and clean
" averted my mind from all impiety, so to convert your
" honourable compassion yet once again to pity me. With-
" out the which, death shall be more welcome unto me than
" life. Thus my soul resolving into a fountain of tears for
" memory of my sins, I cease further to trouble your ho-
" nour. St. Katharine's, the 15th of October, 1588.

" Your lordship's most humble and daily orator,

" Anth. Tyrell."

Upon which request of Tyrrel, I make no doubt, that lord required him to make a public recantation, to satisfy the world. And so I find he did openly, with one Tedder, another seminary priest, at St. Paul's Cross, in the month of December following: as we find in Stow. Recants. Annals.

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But whether he was in earnest after all these professions and protestations, it may be doubtful, since equivocation is an avowed doctrine of the Jesuits; as the secular priests, among their accusations of the Jesuits, laid to their charge in a book of the relation of the factions at Wisbich: "That they were so delighted with equivocations, as that "to the scandal of others, they are not ashamed to de- "fend it in their public writings." And that hence it came to pass, that though they swore, men would not believe them.

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Equivocation, a doctrine of the Jesuits.

Page 73.

Quodlibets.

His request next after.

Well, after Tyrrel had gone thus far, he then with more confidence addressed to the lord treasurer to be admitted into his presence, of which he had been so long deprived: "That as Absalom could enjoy no comfort of mind, though "he were brought back to Jerusalem, till he had seen the "king's face; so, that as he was by the mercy of God, and "the clemency of his prince, restored from death to life, "and left to enjoy the sweet liberty of his country, nay, "and the life and liberty of his soul; yet could he not be "at full quiet of mind, until he might enjoy his lordship's "presence, and the recovery of his good favour: and he "hoped God would so underprop him with his grace, as "from thenceforth he should not hear of him so much as a "light suspicion of treachery, hypocrisy, or dissimulation." But I leave this testimony of himself under his own hand in his letter from St. Katharine's, set in the Appendix. And so we take our leave of him.

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Weston, a Jesuit, pretends to the exorcising faculty.

Camden, p. 425.

Weston, alias Burges, one of this sort, had brought letters from Philip earl of Arundel, (who was committed to the Tower, and afterwards tried by his peers, and cast,) written to cardinal Allen, promising therein to give his help for promoting the catholic cause; and for that cause had an intent to withdraw himself out of the realm. This Weston, who was a Jesuit, pretended, with some other popish priests, to the power of casting out evil spirits out of some possessed with them; and by that means to bring over the people to their religion. Dr. Abbot (who was afterwards archbishop of Canterbury) hath a remarkable passage concerning this

Weston, and some more of his party, of their managery of this their craft, in his book against Dr. Hill's Reasons.

Anno 1587.

Dr. Abbot against Hill's Reasons, p. 278.

" That he, and a whole dozen of priests, conspiring with " him, did for some years together put themselves upon a " practice to exorcise devils out of some possessed. And " had persuaded some men, and three maidens, that they " were possessed with the Devil; (for which Abbot named " a certain book printed, called, *A declaration of popish* " *impostures*;) and that they, by their priestly exorcising " faculties, could fetch him in and out, up and down, at " their pleasure. They had a holy chair to set their abused " disciples in, and a holy poison to administer to them. " Both matters pretended to be formidable to the foul " spirits: but indeed tricks to cast their patients into " strange fits; that so they might seem, as well to them- " selves, as others standing by, to be possessed in most hi- " deous manner. And this was so artificially carried by " the Jesuit, and his fellow-jugglers, that divers hundreds " of unstable and unadvised people, being cozened by their " impostures, were contented to be reconciled to the church 478 " of Rome; being won thereunto by their stupendous mi- " racles.

" A book also, or two, was penned, to be spread abroad " beyond the seas, of the admirable domineering of these " priests over the possessing spirits, and of the wonders " which they had done upon them. Notwithstanding now, " by the confession of three of the females, and one man, " (all which were then pretended possessed persons,) and of " another, then a priest, and a personal actor in this ex- " ploit, (all these five being sworn, and speaking upon " oath,) it was manifestly and undoubtedly discovered to be " most egregious both varletry and villainy, that among " men professing religion and devotion was ever heard."

Upon which our divine makes this inference: " That if " our seduced Romanists would not close their eyes, they " might see upon what trash their worship is built; and " that their leaders care not how they be abused and led by

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" the nose, so that their own projects and intendments be " effected."

Anno 1587.

Lancashire abounds with papists.

Lancashire was especially this critical year to be looked after, where papists, and gentlemen, favourers of papists, swarmed: therefore care was now taken for some honest faithful persons to be put into the commission of the peace there; that so every hundred might be furnished with one or two such at least; and such as might watch these disaffected at this time. (Besides a commission ecclesiastical likewise sent down, to be put in due execution.) An account of which, and the success thereof, take from the pen of one of them, viz. Edward Fleetwood, parson of Wigan, and in the commission of the peace of that county, in a letter writ to some person at court, under the title of *right honourable;* whom I conclude to be lord treasurer; making these observations of the new commission of good justices sent down for that corrupt county.

Observations of the justices there.

For the whole body of them, [the justices,] they were so proportionably allotted to the several parts of the shire, as our sound men would any ways afford. Five, or four, or three justices at the least unto every hundred. By means whereof every hundred hath its sufficient magistracy within itself. And every quarter sessions, containing most of them two hundreds, a competent number of justices. And the general assizes had a full furnished bench of worshipful gentlemen to countenance and attend that great and honourable service: which appeared most evidently in the eyes of all men that last assizes, by the most plentiful concourse of all the gentlemen justices well affected from all parts of the shire: providing thereby, that neither the common service, specially laid upon them, should be disfurnished of due attendance, nor the discontented sort should obtain any just occasion to argue their honours' [of the counties] direction of insufficiency, or them of any want of duty. Where they employed themselves so thoroughly in the case of religion, that there ensued a most plentiful detection of 600 recusants by oath presented; as also the in-

dictments of 87 of them, (as many as for the time could be preferred to the jury:) and further, a notification by oath of one and twenty vagrant priests usually received in Lancashire; and 25 notorious houses of receipt for them. Such 479 are the manifold commodities which we feel already by your honour's most sound direction. In respect whereof it is, of all that desire reformation among us, (as justice of her children,) most confidently justified.

The county void of goodness and good men.

The only want in general is the want of sound gentlemen in most parts of the country. And as for himself, he said, he dwelt in the most desolate part of the country, from all goodness and good men. He desired his lordship's letter of encouragement and direction unto some few preachers and worthy men in those parts; by which they should not a little be strengthened in the busy charge they had in hand, for the suppressing of many ungodly enormities of the sabbath; which charge was imposed upon them by the lords, the justices of assize, the special instance of himself, and some other of his brethren.

The success of the new commission of justices in Lancashire.

This letter came soon after a new commission of justices was sent down for that county; wherein gentlemen of better principles of religion and loyalty were put in, and others, either papists, or favourers of such, and secret friends to the priests and Jesuits, were discharged: and this good was chiefly effected by the means of the lord treasurer in this county, assisted by the information of this rector of Wigan, given him privately of the gentlemen there; as that lord had received the like intelligences from the bishops concerning the inclinations of the justices and other gentlemen in the other counties; unto which, new commissions were also sent, as was told before.

Earl of Darby.

But now to give that lord further knowledge of the success of this commission there, and the more fully to inform him, the rector of Wigan attended at the assizes: wherein he perceived in them that were displaced no small indignation towards such as they suspected to have furthered the same; and endeavoured to possess the earl of Darby with it, (who had the chief hand in nominating them in the

BOOK II.

former commission,) as no small dishonour unto him. To mitigate this, the said Fleetwood laid before their faces in his pulpit, (as occasion served,) and which he had more particularly acquainted his lordship with, concerning the corrupt state of the whole county, that their guilty consciences might apply to themselves what was due to them. And hereof the judges in their circuit took notice; and delivered the chief points thereof to the juries; and likewise more especially recommended to the justices of peace to be in their continual services regarded. He likewise soon after applied himself to the earl of Darby, by way of accustomed duty, being his patron, to give him opportunity of speech about the premised matter of some of his friends displaced, and to justify him, viz. the lord treasurer, and the other lords of the council, of this their most considerate act. This, and a great deal more, was the substance of a second letter of that reverend man: which, as worthy the perusal and recording, remains in the Appendix, transcribed from the original; giving further accounts of the earl, and his want of care of the public concerns of that county; concerning the honest gentlemen there, and who they were: and what need there was of activity in this commission, for the comfort and encouragement of those that were for reformation, and the faithful professors of the truth.

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Ecclesiastical commission.

This active and worthy divine was now going to accompany the archbishop of York, and the solicitor and others, at an ecclesiastical commission for those parts, which abounded much with popish priests and Jesuits, and such as harboured them. And for their better proceeding in this commission, the lord treasurer had sent instructions to the said rector to communicate unto the rest.

Catholic gentlemen, and their revenues.

I have one thing more to add of the Romanists, that as they were busy now to overthrow the state and religion of this kingdom, so there wanted not a watchful eye at home over the queen's subjects of that religion, of the best rank, their own lives and estates being in danger. And for the better knowledge of them, and what each of them were worth, inquiries were made, and informations were sent up

this year, of all the principal recusants in each county, and their yearly rents, incomes, and goods. Such a schedule, dated this year, I have seen drawn up in three columns; viz. the names of the recusants in the several counties; then their yearly rents and livings; and then the value of their goods. Beginning, according to the alphabet, with the county of Bucks; Edward East of Bedlow, gent. 100 mark; Tho. Throgmorton, esq. 1000 mark; Henry Mansfield, esq. 100*l.* &c. Anno 1587.

CHAP. XII.

A book entitled, Theatrum Crudelitatis Hæreticorum. *Another book, Execution of Justice in England. Cardinal Allen's book in answer, called, A true, sincere, and modest Defence of Catholics, &c. Vindication of the Execution of Justice, in answer to Allen. Stubbe, the writer, his letter to the lord treasurer. Some university matters. Abuses in the colleges; which causeth a letter from their chancellor. Contests between the town and university. Edmunds the mayor. Matters of St. John's college: some letters of Whitaker, the master.*

I PROCEED next to take notice of some tracts that came forth in print this year, respecting papists that suffered death according to the laws in force.

And the first I shall name was a book called, *Theatrum crudelitatis hæreticorum in Anglia.* I make mention of it here, though it was printed at Antwerp, because it concerns this nation; setting down such papists, both of the English priests and laity, as were pretended to be put to death for their religion; namely, from the year 1570 to the year 1587; viz. of priests to the number of thirty-one, and of laics fourteen. In this Theatre are also numbered such as were executed for religion in king Henry VIII. his reign, some for denying the king's supremacy, and others that were concerned in the business of the holy maid of Kent. What their names were the reader will find in the Appendix. And thence he may Theatrum Crudelitatis Hæreticorum. 481 Number XXXVIII.

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have recourse to our historians, to inquire, whether they were put to death for their religion, or for their treasons and conspiracies against the queen and government.

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Cardinal Allen's Defence of English Catholics.

Care was now taken to reply to a scandalous book of this strain set forth by cardinal Allen, in answer to a book entitled, *Execution of Justice in England:* wrote by the lord treasurer Burghley; though his name be concealed: the MS. whereof, being his own handwriting, I have seen. It was translated out of English, for the vindication of the queen and state, into divers languages, that the truth of the proceedings in England might reach to foreign countries. The cardinal's book bore this title; *A true, sincere, and modest defence of English catholics, that suffer for their faith at home and abroad. Against a false, seditious, and slanderous libel, entitled,* The Execution of Justice in England. "Wherein is declared, how unjustly the protestants do "charge catholics with treason; how untruly they deny "their persecution for religion, and how deceitfully they "seek to abuse strangers about the cause, greatness, and "manner of their sufferings; with divers other matters per-"taining to this purpose."

Contents of the book.

This book will be the better understood by the heads of the chapters it contained: which were these. Chapter I. The many priests and other catholics in England that have been persecuted, condemned, and executed for mere matters of religion, and for transgressions only of new statutes; which do make cases of conscience to be treason, without all pretence or surmise of any old treasons, or statutes for the same. Chap. II. That father Campion, and the rest of the priests and catholics, indicted, condemned, and executed upon the pretence of treason, and upon statutes made of old against treason, were never yet guilty of any such crimes; but unjustly made away. Chap. III. That they had now great cause to complain of unjust persecution, intolerable severity and cruelty towards catholics in England. And that protestants had no reason to do the like for justice done to them in queen Mary's and other princes' days: and the cause of the difference. Chap. IV. That their priests

and catholic brethren had behaved themselves discreetly, and nothing seditiously in their answers to the questions of the bull of Pius Quintus. And that they could not lawfully be pressed, nor put to death, as traitors, by the true meaning of the old laws of the realm for the same: with examination of the six articles proposed about the said bull. Chap. V. Of excommunication and deprivation of princes for heresy, and falling from the faith; specially, of wars for religion; and of the office and zeal of priests of the old and new law in such cases. Chap. VI. That it was much to the benefit and stability of commonwealths, and especially of kings' sceptres, that the differences between them and their people for religion, or any other cause, for which they might seem to deserve deprivation, might rather be decided by the supreme pastor of the church, as catholics would have it, than by popular mutiny and phantasy of private men; as heretics desire and practise. Chap. VII. Of the late wars in Ireland for religion. How the pope might use the sword. And those differences between temporal princes and him, or their resisting him in some cases of their worldly interest, could be no warrant to the protestants to contemn his censures or authority in matters of faith and religion. Chap. VIII. That the separation of the prince and realm from the unity of the church and see apostolic, and fall from catholic religion, was the only cause of all the present fears and dangers that the state seemed to stand in. And that they unjustly attributed the same to the pope's holiness or catholics, and untruly called them enemies of the realm. Chap. IX. The conclusion contained a charitable monition, and a joinder with the *libeller*, [as he called the writer of the book he answered,] touching some mean of toleration in religion, and ceasing or mitigating this cruel persecution.

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These were the heads of this severe and bold book. Many printed copies whereof were privately brought into the realm, and dispersed. So that it was necessary to be substantially replied to. And John Stubbe, a learned man, sometime of Lincoln's-inn, [though unhappy in the loss of his right hand,] was employed, in the doing of it, by the lord

Allen's book answered by Stubbe.

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treasurer. And having finished his work, (which was perused also by some of the learned civilians at that time,) the author addressed his letter to the said statesman concerning what he had done, and joined his desire to have it amended, improved, and additions made to it, as he should think convenient, in a tract of such importance. His letter follows:

His letter to the lord treasurer concerning what he had done.

" My most honourable good lord, having long since, by " your honour's direction, delivered certain my written la- " bours to the consideration of Dr. Bing and Dr. Hammond, " and their answer now returned by sir Drue Drury, I un- " derstand it your lordship's pleasure to see them also. " Now herewithal I am bold to signify thus much: that as " next after God and her majesty, I undertook it to do you " service, so do I leave the same wholly to your honourable " censure for words, sentence, or matter: and not only to " yourself, my good lord, but to the two doctors, I so far " resign me, as, giving over all blind self-love to mine own " handywork, I besought them to judge frankly, and " (which in this cause is most friendly) to read it severely. " It pleased them nevertheless to encourage and provoke " my proceeding: which if such as they had not done, " whose learned judgments I reverence, it should never " have troubled your lordship for me.

" If therefore it may be serviceable, either as it is, or by " suffering some alteration, your honourable allowance shall " make me cheerfully to abide the adversaries' malice: and
483 " if it be unprofitable, I desire not to win public reproach " by publishing my folly; being so far from desire of vain- " glory by doing it myself, and from envy at others doing " it, as I shall most willingly sit down in the shadow, and " let any have all the fruit of my painful travails; if at " least they may never so little help to furnish out some " better defence. Mine only care is to see the thing done, " and well done: which as I am indifferent to see well done " by any, so would I be most loath to see it ill done by " myself. It remains, that whether this of mine pass in si- " lence or print, I humbly pray your honour's most favour- " able and best interpretation of my endeavours: unto

" whose great wisdom I desire to approve myself in all. So " humbly taking my leave, I beseech the Lord God to pre- " serve your life, increase your honour, and finally keep " you ever his. The 27th of July, 1587. Anno 1587.

" Your most honourable good lordship's

" Very humbly to command,

" John Stubbe Scæva."

Some abuses committed in Cambridge both by tutors and pupils.

Some particular matters of one of our universities must claim a place here. Some abuses brake into that of Cambridge; whereof complaint was made to their high chancellor, the lord Burghley: as, in running into debt for wine and clothes, and too costly habits worn by fellows of colleges; and of the liberty that pupils took, to the neglect of their studies, and of the excess of their apparel; and the too greedy desire of the tutors for gain: which made them wink at the neglect of those under their tuition. These faults will more particularly appear from a letter which their careful chancellor wrote to his vice-chancellor on this occasion; which for the restraint of these abuses ran in this tenor:

The high chancellor's letter to the university.

" After my hearty commendations, Mr. Vice-chancellor, " liking very well of divers things which, I am given to " understand, you have well reformed in the university in " your time; so am I credibly informed by the great com- " plaint of divers, both worshipful and wise parents, the " which have brought their children to the university, that " through the great stipends of tutors, and the little pains " they do take in the instructing and well governing of " their pupils, not only the poorer sort are not able to main- " tain their children at the university; and the richer be so " corrupt with liberty and remissness, that the tutor is more " afraid to displease the pupil through the desire of great " gain, the which he hath by his tutorage, than the pupil is " of his tutor: that the parents do greatly complain, both " of the loss of their children's time, and of the greatness of " their charges, as well in tutors' stipends, as in their sump- " tuous apparel.

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" The which things if you with the rest of the heads can " devise to have ordered with speed, you shall have my as- " sistance thereto most willingly.

484 " To the great stipends of tutors cometh the great excess " of apparel in fellows of colleges of late more than hath " been; in wearing of satin doublets, silk and velvet over- " stocks, and facing of gowns with velvet and satin to the " ground; and in great fine ruffs, contrary to law and or- " der. All which I will have you see reformed with speed. " There is so much wasted this way, and in the town on " Fridays and Saturdays, that they do leave their sizings " and detriments unpaid monthly in the colleges; and also " are, as I hear, greatly indebted to the drapers and vint- " ners in the town. To the which I would have you take " orders for: that these debts, as well that of colleges as of " private men, may be discharged presently. And that " there be no more such debts hereafter. And to certify " me the names of those colleges and particular persons, " that shall make defaults in any of the premises, faithfully " and without delay. And thus I wish you well to fare. " From my house in the Strand, this last of June.

" Your loving friend,

" W. Burghley."

Contest between the town and university.

A contest between the town and university of Cambridge about the right of commons was very sharp this year, as well as it had been some years before. And the affronts offered by the townsmen to the scholars, or such as depended on them, such, that the heads, by a decree among them, discommoned Edmunds the mayor. The beginning of it was the impounding some hogs that ran in the common fields; which hogs belonged to one Hammond, who was a brewer and bailiff of Jesus college, and so a scholars' servant of the university. But the vice-chancellor ordered them to be let out. At which, after some contest, the said mayor complained to the high chancellor. Dr. Perne, in the absence of the vice-chancellor, answered his complaint: which complaint Perne had received in writing; and was required to

make answer unto in writing again. Whereunto the complainants were to be further referred. The sum of which answer was, that the mayor was the cause of the present controversy between the town and them; the mayor exacting of Hammond certain money, contrary to a composition made between the town and university, *anno* 27. *regin.* for the space of twenty years: wherein it was provided, that the pinner or driver of such hogs or cattle should be appointed 2, 4, or more, by the consent and appointment of the vice-chancellor and mayor for the time being: and that there be taken four pence for every hog; whereof one penny to the pinner, and three pence to the vice-chancellor, if the offender be a scholar or scholars' servant; and if he be a freeman or a foreigner, the said three pence to the mayor. Contrary to which order, the mayor at this time exacted of Hammond, a scholars' servant, three pence for every hog that was driven by one appointed by himself, and not by an indifferent person appointed by the vice-chancellor and the mayor, &c.

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In fine, this argument ran so far, and the mayor so perverse, that the heads solemnly discommon the mayor. And this was done orderly at a court, Dr. Copcot vice-chancellor. In the order mention is made of his great ingratitude to the university scholars and their servants: which shall be particularly related by and by. This decree was, "That no "scholar, or any under the privilege of a scholar, should, "for the time to come, have any manner of dealing, con- "tract, buying or selling with the said mayor, upon pain of "an 100 shillings." And this was set up upon the public school door. See this remarkable decree specified in the Appendix, taken out of the university register, and sent me by a reverend member of that university.

485 The heads discommon the mayor.

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Where it is observable, that the said mayor is charged with great, nay the greatest ingratitude against the university: for he was bred up from his beginning by the favour of the university. His father was once a member of it, and afterwards one of the heads in the times of king Henry VIII. And for his father's sake, they had taken care of

His ingratitude towards the university.

BOOK II. his education. Which came to light some years before; viz. in the year 1582, when another controversy happened be-
Anno 1587. tween him and the university: which proceeded so far, that the matter came before the high chancellor, when the particulars of his ingratitude were made manifest. For when the chancellor had urged him with his unseemly behaviour towards the university, (in answer to which he said, that he never received any benefit from them, or any scholar, but only that they once made him one of their praisers,) Dr. Pern, (that had been one of his benefactors, and knew him from the beginning,) being provoked, acquainted the said chancellor by letter with his history; viz.

"That he was brought up by the good-will and liberality "of the university and divers scholars of the same. And "how his father was a doctor in divinity of that university, "and master of Peter-house, and oftentimes vice-chancellor. "And though living in king Henry's and queen Mary's "reigns, yet was married, but kept it very private: and "had a son, named John, (who was the present mayor,) "but went under the name of John Mere, as a son of a "beadle of the university; whose wife and Dr. Edmunds' "wife were sisters; and was brought up from his childhood "with him as his son; and not until of late, in queen Eli-"zabeth's reign, was called by his true name, John Ed-"munds."

This paper of Perne's went on, giving account of his breeding up from the first, "That he did receive from Mr. "Mere, his reputed father, so many shreds of copes and "vestments as were worth 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*" [that is, in king Edward's reign, when all the popish apparel was called in.] "That upon Mere's death he was received into the service "of Parker, archbishop of Canterbury: afterwards, into "the service of Dr. Perne, dean of Ely, (who gave this "relation of him,) for the good-will he bare to his father, "Dr. Edmunds, and made him his butler at Ely: after, he "was made butler of Peter-house, whereof Perne was mas-"ter: then he gave him a lease of the dean and chapter of "Ely, called Quane; which he sold for 50*l.* That he got

" him the lease of an house wherein he at present dwelt, " when mayor, worth 20*l.* per ann. That he was likewise " preferred by him to be one of the praisers of the univer- " sity; and did also procure him to be one of the vintners " of the university; which office he sold for 80*l.* and was a " means to get him to be mayor the present year, 1587." 486

Other particulars of his behaviour were not spared now to be told. As, that when he was to take the oath to the university for the due observing the peace of the university, he provided, that at the taking of it, none almost should be present, but only the mayor and the town-clerk. Whereas there always used before to be present the best of the university, town, and country. So that the hall was commonly so full, that the vice-chancellor could not well enter into the hall. And for this he was challenged by Dr. Pern, for breaking the ancient order: which required him to take it, *in loco et more solito.* To which Edmunds answered, he did not know the custom; though he had been present at the giving of the said oath by the vice-chancellor and the proctors to the mayor and bailiffs, when he did attend upon the said Dr. Pern.

It was told further of him, how he bragged, that he would, if the chancellor himself were at Cambridge, go before him: for that he was the queen's lieutenant of the townsmen, as his honour was the queen's lieutenant of the university. Though the chancellor is always, and hath been accounted by charter and otherwise, the head officer of Cambridge, before whom the mayor and bailiffs be yearly sworn. Add to the rest, this instance of his respect to the university, that being mayor, he did not invite the vice-chancellor and heads, as was always customary to be done on Michaelmas day, at the mayor and bailiffs' feast; though Dr. Pern sent him a barren doe towards his feast; telling the vice-chancellor, that he would not invite him to dinner on that day, because Dr. Pern was not then come to Cambridge. And when Dr. Pern came that Michaelmas eve, the mayor sent him word, that he would not invite him, because he had not invited the vice-chancellor.

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These unhappy controversies between the town and university, as they had been before and this year, so from time to time long after remained. So that in a complaint against the town ten years after, they were charged to be more bold than ever, breaking most confidently upon all their privileges.

Now to look into the state of learning in this university, I shall descend to some remarks of things and persons in two or three of the colleges.

The present state of St. John's college.

Whitaker, the learned public professor of divinity, was chosen master of St. John's college the last year, viz. in February 1586, by the lord treasurer's interest, though with difficulty. The state of which college (whereof that great statesman was once a member, and always after a patron) the said master gave him some account this year, in one or two letters, wrote thence, after great stirs and commotions by reason of parties there.

The former was wrote in April. The import of which was, "That he would write to him the state of their col-
487 "lege, and of the affairs thereof, as well because he doubted "not but it would be grateful to him; as also, that he "might satisfy his duty. That it was he who brought him "into his college by his authority and good-will. In which "therefore, if any thing should happen against his mind "and expectation, he beseeched him not to wonder at it, or "bear it more heavily, or ascribe any fault to their fellows: "for that he was persuaded the divine providence did won-"derfully shine out in this matter. And although the be-"ginning was a little more turbulent, yet the conclusion "would be more happy and easy. And that after that one "little cloud of one half hour, a clear light had shone "upon them." [He seems to mean the heats and disturbance at the election.] "Which hitherto no new tempest had "obscured.

"That for the time to come, he promised himself such "events as should bring more of hope than fear or sus-"picion. I am not solicitous of myself (as he went on) and "my state; nor do I promote any thing else for myself, "but to serve the college, and consult for its good. In

" which I shall hope I shall at last effect something that " may redound to its advantage. I will certainly endeavour, " that I seem not to be unprofitable to the college." Anno 1587.

Then he proceeded to open to that lord to whom he writ, a present necessity of the college, viz. " That they laboured " in nothing beside a need of money: which could not be " paid to the college in the strait circumstances of many, " [by reason of a great dearth this year.] And here an in- " testine disease stuck in the college; and wanted altogether " some medicine. For unless provision were had, they could " not contain that society, which then was held a long time " with difficulty, that it dissolved not. And so concluded, " most humbly beseeching and begging his honour, that as " always he had done, so he would proceed to favour their " college; and to esteem himself to be chiefly and entirely " esteemed and observed by them. And so praying God to " preserve him in safety for the commonwealth and to their " university." It was dated from St. John's, the 3d of the cal. of April, 1587.

A statute of the college for the fellows to take orders.

Another letter of the said matter to the said lord, wrote in September, was occasioned by reason of a statute of the same college of St. John's, that the fellows should take holy orders, after they had been six years masters of arts; shewing the inconvenience of dispensing with it. Since, about that time, some had endeavoured to obtain, contrary to that statute, a liberty to remain in the college, as one or two had done before. This new master now shewed his care in discharging his trust to the college, by endeavouring to stop this abuse, in his address to that lord, that such dispensations might not be granted by the queen or himself. For thus the master expressed his mind.

The letter of the master in behalf of that statute.

In illis rebus, &c. " That in such things as belonged to " the state of their college, he could not but betake himself " to his authority and prudence. That their statutes were " as yet in his power, and seemed to want in certain places " some correction. And he hoped his lordship would give " him leave to speak with him at some convenient time con- " cerning them. That it was an old law, that the fellows, in

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" the sixth year after they were masters, either to be priests, " or to leave the college; only two physicians excepted. " Notwithstanding it had been granted to some a few years " past, that against the mind of the statute they might re- " main in the college; and that it was very credible, that " there would be others who would seek for the like indul- " gence and licence, either from the queen or from him." And then added, (applying to his lordship,) " that it should " be his counsel and wisdom to consider, whether it were " agreeable to grant that which they should ask. That there " was this inconvenience in this matter, which would happen " at last, that the primary and senior fellows, who must " always be divines, be other than divines, and yet be ne- " cessarily compelled in the college to perform the office of " divines. He would not mention any more; since he, out " of that incredible pious regard he had towards their col- " lege, would always provide that their affairs might be " ever cared for, as well as might possibly be." This was likewise dated from St. John's college, *pridie id. Septemb.* 1587.

The queen to the master and fellows of Peter-house.

The queen this year, upon some interest made to her in the behalf of one Tenison, of Peter-house, wrote her letter to the master and fellows of that house, to admit him, though unqualified by the statutes, to a fellowship there: whose letter was as follows.

ELIZABETH.

By the queen.

MSS. acad. penes me.

" Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Foras- " much as we are credibly informed, that one John Teni- " son, master of arts of your college, commonly called Peter- " house, in Cambridge, whereof you be master and fellows, " is greatly desirous and minded, to continue at that " university, and namely in the foresaid college, for his fur- " ther increase in virtue and learning; and that by reason " of his degree he is not capable of a fellowship in the said " college without our special grace and warrant; we let you " to wit, that for his better proceedings in that good and

" virtuous course, which for want of sufficient maintenance " is likely otherwise to be greatly hindered, and seeing no " cause, why that degree, which is bestowed upon worthy " persons, (as an encouragement and furtherance unto pre- " ferment,) should be a let or hinderance thereof: Anno 1587.

" It hath pleased us, upon humble suit made unto us in " his behalf, and for the considerations aforesaid, to will and " command you presently, upon the receipt of these our " letters, to choose and admit him fellow of our said college, " into the place now void, or hereafter next to be void in " any manner of means whatsoever, any statute, decree, act, " or order to the contrary notwithstanding. For the which " we do dispense with you by these presents. And therefore " have no doubt but that you will accomplish this our plea- " sure accordingly. Given under our signet at our manor " of Richmond, the 9th day of October, 1587. In the 29th " year of our reign."

At this command of the queen the college was very un- 489
easy; requiring them to do some things contrary to the laws and statutes of their college; which they were strictly bound by oath to observe; as, to admit one to a fellowship, unqualified in several respects. And that they had already elected several deserving young men to succeed, as probationers, in the four next places, as they fell vacant. In this difficulty they applied themselves to the great patron of that university, the lord Burghley, to acquaint the queen with their condition. As, that for the person recommended, he wanted the qualifications required, and among the rest, *to be poor, and of an humble and quiet spirit:* both which he wanted. So they prayed his lordship to acquaint her majesty herewith; and to obtain her lawful favour to use their statutes; and that the said young men might not be disappointed, to their great prejudice and discouragement, to which Tenison's suit directly tended; and also to the disturbance of their quietness, and that lawful and orderly election. The letter of the college at length is worthy preserving. See the Appendix. [Number XXXIX.]

Their address to the lord Burghley hereupon.

CHAP. XIII.

Anno 1587. *Sheffield of Christ's college accused for a sermon preached at St. Mary's. An end of the vice-chancellor's visitation of that college. Some account of Downham, one of the fellows. Chadwic, of Emanuel college, called before the heads, for a sermon of his preached in St. Mary's. An epistle to the lord Burghley from the university of Oxford. Remarks upon some persons of eminency. Will. Lambard. Lord treasurer Burghley. Earl of Oxford, his son-in-law, discontented. Letters between them. Angry words from the earl of Leicester at court to the lord treasurer. Their letters to each other. The death of the lord treasurer's mother. The queen's message to him thereupon. Earl of Leicester's debts.*

Assertions of Sheffield of Christ's college.

NOW to look into some of the other houses. In Christ's college puritanism prevailed much; as was seen in the year before, in two or three of the members. There was one Sampson Sheffield, of the same college, M. A. against whom Dr. Copcot, one of the heads, alleged, that in a sermon

R. T. Baker. preached at St. Mary's this year he had delivered three assertions, erroneous and scandalous, in these words, or the

490 like in effect. I. That it is not lawful for a minister of the word to be a magistrate. II. That he denounced woe against him that put out some lights that were wont to shine in this town [of Cambridge.] III. The brethren conspired against their brethren; and are pricks in their sight. And the said Dr. Copcote desired of the vice-chancellor, that Sheffield might answer those articles; and that under the bond of his corporal oath. Which he did.

Sheffield's answer.

The answer which the said Sheffield made was, first, That he spake no such words, tending to that effect. To the second, That he denounced a woe against such magistrates, by whose negligence towards their brethren it was come to pass that we have had fewer lights than we had before. To the third he answered, That he did not speak those words of the heads of colleges in Cambridge, but spoke as near as

he could the words of the scripture out of one of the prophets. Upon this divers witnesses were produced that were his auditors. The register goes no further, to shew the determination of this scholar's business. Anno 1587.

But an end this year was put to an earnest controversy between this college and Dr. Copcot, the last year's vice-chancellor: who as by the statutes of the college was appointed their visitor, and began a visitation of the fellows that year, so he continued it by divers prorogations to a great part of the present year, when he was no longer in that office, and they refused to admit him; and appealed from him to the lord Burghley, their high chancellor. Who by his prudence put an end to this contest. And hereupon the whole college addressed an elegant Latin epistle to the said chancellor, containing thanks to him for so seasonable a conclusion of this trouble: being subscribed by the master, Edmund Barwel, and the rest of the fellows, viz. William Perkins, Francis Johnson, John Powel, Robert Baines, Thomas Morton, George Downham, Thomas Bradock, Andrew Williat, William Knight, Cutbert Bainbridge. The names of several of these, as they were well known for men of learning, so for zealous espousers of puritan principles. Their letter, from the original, may be read in the Appendix. N°. XL.

One whereof I shall make a note of here, viz. George Downham, the son of Will. Downham, bishop of Chester, and he himself afterwards preferred to the bishopric of Londonderry in Ireland. He was some time a favourer of the discipline; but after mature study of those points, heartily embraced episcopacy. Take his own words, expressive of his thoughts, in an epistle of his before his sermon, preached April 17, 1608, at the consecration of Mountague, bishop of Bath and Wells: entitled, *A sermon defending the honourable function of bishops.* "The time hath been, when mine "affection, inclined by the reverend opinion which I had "conceived worthily, not only of Mr. Calvin and Mr. Beza, "but of many other learned and godly men, patrons and "fautors of the pretended discipline, made me suspend my Dr. Downham of Christ's college.

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" judgment in this cause; until I had seriously entered into " the study thereof. The which for a long time I did for- " bear; partly because I did rightly suppose, that my pains " might be more profitably bestowed in other parts of divi- " nity; partly, because in my slender judgment I could not " then see what good would come either to myself or the " church of God, by my pains taken in that controversy, " &c. Thus was I content to remain in suspense, while I " took it to be the best course to be no meddler on either " side.

" But that afterwards (as he proceeded) he considered " with himself, that this church of England (wherein he was " called to be a minister) did hold and profess all substantial " points of divinity as soundly as any church in the world, " (none excepted,) neither in this age, nor in the primitive " times of the church: and secondly, that it hath the tes- " timony of all other true churches: and thirdly, that in " it the means of salvation are ordinarily and plentifully to " be had: therefore to make separation from it he took to " be schismatical, and damnable presumption."

I add one sentence more in the same epistle; that he heard a zealous preacher[a] reprove young divines, in a sermon at Cambridge, who, before they had studied the grounds of theology, would over-busy themselves in matters of discipline; and, as he said, before they had laid the foundation of their study, would be setting up, as it were, the roof.

[a] Mr. Greenham.

And in the said consecration sermon preached by the same Dr. Downham, he had these words of Calvin's and Beza's judgment of the bishops of this church: " Reverend Beza, " though an earnest patron of the presbyterian discipline, and " came far short of Calvin's moderation in that behalf, spake " thus; *Quod si nunc Anglicanæ ecclesiæ*, &c. But if now " the reformed English churches do persist, being upheld " by the authority of their bishops and archbishops, as this " hath happened unto them in our memory, that they have " had men of that order, not only famous, and God's mar- " tyrs, but also most worthy pastors and doctors, let Eng- " land surely enjoy that singular blessing of God. Which

"I pray God may be perpetual unto it." The sight of Downham's name among the fellows of Christ's college hath produced these passages, as some memorial of him. Anno 1587.

We pass from Christ's to Emanuel college, whereof one Charles Chadwic, M. A. was fellow; who had given great offence for a sermon, preached by him at St. Mary's, reflecting upon the non-residence of some of the university; particularly such as were governors of the colleges: calling them *murderers* of many thousands. For which, and such like words, he was summoned to appear before the heads; to whom he gave bond of 50*l.* for his appearance. But thus it stands at length in the university register. Chadwick, of Emanuel, gives offence for a sermon preached at St. Mary's. Rev. T. B.

Nov. 2, 1587. *Car. Chadwic, M. A. coll. Eman. socius, venit coram D. Johe. Copcot, S. T. P. et viccecan. et dominis DD. Perne, Fulk, Styll, Tyndal, et Legg, justiciariis dnæ. regin. et recognovit se debere reginæ* 50*l. solvend. sub conditione;* viz. "That the said Charles Chad-
"wick shall personally appear before the vice-chancellor of
"the university of Cambridge for the time being, whenso-
"ever he shall be lawfully called or warned at Emanuel
"college or elsewhere, to answer to such speeches as he ut-
"tered in a sermon made at St. Mary's church upon St.
"Bartholomew's day last past. And also to any other per- 492
"sons who were injured by the said speeches; intending to
"prosecute their actions for words then and there uttered.
"And also shall personally, or by his lawful attorney, ap-
"pear at all days and times when his matter shall be
"handled, until final end be made in this suit. That then
"this recognisance shall be void."

The prosecutors were doctors Perne, Styll, and Tyndal. Roger Morell, B. D. deposed, that the said Cha. Chadwick said in effect, That by the non-residents of the university there were murdered thousands of souls. But how many, he doth not remember. But he is sure he named above twenty. And he saith that, in his judgment, he noted in this speech the governors of the colleges particularly. For whereas it might be objected, in the defence of some non-residents, that of necessity there must be some to govern the Prosecuted by certain doctors for his words.

BOOK II. Anno 1587.

university; his answer to that objection was this, Let them go to their livings, and see whether we cannot govern the universities. Or if they will not do so, let them give over unto us their livings, and then let them stay here. This he spake, or words like in effect.

Lionel Ducket, M. A. and fellow of Jesus college, deposeth to the like effect. W. Wady, M. A. deposeth to the like effect, and says, that Cha. Chadwick named *between thirty or forty thousand, to be murdered by computation. Item*, He deposeth, that Mr. Chadwick did reprehend the usual and laudable prayers in the church for all states in Christ's church militant, calling it a *monk prayer*. Richard Warfield, M. A. fellow of Jesus college, deposeth, as far as he can call to remembrance, that Mr. Chadwick, finding fault with non-residence of some remaining in Cambridge, named about nine thousand souls to be in danger. That he did speak against non-residence and non-residents; but *quo animo* he cannot depose. But believes he did it to reprove that fault.

The register, being imperfect, doth not set down what censure passed upon Chadwick upon these informations. But there was a cause of one Cha. Chad. of Emanuel college depending two years after; which seems to be the same man.

A privilege of the university of Oxford invaded.

There came an epistle of thanks this year from the other university of Oxford to the lord treasurer; to whom they had addressed for his assistance in a cause, wherein one of their university privileges was invaded; which was, that none within five miles of that city should be compelled to send provision of bread-corn to the court, that the colleges might the better be provided for; the price whereof might otherwise be enhanced. A stop being put to this attempt by the means of that lord, in their said letter they acknowledged the favour, viz. That they had understood, by their vice-chancellor, that he had not only vouchsafed them this present favour, but in many other respects he had been a great benefactor to them and their university, and was ready to do still more. This they could not pass by in silence;

and thought it an act of high improbity to do otherwise; especially, since it had not only been his care, but his pains and solicitude, to consult for their affairs: and that much more than they had before understood, but were now informed of. And for all this they expressed an high sense of their obligations to him. This epistle I leave in the Appendix, as a remembrance of that university's gratitude to that lord, and of that lord's many good offices towards them. 493

CHAP. XIII. Anno 1587. N°. XLI.

Now for a few remarks upon some particular men of quality and eminence, falling under this year.

Remarks upon some persons of eminence. Will. Lambard.

William Lambard, a learned lawyer, excellently skilled in the history and antiquities of this land, received this year, as he had done before, some favour from the lord Burghley, who valued him for his great parts and deserts. He was sometime of Lincoln's-inn; afterwards his station was at Halling in Kent. And was by the special order of the lord chancellor Bromley put into the commission of the peace for that county for his great abilities. He was not without troubles; to which, it is like, he exposed himself the more by his care of the public service, and search after such as were disaffected persons, priests and others. But the lord treasurer, well knowing the cause, and the merits of the gentleman, had cleared him and set him free: which he styled *halcyon days* restored to him at Halling. And the lord Cobham of that county was also his seasonable helper; whom he called his *fatherlike good* lord; who had favoured some request and petition of his to that lord. For which restoration of those his halcyon days, he excused himself that he returned him his thanks only by writing, and did not personally pay them. But the cause was, that he was busy at Rochester about the queen's subsidy; and likewise the grief he was then under for the loss of a godly and dear companion; [probably his wife.] But his own letter, so well penned, and so deeply expressive of his obligation to that lord, and his own particular circumstances, must follow in his own words: for letters to and from such persons of eminency in these days deserve to be preserved.

"Albeit my most honourable, and singular good lord,

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" (raised unto me by God for rescue of all my distresses,) " duty willeth that I should thankfully present myself upon " my knees before you, and not cover me after this sort in " paper; yet may it please your good lordship, in regard " that I am presently closed in the midst of her majesty's " service for the subsidy, both in the city of Rochester and " in the county at large, to vouchsafe this manner of yield- " ing my most bounden thanks, till God in further time will " give me the means to perform it better.

" I have evermore, my singular good lord, perceived a " most honourable disposition of favour in your good lord- " ship towards me, that never did or could demerit any " thing at your hands. I felt it also to my joyful peace, " which for these few *halcyon* days I have enjoyed at my " ferme in Hallyng. But most sensibly do I now apprehend " it in this my just sorrow for the loss of a most godly and " dear companion of my life; when your good lordship " granted the desire presented on my behalf by that my fa- " vourable and fatherlike good lord Cobham, not only in " respect of my petition, but also pity of mine estate; and " for that affection which your lordship doth bear unto my- " self.

" For all these I most humbly thank your good lordship " upon the knees of my heart, beseeching that Lord of all
494 " to repay unto you in the great day that comfortable kind- " ness which I have received from you: and assuring you, " that not only myself will daily call unto God for you, but " will also teach my poor sucklings to send up and sound " your praises in his ears. The same bless your good lord- " ship with long life and honourable prosperity here, and " take you at the last unto himself in heaven. From Hal- " lyng, this 5th of Sept. 1587.

" Your for ever most bound,

" William Lambard."

Lambard nominated for a judge.

I add, (that I may here collect together what I have to say of this worthy gentleman, Mr. Lambarde,) that after a year or two he was nominated by the said lord treasurer, his

friend, knowing well his abilities, for a judge, or some such eminent place in the law. And so the said lord let him understand. Which caused another grateful letter to him; shewing his thankfulness, and his modesty too, in a desire he made; viz. That before he should be invested in that service, to be tried first for the next term. For so his ingenious and well weighed letter ran. "That he held himself "doubly bound to serve her highness with all his power; "and the rather, for that it had pleased his lordship to give "his name to her majesty with his good report of him. Only "he beseeched his good lordship to add this unto the rest "of his favours, that he might not be invested in the ser- "vice, but to be tried first for the next term, and upon his "probation to be admitted." For in this tenor his ingenuous and modest letter ran. Which will be found in the Appendix, from the original. CHAP. XIII. Anno 1587. N°. XLII.

I cannot let this man pass without the mention of a character that Kilburne gives of him in his *Topography and survey of Kent;* who termed him, "That learned, ju- "dicious, and laborious gentleman, William Lambard, esq. "whose monuments of piety and charity in that county, his "directory of the peaceable government of the same, [i. e. "his book of the *Office of a justice of peace,*] and his pain- "ful and able performance of his *Perambulation*, [i. e. in his "book of that county so named,] have rendered and will "perpetuate his memory famous." And that monument of his piety and charity above spoken of, was a college or almshouse for 20 poor people, founded by him anno 1560, in East Greenwich; termed the *college of queen Elizabeth's poor people.* Kilb. Topogr. of Kent. Epist. Character of Lambard.

About this year it was, that an abusive, lying, popish libel came forth, with unworthy and false reflection upon the lord treasurer Burghley. Which occasioned a vindication of him by some particular order from himself; wiping off those scandalous reports that were given out of him. Whether then printed or no, I cannot tell. But I shall transcribe it from the original paper, as I found it in the Cotton library; referring the reader to the Appendix. Which is worthy the [N°. XLII.] Lord treasurer falsely represented in a libel. Vindicated.

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public; for the better knowledge of so great a man, and so useful a statesman in that age.

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I have also a remark or two more to make of that wise and worthy statesman the lord Burghley, lord treasurer, of whom so much already. He had matched his beloved daughter Anne to the earl of Oxford. Who had not shewed that conjugal kindness and love to her as was expected: being discontented that he was not preferred (which he looked for) especially, depending upon the great interest of his father-in-law; and it having been suggested to him that he had spoken something in council to his disparagement. And so in an angry mood went beyond sea. This made the lord treasurer very uneasy, as well as the lady his wife, a very worthy and accomplished lady. I find a letter of the said treasurer, written to him, to soften him, and vindicate himself; that he had not been wanting in his endeavours to prefer him at court. And the day after he had received the earl's letter, he answered to this tenor.

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The earl of Oxford discontented with the lord Burghley.

That lord's letter to the earl.

" That he perceived by it an opinion of his lordship, that " he thought it had been and might be in his power, con- " sidering, as he writ, that the managing of all causes passed " through his hand, to strengthen his estate. And therefore " that he seemed to infer, that the lack of his preferment " came by him, [the lord treasurer.] For that he could ne- " ver hear of a way proposed for his preferment." To which the lord treasurer used these words: " My lord, for a direct " answer, I affirm for a truth, and that to be well proved, that " your lordship mistakes my power; howsoever you say, that " I manage the affairs. The trouble whereof is laid upon me: " but no power to do myself, or any kin or friend, any good; " but rather impeached and crossed. Which I am taught " these many years patiently to endure; yea, to conceal.

" Secondly, That there have been no ways prepared for " your preferment I do utterly deny; and can particularly " make it manifest, by testimony of counsellors, how often I " have propounded ways to prefer you to services. But why " these could not take place, I must not particularly set " them down in writing; lest either I discover the hinderer,

" or offend yourself in shewing the allegations to impeach
" your lordship from such preferment. And therefore, if
" your lordship please not to admit my defence, by avowing Anno 1587.
" to your lordship on my faith afore God, that I have at all
" times, when occasion served, had your lordship in remem-
" brance to be used in honourable service, then I must con-
" tent myself with the wrong you do me, in noting me, as
" you do very roundly, that you find yourself by me little
" strengthened in estate, and nothing in friendship. And
" so I conclude, my lord, that finding you thus affected, I
" mind not to dispute of this matter with you by any writ-
" ing; but wish you such other friends as you may be bet-
" ter persuaded of, than you are of me.

" As for the matter of John Wotton's report of any my
" speeches of your lordship, wherewithal the court was full,
" that you were offended with me, I have charged John
" Wotton with; who doth in a sort deny it. But if he said
" to your lordship, that I said any word to your disgrace in
" council, I affirm to your lordship that he lieth. And so 496
" with me do all the counsellors that heard my speech af-
" firm herein, to have belied me. But I leave him to his
" own defence. And sorry I am, that your lordship would
" put him in a balance of credit against me, after you had
" heard of me.

" Your lordship must take in good part my hasty writing;
" for neither my health nor my leisure doth permit me to
" write so advisedly as otherwise the cause requireth. And
" yet, my lord, I hope I write nothing but I may avow,
" howsoever you may, in your doubtful mind of me, other-
" wise interpret it. From my house in Westminster, the
" 15th of December, 1587.

" Your lordship's ready to deserve well,

" W. B."

This Edward earl of Oxford was the more earnest to obtain some place of profit as well as honour from the court; for he was a great spender, and, as the historian writ of him, Earl of Oxford. Camd. Eliz. p. 62.

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set his patrimony flying. And as this gave cause of his expectation from that lord, whose daughter he had married, so likewise to that letter above, written in vindication of himself, and his endeavours to serve him.

The earl of Leicester to the lord treasurer upon some difference.

This good lord treasurer had another trouble created him by another great lord at court, and favourite, namely, Robert earl of Leicester. Who had used some angry speeches to the said treasurer; having thwarted him in somewhat discoursed before the queen in council.

As, "That he found himself grieved with such cross "handling, as both at that and other times he had done. "And that he saw his lordship very ready to cross him "before her majesty. And that he liked it so ill, that he "would and could find way to anger him as well." The treasurer had also reckoned by some of the earl's words, as though he had charged him with something against her majesty.

This caused him to write that morning to the earl; and the earl as soon answered him that night, justifying himself. And by this private arguing with one another, taking a better course than some gentlemen are wont to do, by making challenges, and deciding their differences by the sword; intending nothing less than the murdering one another. But it will not be unacceptable to read the earl's letter, which is endorsed by the said treasurer's own hand, *The earl of Leicester in answer to mine, writ the same morning.*

The earl's letter.

"My lord, I know not from whence my hap hath it, but "it hath fallen out sundry times, both contrary to my "expectation, and much less by any desert of mine, that I "have found your lordship more ready to thwart and cross "my dealing than any other man's, especially in the pre-"sence of her majesty; and for such causes as I have been "the more earnest in; and which by his lordship's own al-
497 "lowance and opinion it had been so resolved on by their "conferences before." But this whole letter, being some-
N°. XLIII. what long, I leave to be read in the Appendix.

Another affliction fell to the lot of the lord treasurer this year, viz. in the month of March: which was the decease of his mother, an aged and pious gentlewoman. The great respect due to this eminent statesman required the condole of the court. In which the queen joined, and gave special order to sir John Woolley to do it to him. For the lord treasurer had intimated his loss to the person near about the queen, being her secretary for the Latin tongue; excusing his coming to the court, and waiting on the queen for that cause. I have the said Wolley's letter before me, wrote back to that lord on the said sad occasion: and of his purpose speedily to acquaint the queen with it, who was retired that day. The import of his letter was,

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The death of the lord treasurer's mother. Certifies it to court.

"That he was heartily sorry for the evil news he [the "lord treasurer] had received of the death of his dear mo- "ther: whom, though God had blessed with long life here, "and now with immortal life in heaven, (whereof no man "could doubt, that had heard of the most charitable and "godly course of her days;) yet must he not blame his "lordship for the natural sorrow he felt with this loss of "his, but rather honour and love him the more for this "sense of kindness appearing in him: shewing himself "therein a natural man, subject to human passions; and "not stoical, as too many in these evil days of ours were "found to be." He went on in these words:

Wolley's letter to him from court on that occasion.

"My good lord, it should be but folly in me to think "I could speak more in this cause than is known to your- "self in your own wisdom: whereunto I remit myself; "taking part, as your poor and faithful friend, even from "my heart, of this grief of yours, wherewith I have not "yet acquainted her majesty: [because she had that morn- "ing taken physic:] meaning to do it as soon as he might "in the afternoon. That he had imparted it to my lord "steward [earl of Leicester] even then: who otherwise "would have looked for his honour that day."

He added, "That when he had spoken with her majesty, "he would write again to his lordship. In the mean time

BOOK II. Anno 1587.

"I beseech God to increase your health both of body and "mind, to the benefit of our estate, and the comfort of "all your friends. At the court, the 13th of March, "1587.

"Your lordship's for ever most bounden,

"J. Wolley."

Thus Wolley affectionately to the lord treasurer. And then soon after, having acquainted the queen with the said matter, she sent him away forthwith on purpose in her name to comfort him, in token of her high esteem of him, as well as to require him to set upon her necessary business of the kingdom. Wolley accordingly repairs to the treasurer's house, but found him gone at his coming, being retired in his sorrow. Whereupon Wolley supplied his message with another letter to him, wrote from his own house near the Savoy, to this purport: "That because her ma- "jesty had sent him to his house in London, and he found "him gone at his coming thither, he thought it necessary "to supply the message by writing, which he should have "done by mouth, if he had come in time, before his going "thence. That her highness willed him to say to his lord- "ship, that she was exceeding sorrowful for his grief; "knowing how sensible his lordship was wont to take the "like, though none the like, to her knowledge, had hap- "pened unto him. She was old, as her majesty said, and "you wise. And therefore her death, happening accord- "ing to natural course, was to be taken moderately by you. "To withdraw therefore your troubled mind from private "grief to public cogitations, she prayed your lordship to "think upon the speedy despatch of the commissioners for "Munster with all the haste you can." [These commissioners were they (the earl of Derby, lord Cobham, and other) that were to be sent to treat with the Spaniard about a peace.] "For they must, she said, in alwise be there "before the first of May. That it might please his lord- "ship to let him hear from him the morrow after, for the

The queen's message to him.

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" full satisfying of her majesty, as touching the matter, and " likewise when his lordship thought he might be at the " court again."

And concluded, " That he had acquainted the lords and " others of the council of this accident that had happened " unto him. Who were right sorry for it, if it might be " remedied. And so committed his lordship to the grace " of Almighty God. Dated from his own house near the " Savoy, the 13th of March, 1587."

Such was the need the queen apprehended she had of this great counsellor in her important affairs at this juncture especially, and the high regard both she and her nobility had for him.

Rither's letter of condole to lord Burghley.

I meet with another letter to this lord upon the same occasion of condole from one Mr. Rither, an eminent person in the northern parts; with whom and this lord was a friendly correspondence. Which letter, so wisely, learnedly, and piously composed, I cannot but give the reader in the Appendix; especially, because we shall hear more of this gentleman hereafter. N°. XLIV.

Earl of Leicester takes up money of the merchants.

I have this to add of the earl of Leicester, (of whom some matters before,) that went out into the Low Countries, to assist them with forces from the queen; he took up large sums of money of some of the wealthier citizens of London upon his barony of Denbigh, when the strangers merchants refused to lend. But that nothing might be wanting in such an expedition, reckoned to tend so much to the safety of the kingdom, they made up the sum to be lent among themselves. But now upon the earl's return the money was not ready to be repaid. Which put the aldermen, who took up the money for him, to be in some concern. And they applied themselves to the lord treasurer, with a petition to this purpose, laying open their case, being, as they were styled in the writings, copartners with him of that barony.

These lenders were, sir George Barnes, mayor elect, sir Wolstan Dixie, knt. Richard Martin, and John Hare, aldermen, and others, copartners and mortgagees of that ma-

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nor of Denbigh. Their petition, which will shew the matter more at large, ran in this tenor: it was their humble petition to Hatton, lord chancellor, and lord Burghley, lord treasurer; setting forth, "That whereas their honours had "lately directed their letters to them, signifying thereby, "that they were by her majesty appointed to deal with "them for a longer respite to be given to the right honour- "able the earl of Leicester, for the payment of their monies "due in January next; they advertised his lordship, that "when his honour was purposed his voyage into the Low "Countries, and before the same was then perfectly known "abroad, order was given out by his lordship for the taking "up of a great sum of money at the hands of strangers in "London; upon some of ours, bond and assurance to be "given for the same. Which money was promised to be "lent; and supplied accordingly. But when it appeared "for whose use and for what service it was to be furnished, "the strangers went from their promise; and there was no "money to be had or taken up among them at any rate. "Whereupon we, considering the honourable purpose, and "the necessity of the action in hand, did upon our own "credit (the most of us taking up money at interest at "hard rates) supply the several sums of 500*l.* upon the "mortgage of the said manor, expecting our money at "divers days of payment in December last: which was not "performed. Then divers of us, being driven to a narrow "strait of time, either made present payment of the money "by us taken up at interest, or continued the use thereof "for a longer time.

Anno 1587. The barony of Denbeigh mortgaged to them by him.

Their petition.

"The day of payment being past, we were all earnestly "solicited to reassure the said manor again to his lordship "and his heirs, upon condition that our money should be "paid unto us in January next. Upon which considera- "tion we were content; and did make a new assurance unto "his lordship, with a respite of redemption until that time. "At which time, according to the same assurance it im- "porteth as much, to receive our money accordingly: con- "sidering that many of our credits lies upon it. And also

" considering the hard state of merchants, and men of trade " in this city at this day. CHAP. XIII.

" In respect of all which, the premises, we are humble " suitors unto your honours, to be a means in our behalf " unto her majesty, that some order may be taken for the " payment of the said money at the day of our said assur- " ance and agreement; and we shall, according to our du- " ties, daily pray for the preservations of your right ho- " nourable estates." Anno 1587.

Besides these gentlemen, of whom I have made some remarks, and of matters wherein they were concerned, I must allot here a place for one Mr. Rither of the north, (of whom somewhat before,) both in respect of the quality of his person, as also for some advertisements that he communicated this year to a great man at court concerning the northern parts of Yorkshire, and those that inhabited there. And first something concerning the man himself.

James Rither was a wise and learned gentleman of that county, lord of the manor of Harwood. And (upon a particular occasion of trouble befalling him) gave the lord Burghley this account of himself: " I am a gentleman, not " meanly descended; a poor servant of her majesty, [in " some commissions in those parts:] one that hath not " so vainly spent my time, but have done her majesty " good service in my country." But two or three years after, he was detained in prison, by no deserts of his own, but drawn in by sinister extortionous devices, under colour of her majesty's process, for debts to her, which he had paid: the effect of the malice of many in those parts against men of justice and honesty. 500 James Rither of Yorkshire.

But now for his intelligence sent this year to that lord, take it from his own letter. He gave a particular character of Mr. Bellasis, a Yorkshire gentleman, (eldest son of sir William Bellasis,) employed in the borders; of whom inquiry seems to have been made from court; viz. " That he " was a man of a weakly constitution of body, and subject " to many infirmities. But for parts of the mind, he [Ri- " ther] dared to gage his credit, his like, for all towardness Account of Mr. Bellasis.

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Anno 1587.

" of disposition in government, or otherwise in any sound-
" ness of judgment, never was bred in that country, since
" Rither's time of abode there; which was then four above
" twenty years. That he was only one year in commission
" of the peace; and since that time, the eldest, and in ef-
" fect all the justices of that part, are glad to fetch light at
" his torch. And indeed since the death of old Dalton, no
" man more sufficient of skill in the north of this shire."
Rither went on, shewing a particular unhappy accident happening to this gentleman. " That he, taking by appoint-
" ment an hundred foot from the borders, was put to live
" with only twenty-five of them, in a place, as it is now
" said, most shot at by the bloody and inhuman cruelty of
" that savage nation, [i. e. the Scots.] What mistake was
" made of his man, and how narrow his own way of escape
" was, I need not inform your honour: the hazard, I see,
" (as he proceeded) of a great loss to a ground that so
" much needeth; and so seldom breedeth such." He added his conjecture of treachery; " I fear me, the uprightness of
" the gentleman was more than stood with some of their
" good liking that put him forward. Haply your honour
" shall not hear this commendation confirmed at all hands
" that know him. Because here we use rather to envy
" than imitate so good dispositions; though it fall out be-
" tween near kinsmen."

Disorders in the north.

And then, as to the condition of the people, thus he wrote to that lord: " Our disorders here grow common,
" and greater than we can well bear, or easily remedy
" The associates of the peace in these parts are become so
" few, by the late displacing of many, by the sickness and
" death of some, as also by absence of others; so that such
" are fain to serve in three parts of the shire, as were wont
" to serve only in one hundred; from the liberties of York
" to the edge of Lancashire. Near to the common passage
" between, there is but one justice left. By which, and
" other unforeseen accidents, it falleth out, that our services
" are generally, and by particular cases sometimes, not un-
" worthily blamed by her majesty, and your honours of

" the high senate: when such as endeavour in deeds to de- CHAP. XIII.
" serve better, bear yet nevertheless more than the due
" shares of the burden of others' oversights." Anno 1587. 501

CHAP. XIV.

John Fox, the martyrologist, dies. His Acts and Monuments. Some account of that book, and the editions, and enlargements. The great esteem of the book and author. His judgment of the government of the church by archbishops and bishops. Archbishop Whitgift's value of him. His monument. His Life in Latin: written by his son. His books. His posterity. A Latin epistle to the puritans. Vindication of the English Justice: written by J. Stubbes. Latin poems by Newton.

THIS year concluded the life of the reverend John Fox; a man of remark for his learning, and for his firm adherence to the true religion in the times of persecution, (for the which he was an exile,) and for his usefulness to the church, in respect of the several learned books he wrote; and especially his martyrology, called, *The acts and monuments of the church.* Infinite was the pains he took in compiling thereof, and in searching of registers, and the enlargements in the several editions in his lifetime. The first was published by him in Latin, and printed, I think, at Basil, (where he lived,) one of the cantons in Switzerland. The next edition, which was set forth in English, the history commencing about 500 years before, was printed in London, in the year 1562, being continued to the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign; and bare this title, shewing the purpose of the book: *Acts and Monuments touching things done and practised by the prelates of the Roman church, especially in this realm of England and Scotland, from the year of our Lord one thousand, unto the time now present. Wherein is lively declared the whole state of the Christian church; with such persecutions and horrible troubles as*

John Fox, the martyrologist, dies.

His Acts and Monuments.

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have happened in these last and perilous days. Faithfully gathered and collected according to the true copies and writings certificatory, as well of them that suffered, as also of the others that were doers and workers thereof. By J. F.

Few writers within the 500 years since Satan broke loose.

In the beginning of his history he observed, how few and scarce the writers were of so many notable things, worthy of knowledge, happening in the time of the five hundred years since Satan broke loose, and so passed and escaped without memory in the church of Christ. And
502 that hitherto the barbarousness of those days, and partly negligence in the learned sort, were no small causes why we lack now so many things, much needful in these times to be known. However, such as remained, specially of the more sincere and less suspected sort of writers, he [the author] purposed in this history to digest and compile: to the intent to profit the church of Christ. That in these reformed days, we, seeing the prodigious deformities and calamities of those former times, might pour out more abundant thanks to the Lord for this his most sweet and merciful reformation.

Preliminaries.

The preliminaries to this book were these. I. An epistle dedicatory to queen Elizabeth. II. *Ad doctum lectorem, J. Foxus:* in Latin. III. To the persecutors of God's truth; commonly called *papists.* IV. A declaration concerning the utility and profit of this history.

Presents his book to Magdalen college, Oxon.

Of this book the author made a present to Magdalen college, Oxon, (whereof he once had been a member,) in an elegant Latin epistle to Dr. Lawrence Humphrey, then president, and the rest of the scholars. Which epistle in MS. still remains in the library of that college. A transcript whereof was some time ago kindly sent me by Dr. Charlott, late master of University college, deceased. Of which epistle take this short account. Which began with his wish, *Salutem et pacem in Christo sine fine.* "That he did it in "thankful acknowledgment; having had his education "there: that college being his nurse: imitating the poor "widow in the gospel, by the mite that he sent thither; "those minutes of his pains and studies that he sent thi-

" ther, to be thrown into their public treasury: though " mean and unworthy, he confessed, to be received into " their *chartophylacium*. But that indeed Garbrand, their " bookseller, persuaded him; as also a silent, and as it " were innate propension towards that college; and withal " the remembrance of their humanity towards him, and of " his duty in like wise to them. Anno 1587.

" Add also, that a great part of his history touched their " university: whence, as from a fountain, the happy pro- " pagation of the reformed religion took its first and only " beginning, but increase also, through the Christian world: " [by the means of Wickliff of that university.] It only " grieved him that the work was not writ in Latin, whereby " the fruits of it might spread further, or be more pleasant " to them to read. Which he had done, but that the re- " gard he had to the common edification of his country re- " quired otherwise. That among the confessors and mar- " tyrs for religion, that university chiefly sent out many. " And particularly Magdalen college yielded Joscelin Pal- " mer, not many years before snatched away: whom after " a manner he now restored to them again;" [i. e. by the history he had given of that man's sufferings.] But I leave the whole epistle, in Fox's own well-penned Latin style, to be read in the Appendix. N°. XLIV.

Another edition of this book by the author.

The author set forth another edition of his Martyrology in his lifetime, about the year 1582, with great additions, in two large volumes. The former beginning at the ten first persecutions in the primitive times; and so the history continued through the ages of the several reigns of the kings of England successively, to the beginning of king Henry VIII. At which the second and much larger volume commenceth. Where, in the first page, is a cut of that king, sitting, and treading upon the pope's neck; vindicating the supremacy of his kingdom against the usurpation of the see of Rome. This volume was revised, corrected, and enlarged by the author. Who thus concluded it; (as in the end of the book he declares;) " That not very much had " escaped in his writings, necessary to be known, touching

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History of the church and church-

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Anno 1587. men contained in this book.

" the several affairs, doings, and proceedings of the church " and churchmen. And wherein might be seen the whole " order, state, descent, course, and continuance of the same; " the increase and decrease of true religion, the creeping in " of superstition, the horrible troubles of persecution, the won- " derful assistance of the Almighty in maintaining his truth, " the glorious constancy of Christ's martyrs, the rage of his " enemies, the alteration of times, the travails and troubles " of the church, from the first primitive age of Christ's gos- " pel, to the end of queen Mary, and the beginning of gra- " cious queen Elizabeth, during the time of her happy " reign, which had hitherto continued, through the glorious " protection of the Lord, the space of 24 years."

This book was at other times reprinted. As in the year 1610, by the company of Stationers, and of later times with new copper cuts. I add, that this history of the church was of such value and esteem for the use of it to Christian readers, and the service of our religion reformed, that it was in the days of queen Elizabeth enjoined to be set up in some convenient place in all the parish-churches, together with the Bible, and Bishop Jewel's Defence of the Apology of the Church of England; to be read at all suitable times by the people before or after service.

Fox's judgment of episcopacy.

I shall insert here one passage out of this book, cited by Dr. Whitgift, occasioned by a controversy between T. Cartwright and him, about the government of this church by archbishops and bishops; alleging Fox's judgment in that point. " I conclude," saith Whitgift, " with the very words " of that worthy man, (who hath so well deserved of this " church of England,) master Fox: ' In the ecclesiastical " state we take not away the distinction of ordinary de- " grees, such as by the scripture be appointed, or by the " primitive church allowed; as patriarchs, archbishops, bi- " shops, ministers, and deacons. For of these four we espe- " cially read as chief. In which four degrees, as we grant " diversity of office, so we admit in the same also diversity " of dignity; neither denying that which is due to each de- " gree, neither yet maintaining the ambition of any singu-

Whitgift's Defence, p. 421.

" lar person. For as we give to the *minister* place above " the *deacon*, to the *bishop* above the *minister*, to the *arch-* " *bishop* above the *bishop*; so we see no cause of inequality, Anno 1587. " why one minister should be above another minister, one " bishop in his degree above another bishop, to deal in his " diocese, or an archbishop above another archbishop. And " this is to keep an order duly and truly in the church, ac- " cording to the true nature and definition of order by the " authority of Augustine; *Ordo est parium dispariumque* 504 " *rerum, sua cuique loca tribuens, dispositio.*' Hitherto Mr. " Fox."

And then Whitgift applies the above period (which is found in the 20th page of his first tome) unto his adversary in these words: " Now let the indifferent reader judge, whe- " ther these offices be *strange and unheard of in the church* " *of Christ*," as T. C. and his accomplices had affirmed in their *Admonition to the parliament.* Lib. de Civit.

I cannot but observe the esteem and character that Dr. Whitgift expressed of that reverend man by his words subjoined, with respect to the matter before argued; viz. " That " the words above-mentioned were Fox's own, and expressed " his own judgment of these degrees and offices in the " church of England. And that he had shewn himself (in " the place before cited) to be no enemy either to arch- " bishops, primates, or bishops: for I am sure, as he pro- " ceeded, he spake as he thought; and that he was not a " man that would be corrupted with praise. And that he " thought of Mr. Fox as of one that he loved and reve- " renced." For some further notice of this reverend man, and the respect Whitgift (when archbishop) had for him, see the Life of that Archbishop. The esteem and respect had of Fox. Life of Archbishop Whitgift, b. iii. c. 16. p. 254.

Under the year 1587, Camden, in the Latin MS. of his Annals of Queen Elizabeth, took notice of Fox's death, in these words: (which shew the great respect they had for him in those days:) *Anno* 1587. *Ex eruditorum numero obiit Johannes Foxus, Oxoniensis, qui ecclesiasticam Angliæ historiam, sive Martyrologiam, indefesso veritatis studio,* Camden's character of him, Oxford library.

BOOK II. *conscripsit: quem Latine primum, postea Anglice auctius, summa cum laude, contexuit.* Which words the late reve-

Anno 1587. rend and learned Dr. Charlet, some time master of Univer-

May 7, 1718. sity college, Oxon, deceased, was pleased to transcribe, and send me in a letter: which he rather did (as he wrote) upon a scandalous character of the said Fox in a preface before the said Camden's Elizabeth, of late printed at Oxford; using these words in his said letter: "We of the univer- "sity, and I in particular, are much offended at Mr. T. H. "his injurious character of J. F. his Martyrology, which he "calls, *Magna ex parte mendaciorum farrago.* Whereas "Camden speaks of him with very great honour in the "MS." I forbear to add what some others of our modern writers tell the world of him, different from the esteem had of him and his works in the age wherein he lived and was better known.

Fox's monument. Fox (of whom we have been speaking) was buried in the parish-church of St. Giles, Cripplegate, in which parish he lived; where in the chancel, against the south wall, remains his monument, with an inscription in marble, set up by his eldest son, Samuel: and near unto it is a flat stone over his body: under which are two other eminent persons; viz. Rich. Bullen, and William Bullen, M. D. brothers, interred; with some Latin verses engraven, giving characters of all three. These verses, accompanying the writing upon the

N°. XLVI. monument, the reader may find in the Appendix.

His Life writ by his son in Latin. The Life of this memorable and laborious writer and pious confessor was composed at good length, in an elegant Latin style, by his said son, Samuel Fox, a learned man. The original MS. whereof I have: which a relation of his

505 having read, earnestly requested him to publish, as highly useful, as also for preserving the memory of so well deserving a man. Thus addressing unto him:

Dignissime vir, legi et perlegi, cum delectatione et approbatione, literatum et elaboratum tractatum tuum de vita et morte spectatissimi patris tui, viri certe divinissimi: qui in doctrinæ sanitate evangelicus, et vitæ sanctitate angeli-

cus, extitit. In cujus ore fuit verbum vitæ, et in cujus moribus fuit vita verbi. Verba enim in opera convertebat; et ut dixit, vixit. Anno 1587.

Deliciæ nostri temporis ille fuit.
Talis erat, de quo mentiri fama veretur.

Phœnix Arabicus, felix Aristotelicus. Quæ cum ita sint, (lectissime et dilectissime cognate,) quid jam restat, quin ut libellus iste aureus, et laureus, quam citissime, tua bona cum venia, prelo committatur; ut publici juris fiat.

This Life of Fox was afterwards printed both in Latin and English, and placed before his book of the Acts and Monuments in the edition anno 1641. In the said Life are specified the divers other writings of this laborious author, besides his Book of Martyrs, viz.

Fox's writings.

Comœdiarum libri 2.
Syllogisticon.
Admonitio ad Parliamentum.
De Lapsis per Errorem in Ecclesiam restituendis.
Oliva Evangelica.
De Christo gratis justificante.
De Christo crucifixo.
Papa confutatus.
Contra Osorium, de Justitia.
Meditationes super Apocalypsim.
Actorum et Monumentorum Ecclesiæ; Latine.

As to the posterity of this reverend man, he left two sons, Samuel and Simeon; both bred up to learning, and well deserving men, and of note in their times. Samuel, the eldest, was bred up in the same college in Oxford, where his father formerly was a student. He married Anne Leveson, of a knightly family, at Estwel in Kent; and had issue by her four sons, Thomas, John, John, and Robert; and as many daughters, viz. Anne, Ursula, Jane, and Sarah. Whereof Anne married to Christopher Botteler, esq. at Aston Berry, in Hertfordshire; and Ursula to Henry Wollaston, esq. Of his sons, Thomas and Robert survived.

Fox's posterity. Magdalen college. Diary of Sam. Fox.

As to Samuel, he lived to a great age, and lived to see

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his children's children. He enjoyed the prebend of Shipton Underwich Wood, Oxon, with the manor annexed, granted by special favour to his father; which was granted to Samuel his son, by the means of Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, and the readiness of Pierse, bishop of Sarum, (in whose diocese it was,) to confirm it. And here he sometimes lived. As also afterwards at Havering at the Bower in Essex, (an ancient seat of the kings of England,) and at Copthal, near Waltham, in the same county; being dear to sir Thomas Heneage, treasurer of the queen's chamber; and so appointed by the said Heneage to be steward and receiver of the queen's revenues in those manors.

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506 His eldest son Thomas studied physic, and after divers years spent at Magdalen college, he removed and practised physic in London, and was of the college of physcians, and lived in Amen Corner, near Paternoster-row, where the college of physicians was long after, till the fire of London. He married Anne Honywood, of a worshipful family in Kent; and by her had an only daughter named Allice: which Allice matched with sir Richard Willis of Cambridgeshire, bart. by whom she had a daughter, Anne, and a son named by his grandfather, Thomas-Fox Willis. And upon his father's death the honour descended upon him, and his name and title was, sir Thomas-Fox Willis. He died young, a lunatic. Robert, the younger son of Samuel, was a sea-captain, and died without issue.

Dr. Tho. Fox.

Now as for Simeon, the younger son of John Fox; he was bred up at Eaton college, and preferred either there or at King's college, Cambridge. He was afterwards received by archbishop Whitgift unto some honourable place in his family. Afterwards he travelled abroad, and at length came to Italy; and settled to his studies at Padua, where he was made a doctor, and a syndic too. And after divers years spent there, returned home; and was a noted learned physician in London, and lived in Amen Corner, where his nephew Dr. Tho. Fox lived with him; and was president divers years of the college of physicians there. He lived to a great age, even to fourscore; dying the 19th of April, in

Dr. Simeon Fox.

the year 1642. And was buried decently by his said nephew in St. Paul's church, at the north door, by Dr. Linacer's tomb; his funeral being upon St. Mark's day. He also composed and set up a handsome monumental inscription in memory of him: which will give a more particular account of this Dr. Simeon Fox. For which the reader may apply himself to the Appendix: as I have transcribed it from the composer's own hand. CHAP XIV. Anno 1587. No. XLVII.

And meeting with some short minutes of Samuel, the eldest son, writ in his own diary concerning himself, I could not but add them in the Appendix, to the rest of the memorials of that reverend man his father: whereby may be observed, not only his education and bringing up in learning, his travels abroad, his reputation at home, his successes, and prosperous state, and plentiful issue, and length of age to see his children's children; but also in all this, the signal blessing of God upon him, for that pious confessor his father's sake. Samuel Fox's diary. Number XLVIII.

I must subjoin here the mention of an excellent letter in Latin, directed to such ministers as scrupled conformity to the rules of the church, for preventing the breach of unity: written, as near as I can conjecture, about this or the former year; the author not mentioned; but by the style, and some other circumstances, I should be apt to name the abovementioned to be the man; or perhaps Dr. Laurence Humfrey. It is a very good discourse, earnestly pressing unity and agreement upon such as made divisions in this reformed church, by way of a compassionate address to them. It is *An expostulatory letter to the puritans, for their contentions in the church, and exhortatory to peace*, and an earnest application of themselves to preach the gospel, and to lay aside reflections in their sermons. And bore this title, *Ad omnes fidcles ministros Jesu, cooperarios suos in evangelio, et qui verum habent domus Dei reformandæ zelum.* This epistle is somewhat long, and therefore I place it in the Appendix, as well worthy a place there, being writ in such a Christian spirit of concord and peace. An Expostulatory Letter. 507 No. XLIX.

I shall only add a book or two set forth this year. The

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one was, An Answer to Cardinal Allen, writ by J. Stubbes, in *Vindication of the English Justice*, in the execution of several papists and Jesuits for treason. The book was reviewed by certain learned civilians; viz. Bynge and Hammond, and the author employed in this work by the lord treasurer; as hath been shewn before more at large.

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Vindication of English Justice.

Newton's Poems.

Tho. Newton of Cheshire, a poet in these times, among the rest of his poems published in Latin verse, describes all the writers of our history of England and Wales to this year, with this title, *De Annalibus seu Chronicis Anglicis*, in this manner:

Loydus ut hac pridem gnavus prolusit arena,
Lelandus, Pricius, Stous, Holingshedius.
Lambardus, Morus, Camdenus, Thinnius, Hallus,
Vocalis[a], *Grafton, Foxius, Harrisonus.*
Lunqucttus, Patinus, Cooperus, Roussa Pouclus,
Caxtonus, Sprottus, Saxto, Trevisa, Balus.
Hardingus, Gyldas, Stanithurstus, Beda, Nevillus,
Doctaque Flaminii lima polivit opus.

[a] Vowel.

And then, after the names of all these historians, he ends with the mention of the great ecclesiastic antiquarian, archbishop Parker, in this manner:

Nec te, cane senex, magne O Parkere, silebo,
Cui decus attulerat pontificalis apex.
Omnibus his merito laus debita et optima merces
Quod patriæ accendant lumina clara suæ.

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